

THE GREATER MIDDLE EAST PROJECT AND TURKEY'S POTENTIAL ROLE

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"We are not going to achieve a new world order without paying for it in blood as well as in words and money."

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 1995)

For those who think that everything starts with a dream

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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This is to certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:

- i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study
- ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

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ABSTRACT

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February 2006

THE GREATER MIDDLE EAST PROJECT AND TURKEY'S POTENTIAL ROLE

September 11 left a deep impression on human memory and world policy. It is said that the memories of societies are weak, but the world policy was affected seriously. With this event, the new Pearl Harbour which was needed for the big change the American politicians were preparing during the 90's became true.

According to the project called as the New American Century, the US is not strong enough to determine the world policy any longer. The positive atmosphere which emerged at the end of the Cold War disappeared quickly; the dream to be the leader of the world for the US is farther than before. The most important point of this project is the Greater Middle East Project that aims at Eurasia's key point.

The US plans political and social transformations in the world; the most important part of this is the Middle East. To start by changing the Middle East will ensure the US to achieve its aims easily.

The economy of the world is not the same any longer, the point that the US had reached at the end of the World War II is far away today. Japanese and European investors have held the leadership in the banking sector in their hands for the last twenty years. It was thought that, with its collapse, the Eastern Block countries would be a new market, but their purchasing power was so low that they started to become production basis, instead of markets. The most conspicuous among them is China, which started earlier and made considerable progress, and the Asian countries surrounding it. The only thing that remains in the hands of the US is its military technologic supremacy.

One of the most important reasons for the choice of the Middle East is its determinative role in the world energy policies. One edge of it is located on Europe's energy road, the other edge on China's and the centre of it is located in the centre of the world.

At this point, Turkey's preference is very important not just for her geographical inclusion, but also for her religion and the nations she accommodates is determinative for the future of the Project.

Key words:

New American Century Transforming The Middle East

World Economy Energy Politics Turkey's Choice

KISA ÖZET

MUSTAFA KARASU

Şubat 2006

BÜYÜK ORTADOĞU PROJESİ VE TÜRKİYE'NİN

POTANSİYEL ROLÜ

11 Eylül insanların hafızasında ve dünya siyasetinde derin izler bıraktı. Toplumların hafızası zayıf olur denir, ama dünya siyaseti ciddi bir şekilde etkilendi. Bu olayla, Amerikalı siyasetçilerinin 90'lar boyunca hazırlandığı büyük değişimin ihtiyacı olan yeni Pearl Harbour gerçekleşmiş oldu.

Yeni Amerikan Yüzyılı olarak adlandırılan projeye göre, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri dünya siyasetini belirlemede artık eskisi kadar güçlü değil. Soğuk savaşın bitişiyile ortaya çıkan olumlu hava çabucak dağıldı. Amerika için dünya liderliği hayali eskisinden daha uzak. Bu projenin en önemli noktası ise Avrasya'nın kilit noktasını hedef alan Büyük Ortadoğu projesi.

ABD dünyada, siyasi ve sosyal değişiklikler planlıyor, bunun en önemli parçası ise Ortadoğu. İşe Ortadoğu'yu değiştirerek başlamak, hedefine daha kolay ulaşmasını sağlayacak.

Dünya ekonomisi artık eskisi gibi değil, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonunda ABD'nin ulaştığı nokta çok gerilerde kaldı. Bankacılık sektöründe liderlik son yirmi yıldır Japon ve Avrupalı yatırımcıların elinde. Doğu Bloku'nun çökmesiyle buradaki ülkelerin yeni bir pazar olacağı düşünülmüştü, ama alım gücü o kadar düşüktü ki pazar değil, üretim üssüne dönüşmeye başladı. Bunların içinde en dikkat çekici olanı, bu işe daha erken başlayıp çok yol alan Çin ve onu çevreleyen Asya ülkeleri. ABD'nin elinde kalan tek şey ise askeri teknolojik üstünlüğü.

Ortadoğu'nun seçilmesinin en önemli sebeplerinden biri dünya enerji politikalarındaki belirleyici rolü. Bir ucu Avrupa'nın diğer ucu ise Çin'in enerji yolunda bulunuyor, merkezi ise Dünya'nın.

Bu noktada Türkiye'nin tercihi çok önemli, sadece projeye olan coğrafi dahli değil, dini ve barındırdığı milletler de projenin geleceğinde belirleyici.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Yeni Amerikan Yüzyılı
Enerji Politikaları

Ortadoğuyu Değiştirmek
Türkiye'nin Tercihi

Dünya Ekonomisi

LIST OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------|
| Dedication Page | iii |
| Approval Page | iv |
| Author Declarations | v |
| Abstract | vi |
| Kısa Özet | vii |
| List of Contents | viii |
| List of Abbreviations | xi |
| Acknowledgements | xiii |
| Introduction | 1 |
| I. The New American Century | 11 |
| 1.1 The Footsteps of the Greater Middle East; | |
| The Project for the New American Century | 11 |
| 1.1.1. When and How did PNAC Appear | 11 |
| 1.1.2. Historical Background of PNAC | 14 |
| 1.1.3. The Purpose of PNAC | 19 |
| 1.1.4. The Methods of PNAC | 22 |
| 1.1.5. Convincing People | 26 |
| 1.2 New America to A New Century | 28 |

| | |
|--|----|
| 1.2.1. Difference from the Old American Century | 28 |
| 1.2.2. Rebuilding NATO | 32 |
| 1.2.3. New Defence or Attack Doctrine | 38 |
| II. The Greater Middle East Project | 44 |
| 2.1 The Greater Middle East Project and Its Boundaries | 45 |
| 2.1.1. Appearance of the Project | 45 |
| 2.1.2. September 11: the Day the World Changed | 47 |
| 2.1.3. The Geography of the Greater Middle East | 52 |
| 2.1.4. Israel's Security | 60 |
| 2.2 World Economical Balances and Financial Movements | 68 |
| 2.2.1. Pax-Americana | 68 |
| 2.2.2. Alteration within the World Financial Movements | 72 |
| 2.2.3. What We Learn from Enron Bankruptcy Case | 78 |
| 2.2.4. China: The Awakening Giant | 82 |
| 2.3 Energy's Future and Future's Energy | 86 |
| 2.3.1 Energy Shortage in World Market | 86 |
| 2.3.2 Control over Oil | 88 |
| 2.3.3 Petro-Dollar or Petro-Euro | 93 |
| 2.3.4 Hydrogen: Future's Energy | 98 |

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----|
| 2.4 Transforming the Middle East | 103 |
| III. Turkey's Potential Role | 109 |
| 3.1 Turkey within the Project | 109 |
| 3.2 Solutions and Suggestions | 121 |
| Conclusion | 132 |
| Bibliography | 135 |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------|--|
| CIA | Central Intelligence Agency |
| EU | European Union |
| FDI | Foreign Direct Investment |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| GMEP | Greater Middle East Project |
| IAEA | International Atomic Energy Agency |
| MNC | Multinational Companies |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| NMD | National Missile Defence |
| OPEC | Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries |
| OSCE | Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe |
| PfP | Partnership for Peace |
| PLO | Palestine Liberation Organization |
| PNAC | Project for the New American Century |
| UN | United Nations |
| US | United States |
| WEU | Western European Union |
| WMD | Weapons of Mass Destruction |

| | |
|-------|--------------------------|
| WTO | World Trade Organization |
| WW I | World War I |
| WW II | World War II |

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INTRODUCTION

The Greater Middle East Project (GMEP) includes such elements as establishing peace and welfare, strengthening democracy, human rights, the rule of law and good governance principles, and operating the free market economy in the Middle East, and the project has been put on the agenda by the United States (US) especially after the Iraq war. With its introduction, the project has received different reactions from various circles, and it has been argued that Turkey has significant roles to play in this project due to her historical experience in and proximity to the region. According to the information gathered from different sources, this project is called as the Greater Middle East Project by the US, and it has become a focus of interest during recent years because of the opinion that there is an increasing and urgent need for positive changes in the Middle Eastern geography.

The US administration has communicated, on various occasions, to the world public its concerns over the population increase of individuals whose political and economic rights are denied, who are unemployed and uneducated which could worsen such problems as extremism, terrorism, illegal migration and smuggling, and lead to a great threat to, first of all, the US, then to the whole international community in the mentioned geography.

After announcing that it wishes the support for positive changes in the Middle East to turn it into an international initiative, Washington has begun consultations with its partners, including Turkey, and regional countries.

At the current stage, a general consensus emerged among regional countries that the GMEP initiative should not be designed as a project to be carried out by a single country or organization, and that it could not be based on a single template. The purpose of the project is expressed as creating a strong synergy supportive of reforms in this region with the programs to be developed by such important international organizations as G-8, EU, OECD, NATO within their respective task fields. This US policy directed at the Middle East created sensitivity in the region in the beginning. The experts think that the suspicion to plans of Western origin rooted in the Middle Eastern history had an influence in this initial reaction. The same experts are of the opinion that, despite this, when the regional governments will have been informed, more substantively about this initiative through advisors, and when the initiative will have a more sensitive framework to the realities and sentimentalities in the regions, a positive impression about the project will emerge.

Within a few years, the outlines of GMEP materialized, and with successive international summits, various documents were accepted for the realization of this project in different dimensions. While the bases for a common understanding of the GMEP initiative has been laid at these summits, the regional countries, it is said, has become more willing to participate in different dimensions of this project.

G-8 comes to the fore as the greatest organization where the project is discussed. In the context of the GMEP initiative, the beginning of discussing the Middle East took place in the G-8 Summit held in the US in June 2004. Both the EU and regional countries and Turkey listed the principles they deemed important, moving the Arab-Israel conflict into a path of solution being on top of the list. In order to support the political, economic and socio-cultural reforms, the mechanisms foreseen to be established on a partnership basis with regional countries, and the planned projects were listed. Forming a platform where the relevant minister of G-8 and regional countries' governments may come together is at the top of that list. Turkey has been invited to the activities in the framework of G-8 under the rubric of "democratic participation." Turkey has assumed the co-chairmanship of democratic aid dialogue, which is among the mechanisms decided on in the framework of the G-8, together with Italy and Yemen. This mechanism brings government representatives and civil society institutions together in order to support democratization efforts, and aims to provide a cooperation environment including the sharing of experiences.

The Middle East, targeted by the project in the context of democratization, has witnessed various political struggles dating back to the first ages of history. The history of the region has to be carefully examined in order to establish the link to the contemporary politics. When asked where the Middle East is, it can roughly be defined as the region in the middle of five seas (the

Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Caspian Sea, and the Black East is, it can roughly be defined as the region in the middle of five seas (the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Caspian Sea, and the Black Sea). However, the definition of the Middle East is not its history, and the term Middle East has entered into circulation during the last few centuries when European-centered administration gained power. Europe or the civilization ball that is shortly defined as the West (Europe and the North America) has changed the definition of the Middle East in different times and in accordance with different needs. To mention the area between Arabia and India in his work titled "The Persian Gulf and International Relations", which dealt with the importance of the Persian Gulf and was published in National Review, American sea historian and strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan used the term "Middle East" for the first time in 1902. And the term became widespread in scientific studies and international politics day by day after the WW II. After this first definition, the Middle East has been used at different times and by different experts. Provided that different uses and the changeability of the scope are considered, it is possible to say that today the Middle East definition is narrowly used in a way which includes Turkey, Iran, Mesopotamia, the Arabian Peninsula, the Persian Gulf countries and Egypt. It is seen that the scope of this concept is broadened to include Libya, Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti and Afghanistan, while in some studies, it is seen that this concept is broadened even more to include the whole North Africa starting from the Atlantic Ocean to Egypt. Furthermore, in some studies the addition

of the Caucasus and Central Asia into the scope of the Middle East concept and the fairly good expansion of the concept are noticed. However, if special attention is paid, it will be understood that this region is an Islamic geography. If somebody had wanted us to draw the map of Islam, the resulting map would be the Greater Middle East that is attempted to be defined by the American government.

When asked what makes the Middle East that important, it is useful to review the past a little bit to give an answer. The region that the Westerners define as the Middle East has witnessed great civilizations, wars and international trade throughout the history. When the historical past of the region is examined, we come across that a few certain important cities in the region, nowadays called the Middle East, were the centers protected by the world in the past. Clashes, now a part of war history, took place to conquer cities like Istanbul, Baghdad and Jerusalem. History, as we know it, tells us that the oldest civilizations had been setup in the Middle East which is an intercontinental junction and which had to be seized for the future of countries' or for the region's wealth, just as the Rome, Alexander the Great or the Ottomans had done, although they were not established in the this region. The unique geopolitical value that it acquired from controlling the most important land and sea routes in the world have made the Middle East, since the first stages of history, the primary target of the powers striving for a world sovereignty, no matter who they are. Any power that is unable to set up an effective existence in the Middle East cannot claim world sovereignty.

The powers that are not in the state of blocking any present or future power in this region accept defeat in advance.

The primary factor that makes the Middle East valuable at the hearts of people is that it is the center of the three big celestial religions. This land witnessed the birth of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and became a religious pilgrimage region where the sacred places of these religions were built. For this reason, today this region has a great value for the members of these religions in terms of spirituality. Just as in the past, the colourful geographical and social structure of this aforesaid region, which is the homeland to these three big religions, has caused wars from time to time. Today, these religious fights that started with the Crusades still exist especially between Israel and Palestine in the form of hot fight.

With its fertile lands, and its mines that were important for the archaic eras, the Middle East had always been the focus of interest in the history. However, the Middle East both turned the balance in the region upside down and considerably increased its strategic importance, so much so that it has become incomparable to any other region, with the emergence of a new phenomenon of the 20th century. This new factor, which became associated with the term "Middle East", is petroleum. The fact that petroleum is much needed for economic development in the contemporary era, and that there are very rich petroleum fields in the region, have increased its geopolitical importance significantly. With the discovery and production of petroleum, the region has become equated with petroleum fields and petroleum has started

to draw the borderlines of the Middle East. How did the history of petroleum, called as black gold and having a great importance in regional politics, start in this region? With the drilling of the first petroleum well in the US in 1859, the petroleum age started in the world. However, after the depletion of the first wells in a short time, oilmen began to search for new sources. After surveys and explorations, the first petroleum well in the Middle East was opened in Iran in 1884. In 1914, with the permission of the Ottoman government, German technicians started to explore for petroleum in the region and many wells were opened. While a student at Istanbul University, Kalust Sarkis Gülbenkyan, an Armenian businessman believed that there was petroleum in the banks of Tigris and he founded the Turkish Petroleum Company within the borders of the Ottoman with a special permission. So, petroleum, the most important production material, started to come to light. The feature that distinguishes the petroleum areas in the Middle East from that of the world is of course its amount and quality. For example, the fact that approximately two thirds of the world's petroleum resources (65.3%) and more than a third of the known natural gas resources (36.1%) are in this region indicates why this region is so valuable in monetary terms. The low cost of extracting and delivering petroleum is another factor that attracts companies to the region. For instance, the production cost per barrel is 1 dollar whereas it is 14 dollars in the North Sea. Just as, both this case and the discovery of broad sources have provide the power of the Middle East in the petroleum market and the fights for profit in the region reached to a new

peak. While the Middle East countries were able to provide only 0.7% of the world petroleum production in 1914, today this proportion has reached to 65%. This proportion alone can explain why the Middle East has never lost its importance throughout the history and why it has become the scene of new games between power centers.

In the 20th century when the importance of petroleum was understood, the Middle East became the scene of the struggle for shares between the great powers. With a secret treaty known as Sykes-Picot, the land of the Ottomans was shared between England and France. France got Syria, Lebanon, Cilicia and Mosul regions; and England got Jordan, Iraq and North Palestine regions. On the rest of Palestine, an international regime and an Arabic state with uncertain borderlines were to be founded. In the Middle East, the state of division created by England was maintained with the kingdoms that founded later on.

After the WW II, the world's balance totally changed and the US, the trans-Atlantic power, appeared on the scene. The US's policies showed great similarity with the methods of England from which it took over the world leadership. The kingdoms that were founded by England were connected to the US government or new regimes were founded instead of them. Although the new leader of the region was the US, throughout the Cold War stage, power balances constantly shifted between East and West blocks.

In 1990, when it became certain that the Cold War was over, a new era had started in the Middle East. The US took advantage of the then

problematic condition of the Soviet Union and amassed a great military power in the region with the excuse of the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, and fought against Iraq with the support of governments like Syria which was pro-Sovietic once. In fact, this war was a very good excuse more for the settling down of the US in the region than eliminating Iraq which had gained power by the help of the US. After that date, the Iraq issue that was left hanging in the air turned out to be an issue which George W. Bush wanted to certainly solve; but this time, as different from the past, the solution was to be provided in a way that would include an area ranging from the Atlantic to the Central Asia. The new president intended to make use of the unique public support provided him by September 11. The image of a moderate and helpful super power during the Clinton era was put aside and replaced with an image of a super power which was the only one to comment on issues and which did not recognize any limits, even at war. Was the only reason that pushed the US into the world arena so quickly the shock created by September 11, or was it a burst of long accumulated problems? The US is losing its leadership acquired right after the WW II. Though the US has still the greatest budget, Europe seems to have kept up with it. The leadership in banking has passed to the Japanese already. At the production market, now there is only one leader, and it is China, which everybody knows very well. The US is trying to protect its superiority in the military field with its giant budget deficit financed by printing money.

During the 80s, the US both created and used terrorism. Is it logical that terrorism created and supported by the US should surpass the power of the US and start to shoot the US in the 90s? Isn't it necessary for global terrorism to have a population, military, scientific and economic power as great as the US to make this theory plausible? Or else, is the ideology for which it has been fighting a global capital that do not have a homeland like global terrorism? Consider that the US places big countries not against but for itself in its new war, contrary to what it did in the past, and says "global terrorism is the enemy of everybody. I am also fighting on your behalf." The old great evil the Soviet Union is now replaced by small evils.

Hoping to establish world sovereignty, the US is about to say goodbye to its leadership position before it reaches to this target. It tries to achieve that with the support of military and energy monopoly firms, and this pushes the globe into a new polarization. It wishes to grab the Middle East before its rivals and shape it in the most convenient way for it. Maybe, the key to the world sovereignty is hidden in this region. The year 2000 has become a political turning point for the Christian world rather than a religious turning point. The start of the new millennium is like a cross point in many aspects, or a sort of a rupture point of time.

CHAPTER 1

THE NEW AMERICAN CENTURY

Contrary to common belief, American aggressive foreign policy was not formed after the storm that September 11 brought about. The bases of it were planned during the 90s by a group of old politicians called neo-conservatives. This construction, backed by a group of think-tanks, which themselves were supporters of the Republican Party, and by Israeli lobbies, is called the Project for the New American Century (PNAC). This chapter aims to explain the roots and history of the policies carried out under the leadership of George W. Bush.

1.1. The Footsteps of the Greater Middle East; The Project for the New American Century

1.1.1. When and How PNAC Appeared

The people governing the US in the past, sometimes used the word “new” to mean the doctrines they put forward. In 1933, Roosevelt used the term “new” in New Deal; in 1960s, Kennedy used it in New Frontier; in 1990s, George Bush used it in New World Order, and the neo-conservatives used it in Project for the New American Century.¹

In America, there can be found a Think-Tank suitable for the intellectual structure of every elected president. For example, National Institute for

¹ Statement of Principals, <http://www.newamericancentury.org/statementofprinciples.htm> (2 January 2006).

Public Policy, or Heritage Foundation for the classical conservatives, and American Enterprise Institute, Hudson Institute, Center for Security Policy for the neo-conservatives. PNAC is a Think-Tank too. The main philosophy of this intellectual system is to establish the US as a powerful country in the 21st century.

In 1997, Neo-Conservatives established this intellectual foundation called PNAC with the initiative of Robert Kagan and William Kristol. Today, many figures taking part in the US government are among those who signed the Statement of Principles that was publicly declared by the foundation, which gathered together the distinguished neo-conservative hawks in the US.²

Among those who signed the opening report of this intellectual foundation in 1997, there were Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, Lewis Libby and Cohen, Yale professor and father of Robert Kagan, that is, Donald Kagan and Francis Fukuyama, the theorist known for his book titled "The End of History and The Last Man".³

PNAC team, which claims that its basic aims are to support the US in its global leadership; that the foreign policy of the US needs moral clarity, and that it should rely on a powerful army, prepared a book titled "Present Dangers" to be presented to the president candidate George W. Bush before the election in the year 2000. The book whose chapters were written by

² Ibid.

³ Şenyener, Şebnem, Beyaz Sarayı Etkileyen Kitaplar, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2003/04/29/sanat/san01.html> (2 January 2006).

figures like Richard Perle, William Bennett and Paul Wolfowitz, suggested the new president to try to get a regime change in Iraq, China, North Korea and Iran, to set up a National Missile Defense (NMD) system, to withdraw from arms limitation meetings, to increase defense expenses, and to protect the American leadership. Although almost all of these suggestions were put into force in time, PNAC did not stand out very much as a foundation in public neither during the election campaign nor afterwards. Unlike the other foundations which have hundreds of fulltime employees, PNAC prefers to declare its ideas by means of short analysis by its members which are published in various influential newspapers, and by means of direct open-letters written by its members to the US presidents instead of declaring them by means of the journals it publishes.⁴

PNAC describes its project shortly as: The White House council of ministers, who are placed as the representatives of international companies, must conquer Europe, Asia and the Middle East in economic, political and military terms and create a new order in the world where the sovereign power is the US by pursuing a foreign policy convenient for the interests of its financier firms. "Project for the New American Century", the original name of which is "Statements of Principles" was prepared by a group of advisers led by Robert Kagan and William Kristol in 1997. This project became the bedside book of the Republican government of Bush in a short time. After

⁴ Letter to Clinton on Iraq, <http://www.newamericancentury.org/iraqclintonletter.htm> (2 January 2006).

being revised in accordance with the new developments, it was presented to Bush once more with the title "Rebuilding Americas Defenses" in September 2001.⁵ It is possible to summarize this revised report with the sentence: "the 21st century is the era of the US's global hegemony." In the report, three styles of policy are suggested for America to achieve this aim: A powerful army, a diffusionist economic and political globalism, and a military foreign policy. Among those who signed this project, there were some influential figures like Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, Cohen, Kristol, Robert Kagan and his father Donald Kagan, William J. Bennett, who was the former Education Minister of the US, Alan Keyes (president candidate of the conservatives), Fukuyama, Dan Quayle and Richard Perle, aka "Prince of Darkness".⁶

In the letter they sent to Bush on April 3rd, 2002, they compared Israel's war against Palestine with the US's fight against terrorism, and wrote that "the victory of Israel is a part of our victory".⁷

1.1.2. Historical Background of PNAC

The ideological and intellectual father of neo-conservatives was the Jewish philosopher Leo Strauss who immigrated from Germany to the US before the WW II, and died in 1973. Leo Strauss, who also lectured on Political

⁵ Rebuilding Americas Defenses, <http://www.newamericancentury.org/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf> (8 January 2006).

⁶ Tutar, Bercan, Batı Kargısında Tavrimiz Ne Olmalı, <http://www.yenisafak.com/arsiv/2003/haziran/16/dusunce.html> (2 January 2006).

⁷ Bush Letter, <http://www.newamericancentury.org/Bushletter-040302.htm> (2 January 2006).

Philosophy at Yale University, was the intellectual father of such figures as Samuel Huntington, Fukuyama, Kagan, Kristol, Abrams, Cohen and those having authority over the US policies and whose ideas are admired by the White House.⁸

The main ideas of Leo Strauss can be summarized as follows:

- There are good and bad governments in the world in terms of administration.
- The democracy that is applied in the US is the least bad one among the present governments. Human beings have not been able to find a better government style in terms of the development of the individual.
- The regimes which are governed by democracy have to protect themselves from the regimes which are governed by dictatorship because the regimes which are governed by dictatorship are diffusionist regimes.
- Democracy must be insisted on the regimes which are governed by dictatorship. If necessary, force must be used.
- The expansion of democracy is a must for the security of the US and the world.
- It is necessary to exalt American values and to make them widespread.

⁸ Steinberg, Jeffrey, Profile: Strauss, http://www.larouchepub.com/other/2003/3011profile_strauss.html (3 January 2006).

Ascribed to the founder of this thought, Leo Strauss, neo-conservatives are at the same time called Straussians. Many ideas of Strauss became widespread by the writer who was known as the guide of Fukuyama and Wolfowitz and who was the writer of the book titled "The Closing of the American Mind". This writer was Allan Bloom and his influence in American policy was the source of inspiration for the novel titled "Ravelstein" by Saul Bellow published in 2000.⁹

Neo-conservative movement was formed by a group of academicians and journalists in the 1960s. The pioneers of this movement are Irving Kristol, Norman Podhoretz, Midge Decter, Ben Wattenberg, Nathan Glazer, and Daniel Bell. New York Province Former Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Richard Perle, Elliott Abrams, Kenneth Adelman, Jeane Kirkpatrick and Walt Ugene Rostow joined this group later on. Most of them are the students of Albert Wohlstetter, professor of Chicago University. The Jews constitute the nucleus of neo-conservative movement. However, there are a remarkable number of Christian-Protestants and a few Christian-Catholics, as well.

Although this group had started politics at Democratic Party, it left this party later on, because of difference of opinions with some of the Democratic Party members. Neo-Conservatives moved to the Republican Party when Ronald Reagan from the Republican Party became president. The Republicans were pleased with this joining as they thought their influence on

⁹ Şenyener, op. cit.

universities and the media would increase on account of the joining of this group, mostly composed of academicians and journalists, into their party. By cooperating with the Protestant evangelicals in the Republican Party, they, in time, gained superiority in party management over the conservatives, the real founders of the Republican Party.

This group, which showed itself in think-tanks in the 1980s, played an active role especially in directing the defense policies of Ronald Reagan. As Dick Cheney became the Minister of Defense in 1991, they functioned in many important positions in the Ministry of Defense. The Star Wars of Ronald Reagan, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the ideas of strategic alliance with Israel are all the products of the neo-conservatives. In 1992, Paul Wolfowitz and Lewis Libby prepared a draft called Defense Policy Guidance under the supervision of the Minister of Defense of that period Dick Cheney. However, after this draft was disclosed in the media and received great reaction from the public, it was put aside by the Minister of Foreign Policy of that period, James Baker. This draft constitutes the base of the "The National Defense Strategy" declared by George W. Bush on September 17th, 2002.

Today's Neo-Conservatives like Kenneth Adelman, Richard Pipes, Richard Perle, Jane Kirk Douglas, Max Kampelman and Elliott Abrams performed

important duties in foreign policy in Reagan's time.¹⁰ Neo-Conservatives believe that the "The Clash of Civilizations" put forward by Huntington has started. According to this thought, the Fourth World War has started on September 11 and it will continue in the Middle East.¹¹

According to Neo-Conservatives, the Reagan period was the golden age of the US. Neo-Conservatives, severely criticizing the foreign policies of Bill Clinton of the Democratic Party who was elected president as the Republican Party lost the elections, gave a letter in care of Richard Perle to Clinton's National Security Counsel Sandy Berger to be presented to Clinton on January 26th, 1998. In this letter, the conservatives requested Clinton to use military intervention to defeat Saddam's regime. Otherwise, the profits of the US such as from petroleum would be under threat. The letter claimed that military intervention against Saddam's regime was a must for the security of the allies of the US, firstly for Israel, and therefore, it was not necessary to seek reconciliation at the United Nations (UN). After Clinton declined the demands of neo-conservatives, the letter was disclosed to the media by neo-conservatives. The letter was signed by Elliott Abrams, Richard L. Armitage, William J. Bennett, Jeffrey Bergner, John Bolton, Paula Dobriansky, Francis Fukuyama, Robert Kagan, Zalmay Khalilzad, William Kristol, Richard Perle,

¹⁰ Hadar, Leon T. , The "Neocons": From the Cold War to the "Global Intifada", <http://www.washington-report.org/backissues/0491/9104027.htm> (3 January 2006).

¹¹ Amerika Şüphe Yaratıyor, <http://www.aksam.com.tr/arsiv/aksam/2003/07/09/yazidizi/yazidizi1.html> (3 January 2006).

Peter W. Romdan, Donald Rumsfeld, William Schneider, Vin Weber, Paul Wolfowitz, R. James Woolsey and Robert B. Zoellick.¹²

1.1.3. The Purpose of PNAC

The US, producing almost half of the world's economical products in the end of the WW II, was by far the greatest economical power of the world.¹³ But this situation no longer prevailed in 1990s. In the meantime, American economy had grown but its European and Japanese rivals had grown more. Moreover, China, which had three times a bigger portion of growth than developed countries, was starting to catch up with the US. Commentators like Paul Kennedy started to talk about the gradual decline of American power. Although not excessively, Henry Kissinger, who worked as a counsellor for many Republican Party governments successively, insisted on this issue very much: "The end of "The Cold War" created a world which some investigators called "Unipolar" or "Only Superpower". However, America, in fact, is now not in a better position than it was at the beginning of the Cold War in terms of getting the global agenda on its own. The US will be faced to face with a such a large sized economic rivalry that it has never experienced during the Cold War period."

In American political circles, a tendency emerged towards the necessity of

¹² Letter to Clinton, op. cit.

¹³ United States History, [http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_1741500823_28/United_States_\(History\).html](http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_1741500823_28/United_States_(History).html) (3 January 2006).

America's making use of its only huge and imposing superiority, that is, its military superiority, on other great powers. The Clinton administration started to move in that direction: It expanded the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in a way that would include Eastern European countries, as well; it started an investigation about NMD (actually against China) ¹⁴; did military intervention in Bosnia and declared war against Serbia. Clinton's method did not receive so much reaction as that of Bush government's, since it was less bloody, and maybe more economic, than both Bush administrations. Primarily by starting from military companies, Clinton tried to increase America's weight on world economics through company associations.

These steps by Clinton administration were not satisfactory enough for Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, Cheney and their masters Richard Perle and William Kristol of PNAC. The foundation report of PNAC claimed that: "American foreign and defense policies are thrown into the air. As the 20th century is reaching the end, the US is the greatest power of the world. We are faced to face with wasting this opportunity and being unsuccessful in this duty."¹⁵

According to the supporters of PNAC, America should increase its military expenses and invest its money on technologically most developed arms systems; therefore, quickly or by losing little time, it should be able to

¹⁴ Akgün, Mensur, ABM Sizlere Ömür, http://dosya.hurriyetim.com.tr/abd_dehseti/14mensur.asp (3 January 2006).

¹⁵ Statement of Principals, op. cit.

become in a position to intervene in wherever it wanted. Iraq must be at the top of the list of the places to be intervened. While there was a panicky atmosphere in America after September 11, 2001, the team staying at the White House could start to implement its agenda.

At this point, American problems were clearer than they were in the middle of the 1990s. The collapse of the new technology boom revealed that the real profits of American companies were 50% less than the profits they declared. To continue their normal functioning, American companies became addicted to getting loans of approximately 400 billion dollars from the rest of the world (actually Eastern Asia countries) per year. The US was not like it had been once.¹⁶

It turned out that the solution suggested by the Bush team to overcome America's economic weaknesses was to use its military power. The US state returned to the economic policies of Reagan in the 1980s: the policy of greatly increasing military expenditures and cutting the taxes on the rich in order to avoid stagnation. There were cuts in the social security expenditures. At abroad, the successive interventions to justify America's global power would enable the US to have control over petroleum resources on which all developed countries were depending, and would emphasize

¹⁶ Greider, William, *The End of Empire*, <http://www.thenation.com/doc/20020923/greider> (4 January 2006).

America's being the most secure country for the foreigners who wanted to invest money.

1.1.4. The Methods of PNAC

In 1947, The US president Truman said "you either support freedom or terrorism and tyranny" by meaning the Soviet Union and communism and he left the world alone to make a choice. 54 years later, after the September 11 attacks, President Bush's historical speech in a congress that "All the nations in all parts of the world have to make a decision; you are either with us or with the terrorists" showed that American policy was proceeding along the same way. The bases of the still continuing international policies of the US were established right after the First World War (WW I). After the WW I, an organization named Council on Foreign Relations was established to counsel American government's international policies. The members of this council were generally elected among the managers and shareholders from media establishments, industrial companies, the army, energy and arms companies, and Multinational Companies (MNC). The situation is the same today. The basic duty of this organization is to make foreign policy the most suitable for both parties by building bridges between big companies and the profits of the government.¹⁷

At the end of the WW II in 1945, the Council prepared a report titled as

¹⁷ Corporate Membership,
http://www.cfr.org/about/what_we_do/corporate_program.html (7 January 2006).

“Great Regional Planning” aimed at establishing a new order in the world. In this report, the necessity to get control as easily as possible in economic and military ways over the resources and raw materials in the world for the US industry was emphasized. When we carefully examine the “Great Regional Planning” published by the Council, it foresees that various points in the world should be controlled with strategic aims and it officially declares the foreign intervention philosophy of America until nowadays, including Saddam. The plan aims to spread the liberal market economy worldwide and relegates the roles of third world countries to providing workforce, raw materials and markets to the countries in the center.

However, the US had to resort to indirect means in order to maintain the world politics that changed after the WW II. According to experts, the US should use professional strategies, legitimize its actions in the international platform and, if unable, should follow the “Madman Theory” conceptualized by Nixon later on. According to this theory, Nixon explained, “our enemies should understand that we are mad with the supernatural destructive power under our command and what we will do is not easily foreseen. In this case, they will fearfully submit to our command.”¹⁸

In September 2000, a similar report was prepared by today’s vice president Dick Cheney, not in office at that time, and by Donald Rumsfeld,

¹⁸ Ramachandran, V.K., Interview with Noam Chomsky, <http://www.zmag.org/chomsky/interviews/9901-frontline-iraq.htm> (7 January 2006).

the minister of defense, and by Paul Wolfowitz, the deputy minister, as a new version of the Great Regional Planning under the rubric of the New American Century. This report contains strategic and military plans to protect and develop American power and hegemony in the next century and to avoid the emergence of other forces as rivals. It is very well known that this group of "hawks" had similar plans right from the beginning. Their candidate George W. Bush started to implement their plans.

The report pointed out the threat posed by North Korea, Iran and Iraq to the American leadership and territory, and the need for eliminating it. The section of the report concerned with the Middle East is really thought-provoking which states that "the US, for years looked for the ways to how to play a more permanent role in the region of Persian Gulf. Although the unsolved conflict with Iraq constitutes the needed excuse, the need for keeping American military force in the Gulf in greater numbers surpasses the concern over Saddam Hussein regime."¹⁹ Turkey is seen as a military base in the report and it is stressed that it is essential to profit from her ports and to settle a big American military base in her eastern territories, probably in Diyarbakır.²⁰

In the same report there is a conclusion which raises doubts about the events on September 11. This conclusion states the US's need for a

¹⁹ Rebuilding Americas Defenses, op.cit., p. 14.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 16.

catastrophic and catalyzing event like Pearl Harbour²¹ in order to become sovereign over most of the world resources. Many people think that the attack on September 11 provided America with this catalyzing event that it needed so much.

The US, claiming that the terrorists will use Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) in many places with the opportunity that the event on September 11 created, declared all the world that it will prevent these kind of weapons from spreading; it will eliminate the dictators who aid the terrorists that may use these weapons and it will declare war to the international terrorism.

The first scene of that war was staged in Afghanistan, and the second scene of it was staged in Iraq ruled by Saddam Hussein who used WMD against its own nation in the past. It was claimed that punishing Saddam Hussein's regime will teach a harsh lesson to the countries producing or trying to produce WMD. But in fact, the US administration sends out messages to countries such as China, Russia and France which sell this kind of weapons technology to third world countries and which America sees as having the capacity to become rivals, and to countries like Germany and Japan which have the technology, but not the weapons. It will perhaps be the big countries' turn, after the small countries are deprived of WMD.

²¹ Ibid, p. 51.

1.1.5. Convincing People

Hermann Goering who was the second most powerful man in the Nazi Party made a confession to prison psychologist Gustave Gilbert:

Goering (in prison) to the American psychologist Gustave Gilbert: "Naturally, the common people don't want war; neither in Russia nor in England nor in America, nor for that matter in Germany. That is understood. But, after all, it is the leaders of the country who determine the policy and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along, whether it is a democracy or a fascist dictatorship or a parliament or a communist dictatorship."

Gustave: "But in democracy people choose their leaders and they have a voice. For example in America only the parliament can declare a war."

Goering: "Oh, that is all well and good, but, voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same way in any country."²²

In 1997, a group of people each of whom grew in the most famous universities of the US gathered together for PNAC. This institution, resembling very much to a pious foundation, included Donald Rumsfeld,

²² Nuremberg War Crimes Trial, <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/2WWnuremberg.htm> (8 January 2006).

Richard Perle, Dick Cheney and Paul Wolfowitz, and it summed up its aims as constituting a new world order on which the US will reign and control. Their most striking statement in the manifesto was that they needed a new Pearl Harbour catastrophe in order to catalyze their long-term steps in that direction.²³

In the 2000 elections, the governors of PNAC presented George W. Bush against Al Gore, the candidate of the Democrat Party (the inefficient vice president of the previous term). Their motto was "The New and Powerful America". Despite all the conventional propaganda and the "noise", the result of the election did not bring a victory to Bush contrary to the expectations, and the conflict in the votes of Florida indicated to hardly win the election. But for all these, at the time that the conflicts were in progress, Gore's sudden surrendering was enough for Bush to settle in the White House.²⁴

After these, it was to wait for new events that will turn on PNAC's aggressive policy with a more clear statement a new Pearl Harbour attack and this expectation came true on September 11, 2001 morning in New York. American public was shocked; the atmosphere which PNAC wished for was created in a single day. Without understanding the source of the attacks, the next morning of the day of the attack, Donald Rumsfeld came up

²³ Rebuilding Americas Defenses, op. cit., p. 51.

²⁴ Vice President Al Gore Delivers Remarks, <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2000/transcripts/121300/t651213.html> (16 February 2006).

with declaring war against Iraq in the cabinet assembly.²⁵ A “Ghost Enemy” was created to justify their strategies: “The War Against Terrorism”.

1.2 New America to A New Century

1.2.1. Differences from the Old American Century

The US has a project for world leadership for nearly 200 years (since the Monroe doctrine in 1823).²⁶ But the existence of strong rivals (England, France, Germany, Russia, Japan) did not let these projects to come true. At the end of the WW II, there was an important rupture in the inter-governmental power relations.

Russia was out of this rivalry since 1917 because of the October Revolution, while other rivals were either collapsed or had lost their power considerably. Germany was divided in two parts and Japan was collapsed by the Atomic Bomb, the two big colonial forces (England and France) were wounded badly in the war and for the next 20 years they had to withdraw from their colonies in a formal way as a result of anti-colonialist national independence movements. Without a doubt, the US got out of the race as the sovereign force. A picture appeared that was different from the previous periods.²⁷ There were no longer frightening rivals in front of the US. A new

²⁵ CBS Interview on “60 minutes”, Clarke’s Take on Terror, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/03/19/60minutes/main607356.shtml> (9 January 2006).

²⁶ Jensen, Robert, It's Not Just the Emperor Who is Naked, But the Whole Empire, <http://www.commondreams.org/views04/0524-08.htm> (9 January 2006).

²⁷ Michel, Thomas, New Forms of Colonization in the World Today, http://www.sjweb.info/dialogo/documents/doc_show.cfm?Number=4 (9 January 2006).

colonialism emerged and the US was its leader without a doubt. It was such that, at the end of the war, the US's industrial production alone accounted for more than half of the industrial production of the world. Although its rivals lost their influence at the end of the WW II, this time two handicaps appeared for the US constituting the world leadership.

The socialist block and the new third world governments which became independent recently and were not on bad terms with the socialist block. Actually, the charismatic leaders of the newly independent third world countries were demanding, in all platforms and organizations, to be included in the "dining table" that they were excluded from for centuries, to become industrialized, to develop and to mobilize their sources for their own peoples' welfare.

The US was tangled up with these two obstacles this time. But with the Soviet System's collapse at the end of 1980's, the idea that the obstacles in front of the world leadership, the dream of the US for 200 years, had disappeared began to be voiced in the influential circles of Washington.

Had only one of the two obstacles survived, the US would neither find the courage for the first Gulf War, nor for invading Afghanistan and attacking Iraq for the second time. The US, indeed, does not care for any universal law. It continuously bypasses the UN and even does not conform to the laws passed by itself. In fact, the US's haste and disregard to the rules is not because of its being very powerful, but on the contrary, its weakness. As it is

known, the US does no longer have a comparative superiority over advanced technologies and products. It has already lost its superiority even on secondary technology and industrial products.

Strong rivals such as China, India, South Korea, and Brazil are known for their cheap production. The only sector it has superiority is weapons production and the military complex. It is important to remember that the US gives an external deficit of 1.5 billion dollars everyday.²⁸

And this trend goes on deepening, the foreign trade deficit which was 200 billion dollars in 1999 rose to 500 billion dollars in 2002, and this means that the US consumes more than it produces or, in short, it survives by exploiting others.

The deficit of the US is financed by EU, Japan, the autocratic regimes of the Persian Gulf and other governments of the third world which are supporters of America. The US wants to eliminate its possible rivals by using its weapon and warfare which is its only and doubtless superiority, and it wants to make the 21st century an American century.

In order to eliminate possible rivals (China, Russia, India and may be Brazil) and real rivals (EU and Japan) within 20 years, the US wants to get hold of the energy sources and reserves of the world bearing strategic importance. This explains why it wants to settle in the Middle East which has

²⁸ Arısoy, Ebru and Bayar, Dr. Güzin, Dünya Ekonomisi, <http://www.dtm.gov.tr/ead/ekonomi/sayi15/dunyaecon.doc> (10 January 2006).

been the heart of the old world throughout the history. Because the region called the Greater Middle East and stretching from Morocco to Indonesia in fact contains more than the 70% of the oil and natural gas reserves which are the most strategic energy sources. Of course just controlling oil and natural gas reserves is not enough for the PNAC of the US.

The US exerts a great effort to settle in Africa for various mine reserves that have vital importance for itself and the rest of the world. It has already 745 military bases in 120 countries. Nowadays, new bases are being added or the old ones are being reorganized. While the dependence of the US to oil is increasing, the dependence of Africa to raw material resources is increasing, too.

As a matter of fact, the Republic of Congo has the 50% of world's cobalt reserves²⁹ and 98% of the world's copper reserves are found in Zambia and South Africa. This latter country has also 90% percent of the platinum group of mines. An important percent of the uranium reserves is found in Africa. The veins that feed the new world are attached to the heart of the old world in Asia and Africa, especially in the Middle East.

The US wants to use the third world's strategically important natural resources (mines, oil, natural gas) against its rivals (especially EU, Japan and China) by getting hold of these sources. It wants to make the 21st century,

²⁹ Heist, Diamond, International Spotlight: Congo, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-adv/specialsales/spotlight/congo/diamond.html> (10 january 2006).

the century of the US and to this end, it wants to settle the ultimate controlling mechanism in the region.

1.2.2. Rebuilding the NATO

With the end of the Cold War, NATO found itself in a process of reconstruction. Views on Europe's establishing its own security institutions and NATO's completing its mission began to be discussed.

The events in Bosnia and Kosovo showed that Europe is unable to solve any problems, even those within Europe, without the aid of the US and NATO, and made us realize that the Balkans were the geo-politic heart of Eurasia. The US and Germany wants NATO and the US to expand towards the East and by this they want to balance Russia and reach to the Caucasus region from the North of the Black Sea.

Despite their common target, the US does not want Germany to be an effective force in Eurasia. Therefore, the existence of France is important for balancing Germany. Again Brzezinski says that; France-Poland cooperation may be able to balance Germany.³⁰ While the new position of the US in the Balkans increases its force of controlling the passages in Eurasia and east of the Mediterranean, to some extent, it limited the plans of Germany for establishing a movement space in the region. Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary's membership to NATO became an important step in this domination and in the strategy to balance Russia and Germany.

It can be said that one of the underlying causes of enlarging NATO with new members is to create a buffer zone between Germany and Russia and continue to secure Germany's support for NATO.³¹

Another aim of the US is to leap to the Caucasus region through enlarging the manoeuvring area of NATO and taking Russia under the common system for peace.

It is seen that the short-term plan of the US is to control the East Mediterranean and the Caucasus region by means of NATO, and the long-term plan is to reach to Asia Minor through Turkey by means of the passage that will be opened in the Caucasus region and to establish cooperation with the countries in this region.

This way, the US will have balanced China which is seen as a rival in the 21st century. It is known that Turkish-American alliance will gain importance for the newly independent countries, and the fact that China is in the opposite axis is also known.

When pieced together, we see that the US is trying to encircle China from three sides. The first one is, as we mentioned before, to gather Central Asian countries under NATO's umbrella. Thus, it will settle both in north and west of China and interfere with the oil passages and provoke the East Turkistan against China. The second one is, with the Missile-Shield contract made with

³⁰ Brzezinski, Zbigniew, (2005), *Büyük Satranç Tahtası*, İstanbul: İnkılap Kitapevi, p. 104.

³¹ Karsli, Muharrem, tc-ab-bab-abd-nato, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/1996/12/16/yazar/karsli.html> (11 January 2006).

Japan, to encircle China from its east side; and the third one is with the East Timor problem to encircle it from the South by means of the UN and Australia's military presence. This creates the possibility to interfere in China's destination for reaching to the oil in the Middle East. The military cooperation of the US with Taiwan is an extension of the policy to encircle China from the South. It is seen that the US will try to expand NATO towards Asia in the 21st century.

Japan, South Korea and Taiwan may participate in the NATO Defense in order to further their alliance with the US. The only fail of the US in this strategy is the center of attraction that is created by Russia, China and India.

If it is turned back to the short term plan, it is seen that the Mediterranean and North Africa have great importance. Among the duties that NATO has assumed in the new term, there is also the role of catalyzing the issues of the security of the Mediterranean and East Europe. We can claim that North Africa's stability has a big importance for Europe, but we cannot claim that Europe is able to show an act on this issue without the US and NATO.

In the period after the Cold War NATO redefined its strategic concept. The US wants to realize its global strategy by means of NATO by including such problems as apartheid, WMD, international terror and drug smuggling in the NATO concept.

In 1991, new threats were arranged in this order; ethnical conflicts, religious movements, border conflicts, religious and sectarian conflicts, spreading of WMD, mass migration, terrorism, sabotage, narcotic traffic.

These new matters were added to the matters in 1991 in the last NATO concept that was approved in 1999, in Washington: infringements of human rights, collapse of the political system, collapse of the state, unsuccessful reforms. When we consider all these matters we see that the excuses for interfering are many, for example the obscurity is apparent for the limits of the notions such as unsuccessful reforms or infringements of human rights. The US considers that NATO should assume extra duties and that NATO should decide on military acts without being bound by the UN rules. With this deterrence concept, which is based on bombing strategic points without causing widespread deaths and deep offensive operation concept which keeps in mind to collapse the defense system by attacking the targets that are very important and following it with a land attack, as it was the case in Yugoslavia?

One of the articles approved during the North Atlantic Council meeting in April 1999, with the title of the "New Strategic Concept" states the need for a strong and continuous partnership that should be settled between NATO and Russia in order to maintain the stability in the Europe-Atlantic region. Although the relations that became tense because of the criticism directed by the NATO against Russia for its attitude during the NATO operation in

Yugoslavia and for its intervention in Chechnya, began to normalize with the negotiations that Robertson –the general secretary of the NATO- made in Moscow, the period in which the cooperation program was applied for peace between NATO and Russia was left behind.

Ukraine’s special place in the security mechanism of European-Atlantic region is stressed in the new strategic concept. The importance of Ukraine’s independence and its disarmament from Nuclear Weapons are stressed. Although not stated clearly, Ukraine is important as a buffer zone between Europe and Russia. Anyway, there are new developments about the European Union’s (EU) inclusion of Ukraine in its enlargement process. When it’s looked at the next issue in the text of NATO, in this picture in which the Mediterranean is the special interest area of the EU and in which the security of the EU is based on Mediterranean’s security, the importance of the process of Mediterranean dialog of NATO is stated. When it’s taken into consideration why the Balkans, Ukraine, Asia Minor and the Mediterranean is the interest area of NATO in the 21st century, it’s understood why Turkey with its geopolitics which is in the middle of all these is very important for NATO, naturally the US.³²

The US reconstructed NATO by considering the process that can unfold in the new period of time. The importance of Turkey goes on as it has been

³² NATO’nun Akdeniz Diyalogu’nu Güçlendirmek, http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2003/issue1/turkish/art4_pr.html (11 January 2006).

included in this reconstruction. Although the US will again benefit from Turkey in terms of military bases, this time its alternatives are much more than in the Cold War period.

Europe began a geopolitical race with the US, in addition to the economic race, with the end of the Cold War. Although the foundation of the Western European Union (WEU) is understood by France as becoming independent from NATO, both the reluctance of NATO for allowing WEU to use its means and the realization that Europe will not be able to overcome Bosnia and Kosovo problems on itself, lead WEU to cooperate with NATO. While Turkey had the right to comment in the decision mechanism of WEU as a member of NATO, when WEU become bound by the EU with the Helsinki summit meeting, Turkey was excluded from the decision mechanisms of WEU since it is not bound by the EU.

Turkey brought up that if it is excluded from the decision mechanism of WEU, it will prevent NATO from using its military means when needed. Presently, it is still uncertain whether Turkey will participate in the EU's army that will be founded in the body of WEU till 2003, or not. This position of Turkey which attracted interest in the last assembly of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in Istanbul, is thought-provoking. Other members of NATO and OSCE developed a cooperation environment under the name of Partnership for Peace (PfP) in 1994 in Brussels. The Crisis of Kosovo played a catalyzing role in the development of

the relations of NATO and OSCE. It began to be thought that NATO-WEU cooperation will provide a real European security and a formation of defense identity. In the 1994 summit, it was decided to create a multi-national force, to say nothing of NATO's actual enlargement. Agreements have been concluded with more than 40 countries with the start of the PfP process. As it is seen, the US brings NATO towards the new power centers of the world. This process had been completed in a great amount before September 11, and the events in September 11 just catalyzed it.

1.2.3. New Defense or Attack Doctrine

The US-centered new world order approach, initiated by Bush Sn. in 1991³³ and supported with Prof. Fukuyama's thesis "the End of History", has been made the focus of the world's political atmosphere today by the Bush Jr. It has amply benefited from the process of September 11 on this subject. Legitimizing elements have been fabricated for the new sovereignty efforts. New concepts such as rogue state, pre-emptive strike and asymmetric war, which were devised before George W. Bush, created both the base for the formation of new perceptions about the threat and the rationale for removing the threat. In this scope, the national security or Bush Doctrine which is brought up in 2002 is the most large and arrogant document of the process in terms of the US. The most important feature of this document which points to an important change in the security and foreign policy parameters

of the US can be summed up as to eliminate the Truman doctrine that symbolized the cold war period.³⁴ According to this, the US's security and foreign policy strategy will not be based on policies of deterrence and isolation. Every entity or country which creates a potential threat and which is thought to cause problems will be made target by the help of the concept of pre-emptive strike; the US will be engaged in an attack even without a legitimizing base, and although the targets do not show any aggressive movement.

Indeed, in a speech made to the soldiers in West Point in June 2002, President Bush gave the first sign of the strategy of defining the threat in anticipation and destroying it without waiting its counter-movement. In the speech in which he declared that he authorized the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to carry out secret operations abroad, the President stressed that they will not wait for the act of the potential threat and added: "we should venture war with the enemy, destroy its plans and we should avoid its bad aims before they appear." By this, it seems that Bush tried to justify the right of First Strike.³⁵

The new strategy, declared on September 20th 2002 and changed the 50 years old policy of the US, in fact is seen as an answer for the perceptions of

³³ Cuddy, D.L., A Cronological History of the New World Order, http://www.constitution.org/col/cuddy_nwo.htm (12 January 2006).

³⁴ Petras, James, The Bush Doctrine: Unrestrained Empire Building, <http://www.rebellion.org/petras/english/petras280902.htm> (12 January 2006).

³⁵ President Bush Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/06/20020601-3.html> (12 January 2006).

asymmetric threat that appeared with September 11. It may be regarded as a confession that the billion dollars spent for defense, great armies, aircraft carriers and war planes were not enough to prevent the attacks carried out by using cheap methods. The main idea of the doctrine declared by Bush is, in fact, directed towards reversing this simple truth. Today, the means available to terrorists or Rogue States seem to be enough for only directing explosive-laden trucks, ships and planes to the targets. But tomorrow, the same elements of threat may destroy the US and its allies' profits by using WMD. So, the new strategy should be to destroy the elements of threat where it is, and before it moves. Here, lies the summary of the new doctrine of America.

This line of logic, which indicates that the doctrine declared by Bush is right in itself, seems plausible at first look. But it is possible that this policy may have serious obstacles, of course. First of all, such an approach makes potential threats a legitimate basis for war, instead of concrete evidence. For instance, declaring war by moving from the claim that the "country x may have chemical, biological or even nuclear weapons" threatens the system of the UN from its roots that was founded under the leadership of the US after the WW II. Although it has deficiencies, the UN system is participatory, it plays a role of arbitrator in international conflicts and prepares legitimizing bases for the parties with the principles that it adopted. Nevertheless, with the strategy that Bush declared the permission given by the UN Charter

which limits using unilateral force in order to defend itself is exceeded. The point that is meant here by exceeding the self-defense and legalizing attacking is that a possible threat turns into a more general doctrine.

That is, it indicates the emergence of a unilateral form that takes into consideration its own profits instead of a participatory system in which decisions are made in the framework of common values. In this situation in a world that all the rules are removed, every big player may develop a perception of threat for its own benefit and may act in order to prevent this. For example, Russia might invade Georgia with the excuse of the Pankisi Valley. China might invade Taiwan denying its claim to be an independent state. India might confront Pakistan, leading to a possible nuclear war, with the excuse that it supports the rebellious groups. Israel might attack Iran by claiming that "Shahap" missiles create a threat against itself. As a matter of fact, Israel made similar attacks in the past. By claiming that Egypt was preparing to declare war, Israel declared war to it in 1967. In a similar way, again Israel, saw the Osirak nuclear reactor that belongs to Iraq, as a threat to itself and destroyed the center with F-16s in 1981. It is useful to dwell on this attack. Israel claimed that Saddam Hussein was trying to develop a nuclear weapon and would use it against Israel, and based its the attack on the UN Charter's 51st Article that gives the right to "self-defense".³⁶

³⁶ Chapter VII Article 51, <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/chapter7.htm> (12 January 2006).

At that time, the public view was not in favour of Israel; because there was not concrete evidence showing that the center had a military purpose or was founded against a country. Moreover, peaceful nuclear reactors were approved by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). With this event, world public opinion had such a conviction that the pre-emptive strike policy applied by Israel in 1981 was a strategy that had a biased basis, and that it might damage international peace if it was approved legally because of its "fragile" nature. Because the country that is the subject to the attack may attack the aggressor country by using its right of self-defense and that exactly means "chaos". Does the US, who makes its strategies for long periods, not see this truth? The answer to this question should be searched in another part of the strategy document. It is appears that the US thinks that the permission of attacking any target whenever it wants, and without prior notification is a privilege specific to the US only. According to the document, after this, any other country will not be allowed to try to reach the level of arming that the US has.

Today the US's military budget is around 415 billion dollars. The total budget of NATO countries, Australia, Japan and South Korea was about 230 billion dollars in 2004. European countries spend totally 140 billion dollars annually. Russia's military budget is 60 billion dollars which has the second biggest budget after the US; and China's budget is around 42 billion dollars. As it is seen, the US has 6 times the budget of Russia, which follows it the

closest. The total military budgets of the countries that the US sees as enemies such as Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan and Syria is 15 billion dollars. The US has a 26 times bigger budget than the 7 enemy countries, in other words, governs a budget more than the military budgets of 25 countries after itself. The US's self-confidence lies in these numbers. The US, which widened the distance between itself and its rivals after the collapse of the Soviet Union, tries to tell that it will not give the right of first strike by showing his "muscles". Although the new strategy that Bush declared might include some truth in terms of its essence, it also includes dangerous elements that will create a chaos in the international system. Time will show, whether the US has started off by not accounting this possible chaos or the thing it wants is indeed this chaos itself.

CHAPTER 2

THE GREATER MIDDLE EAST PROJECT

This chapter will examine the real meaning of the Greater Middle East Project (GMEP) and the dynamics behind it. By examining this project, it will be attempted to understand the perception of world, fears and future dreams of the American administration, or of those who orient the American administration.

According to the project which entered the formal literature after making the first formal announcement in Al Hayat newspaper, published in Arabic in London, on 13 February 2004; the US wants to start a process such as Helsinki which supports introduction of democracy in Eastern Block and is preparing a document entitled "G8 and Greater Middle East Partnership" to be presented to the G8 summit which would meet in June 2004 to discuss this project.

The fact that the project was voiced during NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue in 1994, were the first signs that the material was ready long before September 11 and that the US administration has been preparing it for a long time. What are the military aims of including this project in NATO? What is its relationship with the "New World Order" which was pronounced by Bush Sn. on September 11, 1990?

What the project exactly is still remains unexplained, and this has led to incessant speculations. Is the reason behind it a partnership and support for the project in the West or are there any other aspects which are kept secret by the US administration. Maybe both of the possibilities are valid, although it is generally accepted that the US is the most powerful country, the cost of this project which claims to change a big geography such as the Middle East cannot be regarded as too small. Time will show the shape of the region and the effect to the rest of the world at the end of the project. Collecting of information and evaluations on time will give an idea about the future of international politics.

2.1 The Greater Middle East Project and Its Boundaries

2.1.1. Emergence of the Project

The GMEP did not emerge after the events of September 11, contrary to the assumptions. The academic usage of the Greater Middle East concept to include the newly independent Central Asian and Caucasian countries together with the classical Middle East is encountered in the middle of 1990's.

At that time, NATO has been expanding to East Europe and the alliance under the frame of "Partnership for Peace" (PfP) program has been extended to include Caucasia and Central Asia.³⁷ The efforts to carry the GMEP to political plane have been started in 2000. However, it has been put in front

of people concretely with the proposal by the US titled as the Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative, at the G8 summit.³⁸ The first concrete information about the GMEP has been taken part the number of dated 13 February 2004 of Al Hayat newspaper which published in Arabic in London.³⁹ However, without doubt, the most important milestone in GMEP was the article titled "The Neo-Liberal Take on the Middle East", published in Washington Post on 23 July 2003, written by Ronald Asmus, who defended the Neo-Liberal idea against Neo-Conservatives who prevailed on the foreign politics of the US during Bush period, and by Kenneth Pollack. According to the article: eliminating the threats in the Middle East can only be possible with a long-term effort and contented project. The Middle East cannot be converted with the means and efforts proposed by the neo-conservatives, but it can only be possible by cooperating with European allies and with a contented project which includes economical, social, cultural and political aspects.⁴⁰ In fact it has been like that, we can see if we look at the politics of England of its heiress. Lord Salisbury has talked about sharing in the Middle East in 1881 like that: If there are an ally of yours which intends to take hand to the country which you had coveted, you can have three ways;

³⁷ NATO Partnership for Peace, <http://www.nato.int/issues/pfp/index.html> (26 January 2006).

³⁸ G8 Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative, <http://usinfo.state.gov/ei/Archive/2004/Jun/09-319840.html> (26 January 2006).

³⁹ G-8 Greater Middle East Partnership, <http://english.daralhayat.com/Spec/02-2004/Article-20040213-ac40bdaf-c0a8-01ed-004e-5e7ac897d678/story.html> (26 January 2006).

⁴⁰ Asmus, Ronald D. and Pollack, Kenneth M., The Neoliberal Take on the Middle East, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A26009-2003Jul21?language=printer>

to abandon, to seize or to share. To abandon would be settled down French in the Middle of our way to India. So, we decided to share.⁴¹

NATO which is established to protect Europe once was the economical area of the US, against Soviets has been shifted to the Greater Middle East which is now the new economical area of the US. The main reason of exhibiting a more sharing approach by Neo-Liberals as different from the Neo-Conservatives is that they believe the US will reach the success by the way of agreement with older allies, of course under the leadership of the US.

"According to the democracy understanding of America; to mean to be democracy in a place with technical meaning, it means that the profits of the US investments are under protect. There is not democracy in technical meaning where tomorrow of capital unsure."⁴²

2.1.2. September 11: The Day the World Changed

The attacks to Twin Towers of the World Trade Center which is the south of Manhattan and the Ministry of Defense (Pentagon) with passenger aircrafts, still maintains its actuality in American public opinion. Domestic flight, United Airlines and American Airlines, aircrafts has been used by well-trained master hijacker "Kamikaze" pilots at the September 11 terror demolishment. The first (the North Tower) of the 110 stores skyscraper of Twin Towers was hit with loaded fuel at 08:48 with local time in September

(26 January 2006).

⁴¹ Said, Edward W.,(2004), *Şarkiyatçılık*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, p. 51.

⁴² Chomsky, Noam, (2002), *Terörizm Kültürü*, İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, p. 144.

11's morning, from 80th store's level, hijacked by Mohammad Atta and Marwan Al Shehhi. Second aircraft crashed to the second South Tower after 18 minutes at 09:06. American Airlines aircraft which has taken off at 07:59 to go to Los Angeles from Boston was used to demolish the South Towers with hijacking by the air pirates. At that time, TV cameras which have already entered the broadcasting, they broadcast the event lively to the world. Although North Tower collapsed like a sandcastle in an hour and fifty minutes with melting the elements of steel framework, the other skyscraper which was hit by Boeing Aircraft, collapsed more quickly, in forty nine minutes, because it was perforated from down floors at the level about 60th store. The other American Airlines aircraft which was taken off from Washington Dulles airport, hijacked by the third terrorist group which had knives and cardboard cutters in their hands.

Two (F16) military aircrafts took off from Langley air base, but the planes arrived to the event place, the other plane pierced to Pentagon building with a very speedy way. Nightmare had not ended just. Hijacked aircraft has taken off from Newark airport of New York to go to San Francisco, had appeared with phoning the relatives of the passengers in the plane. The aim of this aircraft was Andrews Airbase near Washington and at the hours of arriving of plane there, it was determined that the President's aircraft Air Force 1, which would bring George Bush from Florida, would land at the same base. Timing of the pirates was perfect and they were aiming to crash

the aircraft of President Bush with their hijacked aircraft certainly. However, with the intervention to pirates of passengers in the hijacked aircraft did not reach the target and fell the open land near Stony Creek town 130 km far from the Pennsylvania state, Pittsburg city at 10:10 with local time.

The events which changed the world happened like that in the morning of 11 September 2001, of course, according to the US officials. Oddness which was lived at the time of events had paid attention to everybody who thought a little. However, the TV broadcasting which were guided by American channels, were explaining everything as a way of not leaving any doubt in minds. Incoherent information, living misfortunes were commented as mistakes which were happened because of hurry at the time of event by administration and thought absent the opposite claims. Behaviours which were exhibited by the US administration against happening events at that day and especially the way of taking in hand of President Bush had left question mark in minds. 911 Rescue team with which they gave message that they were always ready to urgent situations or were not behaving as American films in which they had rescued the world.

It seemed to be administered as if a hand had been out of session from back of curtains. This situation was such a kind of thing that it is to be said by master journalist Yasemin Çongar who had watched American Politics from Washington long term: "Pentagon is administering the US. Even

Defense Ministry Colin Powell was outside of the event. They had already retired him at the second term of President Bush.⁴³

Before going out fire of events, American hawks had already determined their targets.⁴⁴ After this, the first target was home of terror Afghanistan. There were not any importance of making objections to events at the other days; the information about some of lists of terrorist: living,⁴⁵ did not surprise much the "hawks", because it was only a list mistake. As old CIA manager James Woolsey said; "the fourth world war has started which would continue at least 15, 20 years",⁴⁶ there was not importance of these kinds of mistakes.

Everybody remembers the image of the aircrafts which crash the Twin Towers, but there is a Pentagon dimension of events which were lived in September 11, or the aircraft which is claimed to crash Pentagon. People asked where the aircraft was and why it was not seen at the wreck. In the first explanations, it was claimed that Pentagon was hit by aircraft.⁴⁷ What a chance that it had hit to the bottom of the part under renovation and there was not nearly anybody.⁴⁸ At that situation, attack was a "wonderful gift" for

⁴³ Çongar, Yasemin, ABD mi, PBD mi?, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2002/08/19/yazar/congar.html> (28 January 2006).

⁴⁴ Rebuilding Americas Defenses, op.cit., p. 75.

⁴⁵ Hijack 'Suspects' Alive and Well, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1559151.stm (28 January 2006).

⁴⁶ Woolsey, James, At War for Freedom, <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,6903,1001642,00.html> (28 January 2006).

⁴⁷ Quigley, Samantha L., Anniversry of Attack Poignant for Renovation Manager, http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Sep2005/20050909_2670.html (28 January 2006).

⁴⁸ Pentagon Hit by Aircraft, Section of Building Gives Way,

Pentagon renovation manager. Every,⁴⁹ but some how, Armed Forces Institute of Pathology used with mastery method of personal identity stabilization with DNA, in any case to define the identification of Pentagon victims.⁵⁰ The doubts were correct at the end and Minister of Defense Donald Rumsfeld confessed the thing which hit Pentagon was not an aircraft, it was a missile.⁵¹

While these events were happening and all over the world were watching this event as a Hollywood Film, a person raised his voice against it. Lyndon La Rouché who was the long term senator of democrat party, said that the attack was an inside-job at a radio program in which he become guest at that day.⁵² That was not all he had informed the members of the General Assembly of the UN about approaching war two months before the attacks. According to his claim, America was in a financial crisis and should declare a war to adjust this. If it was thought that wars were generally become in the month of August, there was very short time to a new war.⁵³

http://renovation.pentagon.mil/Phoenix/Press%20Archive/01-09-11_cnn_pentagon.htm (28 January 2006).

⁴⁹ DoD News Briefing on Pentagon Renovation, http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2001/t09152001_t915evey.html (28 January 2006).

⁵⁰ Christopher, C. Kelly, Forensic Feat IDs Nearly All Pentagon Victims, http://www.dcmilitary.com/army/stripe/6_48/national_news/12279-1.html (28 January 2006).

⁵¹ Secretary Rumsfeld Interview with Parade Magazine, http://www.defenselink.mil/transcripts/2001/t11182001_t1012pm.html (28 January 2006).

⁵² LaRouché Discusses the Sept. 11 Attack As It Unfolds, http://www.larouchepub.com/pr_lar/2001/010911stockwell.html (28 January 2006).

⁵³ LaRouché Speaks on Surviving the Global Financial Crash, http://www.larouchepub.com/lar/2001/2829_webcast_opening.html (28 January 2006).

2.1.3. The Geography of the Greater Middle East

"Eurasia which became the central of the world approximately five century ago, with starting to affect of continents as politics has been the center of the world power. The people who lived in Eurasia, have influenced and have been sovereign to the other regions of the world at different shapes and times, at this process, each of the Eurasian countries which reached to this special position have been enjoyed pleasure to be the leading power of the world. The first time in history, a power which is not from Eurasia not only has become leading power relationship of Eurasia but also appeared as the unique power of the world."⁵⁴ The US did not want to lose the leadership to anyone, as Rome did in the Middle Age. At that time, Rome was so big and powerful that its expansion and its military expenditures had already started to constrain it. Rome supposed itself invincible, but one day a force, leaded by Attila the Hun, stopped Rome. The US wants to bar the way of potential rivals in the future before losing its power. So, America should obtain Eurasia which is a geopolitics reward. The continuity of the global superiority of the US directly depends on how long it will take and how effective it will be to establish its sovereignty on the Eurasia continent.⁵⁵

A region of the Eurasia terrain is politically anarchic, but rich in energy. This is the place both east and west countries give importance. Brzezinski

⁵⁴ Brzezinski, *introduction*, op.cit., p. 13.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 51.

defines it as South Eurasia, the region mentioned here is the Greater Middle East, or the key point of Eurasia.⁵⁶

Before and after September 11, some political and military developments had happened which determined the corner stones of this geography, that deserves to be examined briefly.

Yugoslavia, once the leader country in the Non-Aligned Movement, disintegrated after a bloody civil war. Federations of the country established by Tito after the WW II had fought with each other several times in history. In Yugoslavia, established as six federations, there were two autonomous regions. We can cite the increasing nationalism as the reason for the alarm signs given by political commentators. It always worked in that way during the history; nationalism had been on ascent before something happened in this century.

We can show 28 June 1989 as the date of jumping the nationalism in Yugoslavia. Nearly a million Serbian met in Gazimestan in which the war had been made, with the cause of the 600th Anniversary of the 1st Kosovo war. Slobodan Milosevic, who called to mass, showed his muscles to the other Republics of Yugoslavia. Serbian Democrat Party under the leadership of Radovan Karadzic, announced the Serbian Autonomy Regions in Bosnia two years later. The entities of Bosnia-Herzegovina started to lose control of some parts of country partially, with this event. At once, parliaments of

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 56.

Croatia and Slovenia announced their independence formally which would cause the war. And then, Yugoslavian National Army was the common army of the country once, turned to Serbian army in a short time, attacked firstly to Slovenia in 27 June and then to Croatia. Serbians started to bomb the historical city of Dubrovnik in Croatia in 8 October.

This city was very important in some points in the war. Dubrovnik was an important point for reaching energy to Hamburg industrial city of Germany from the Mediterranean. Germany has been supporting the independence of Croatia particularly for that reason. However, the war expanded to Bosnia, which did not receive the same support. A humanity drama was lived in the center of Europe. Europe which wanted to act independently of the US and tried to establish its own army, gave a very bad exam in this war. In fact, Kohl government attempted to try the power of "New Germany" between 1989-1992 years and started the "Special Balkan Politics of Germany". Germany which recognized Slovenia and Croatia as independent countries without consulting any ally, had forced to its borders.

The pressures from the Western allies, rather than the domestic reactions, caused an interruption in the "Special Balkan Politics of Germany" attempted to be launched by the Kohl Government. In fact, it was a clear message from the US to Germany: "If you declare war in the Middle of Europe, peace can

be provided only by my intervention and the war will continue with my permission.”⁵⁷

The old Yugoslavia war, which was ended with the Dayton ceasefire agreement, is ready to resume at any moment, and this makes it easy to intervene to this region for the US. So, military bases had been constructed in this region, because the Balkans are a weak point of Europe. “the Western Europe is the common market now, but it is still very far to be the only political existence. Political Europe is still happening. Crisis in Bosnia, if there was anyone who needed to prove still, it has been the evidence of painful weakness of Europe. The tragic truth is that, Western Europe and gradually Middle Europe are under protection of America as reminding of the old subjects and colonists.”⁵⁸

The problem of Afghanistan, which is known as the graveyard of empires goes back to very old time before the Soviet occupation in 1979. It was the outermost point in the Wohlstetter doctrine which was constructed during Cento years and named as “The Green Belt.” Afghanistan had always had an important place in history. It can be seen as a country situated deeply into mountains, but it has very much importance with the reason of being a geographical transition point. Western countries discovered power which lies in obtaining Afghanistan, wanted to have it absolutely. Because having Afghanistan means to control China in the east, Russia and Central Asian

⁵⁷ Mütercimler, Erol, (2000), *21. Yüzyıl ve Türkiye*, İstanbul: Güncel Yayıncılık, p. 251.

Turkic Republics in the north, Iran and the Middle East in the west, and India and Indian Ocean in the south. Moreover, empires or states which wanted to be in Central Asia and Indian Peninsula during the first period of history absolutely wanted obtain Afghanistan.

In 1978 before the occupation of the Soviet Union, it has been staged struggle between two super powers with becoming the leader of Marxist Mohammed Teraki with a military coup. One of the most important results of the end of the Cold War in 1989 was the end of the Soviet occupation. A long civil war ensued in Afghanistan, and during that period there was no foreign intervention, as if everyone had silently agreed. Everything changed with September 11, Afghanistan which was the symbol of resistance against the Soviet Union, was the country of Mujahids once upon a time, had been the shelter of terrorist within one day. Bin Laden was started to look for in the mountains with air bombardment and such logic as hunting criminals in cowboy films.

At that time the strange thing was to make Afghanistan operations with partnership of Russia. The US's forces were from south and air, Northern Alliance supported with Russian weapons from north.⁵⁹

America and Russia established cooperation under the name of struggle

⁵⁸ Brzezinski, op. cit., p. 90.

⁵⁹ Beriş, Yakup and Aslı, Gürkan, Türk Amerikan İlişkilerine Bakış, p. 23, http://www.tusiad.us/Content/uploaded/TURKIYE-ABD_ILISKILERI-UPDATE2.PDF (29 January 2006).

with terrorism.⁶⁰ After the invasion, continuity in Afghanistan is secured, of course, by NATO.⁶¹ Because here is the support point of Eurasia. If we want to circle Eurasia on a world map, we have to put needle of the compass to the middle of Afghanistan. Boundary lines of Afghanistan define the heart of Eurasia. It is a geography in which roads are both cut across and separated. With intervention of America after September 11, the forgotten eastern boundary of the Middle East was remembered with Afghanistan operation.⁶²

The other important point in the Greater Middle East is Iraq. Iraq problem started firstly with the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait in 1990. Iraqi army occupied it in a night as the example of 1980 in Iran, with sudden attack in the morning of August 2nd. That this event had happened after the end of the Cold War is also very strange. After starting the occupation, the voice of the US administration was raised, Iraq seemed to be on the opposite front, which had been supported against Iran during the Cold War period. In fact, the first Gulf War had been a very good pretext to settle down to here for the US military. Iraq was occupied once more at the end of the embargo for twelve years and weapon inspection, with the pretext of having WMD and would attack to America.

The most important reason why Iraq remained unchanged during that

⁶⁰ Russian–American Relations to Undergo Serious Changes, <http://english.pravda.ru/world/2001/09/21/15847.html> (29 January 2006).

⁶¹ NATO in Afghanistan, <http://www.nato.int/issues/afghanistan/> (29 January 2006).

⁶² Aras, Bülent, (2004), *Küresel Dönüşüm Radikal Yaklaşımlar*, İstanbul: Q Matris, p. 94.

time was the desire for putting it against Iran. However, Iraq problem was done in a little hurry after September 11, there was the support of the UN in 1990 as Saddam was seemed as aggressor, but not today. As the example of Taliban, Saddam has been an ally when fighting against Iran, but now he is a cruel dictator. In fact, the main target is to cancel the oil agreements with the firms of Russia, China and France made during Saddam period and to force by importunity of The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) while sitting on Iraqi oil land and to be able to threaten the other oil producer countries one by one. Do not forget that Russian oil company Lukoil had concluded agreements with Iraq before Iraq war and Chinese state-owned firm was about to conclude an agreement a few months before the war. The importance of oil in this war is admitted by everyone. Although Iraq seems to have the second biggest reserve after Saudi Arabia, with a lot of unexplored regions, it has likely the biggest reserves.⁶³

This region gains importance because of the density of powerful states in respect of military and economy, around the region. America thinks that if the US keeps the countries of the region under control by establishing political and military power in this region, it will be the leader of the world. So, the US wants to be dominant in this region. It wants to block the road of

⁶³ Maugeri, Leonardo, the Virgin Oilfields of Iraq, <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/5305462/site/newsweek/> (29 January 2006).

its political and economic rivals,⁶⁴ in this region with revolutions bearing strange adjectives. If you have military presence in a place, you can have economic and political influence there, too.⁶⁵ The expenditure of the US for taking up arms and wars are more than the total military expenditure of ten countries after it. For example: the US allocated 329,1 billion dollar to war technology in 2002, this number was 65 billion in Russia, 47 billion in China, 40,3 billion in Japan, 35,4 billion in England, 33,6 billion in France and 27,5 billion dollar in Germany. Furthermore, defense expenditures of the US has risen to 360 billion dollar with the Iraq war. American oil and weapon monopolies were waiting for a long time for their turn of precipitating in the market to increase their profits. It is clear that this is not limited to Iraq. The problem of America is not only oil (or generally resources), it is to concentrate its global hegemony by using its military superiority, and blocking the road of its potential rivals. For example; the US both had five new bases in the countries in which it could not enter until now, and started to follow China and took place Central Asian oil and natural gas resources, with Afghanistan war. Afghanistan and Iraq wars were the first steps of a strategy which was occurred one in to another military, economic and geopolitical elements. The target pointed by Bush and Rice signals the permanent nature of the strategy and the steps that will follow. To implement this strategy successfully, will mean two meanings to the

⁶⁴ Kaynak, Mahir and Gürses, Emin, (2004), *Büyük Ortadoğu Projesi*, İstanbul: İlk yayınları, p. 14.

overwhelming majority of world population; new wars on the one side, ruthless implementation of Neo-Liberal economic policies all over the world on the other side.

2.1.4 Israel's Security

Although the Jewish population in the Middle East dates back to the past, the actual Jewish migration to the area began with 1917 Balfour Declaration.⁶⁶ There was a great increase in the Jewish population in the period beginning with the statement of English Minister of Foreign Affairs that English Government would support the attempt of establishing a "homeland" for Jews in Palestine and up to the WW II. Events ending up with the foundation of an independent State of Israel unfolded with the demands of the Zionists and with the support of "Entente Powers" of World War I for this declaration. France declared its support in February 1918 and soon Italy was to follow. With the San Remo Conference held after the end of WW I, Palestine was left to English "mandate" and a lot of Jewish settlement areas were established.⁶⁷ 16,500 Jewish people decided to migrate to Palestine in September 1920. Jewish population in Palestine reached to 900,000 in 1934 due to the illegal migrations quickened with the

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 104.

⁶⁶ The Balfour Declaration, [http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace Process/Guide to the Peace Process/The Balfour Declaration](http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace%20Process/Guide%20to%20the%20Peace%20Process/The%20Balfour%20Declaration) (14 February 2006).

⁶⁷ The San Remo Conference, 1920, http://www.jewishnetwork.com/w/jewishnetwork_com/israel/020522_sanremo.asp (14 February 2006).

accede of Nazis. Uneducated Arabs without capitals could not compete with educated Jews with capitals, and consequently, within a short time, Arabs became second-class citizens in their own country. This created a conflict between the Arabs and Jews. Arab leaders gathered in 1936 and established the Arabic High Committee which would lead the struggle against Jews and turn the general strike to a national riot. After the riot, an English commission went to Palestine and issued the Peel Report which was suggesting that there was no way of living together for Jews and Arabs in the same state and that Palestine had to be split.⁶⁸ This report caused the Arab riot becoming more violent. When English mandatory government over Palestinian lands ended after WW II, the issue was forwarded to the UN. The General Assembly of UN approved splitting the Palestine lands between Arabs and Jews and an international status was accorded to Jerusalem in 1947. With the "Resolution 181", the establishment of a Jewish country within Palestine was approved.⁶⁹ On 14 May 1948, it was declared that the independent State of Israel was founded. The control passed to Jews after English mandatory soldiers receded; Arabs call this day – full control by Israel on 15 May - as "Cataclysm" – Al Nakba disaster day.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ The Peel Commission Report,
<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/peel1.html> (14 February 2006).

⁶⁹ Resolution 181 Future Government of Palestine,
<http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/7f0af2bd897689b785256c330061d253?OpenDocument>
(21 January 2006).

⁷⁰ 1948 – İsrail'in Kuruluşu,
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkish/ortadogu/1948.shtml> (14 February 2006).

Some wars between Israel and the Arab countries followed the foundation of the Israeli state. Most important of them are 1948-1949, 1956, 1967, 1973 and 1982 wars.⁷¹ Jews, who got a "national homeland" promise in Palestine with Balfour Declaration, enhanced their pressure on this country when the area was occupied by England at the end of WW I. Jewish migration during mandatory government helped Jewish population grow in Palestine. When General Assembly of the UN declared a resolution about constituting two states within Palestine, an Arab state and a Jewish state, the first Arab-Israel war began. Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq attacked this country. After one year, Israel reached to borders known as internationally by doubling its lands. The second war started after a crisis was born as a result of the declaration by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1956 July that the Suez Canal was nationalized. England and France notified that they did not approve Egypt's declaration. When there was no result in the conference held in London in October, England and France cooperated with Israel, and Israeli forces began to invade the Sinai Peninsula at the end of October.⁷² But they were obliged to declare armistice by the pressures of the US and the Soviet Union and began to withdraw its forces on 6 November. However, English and French paratrooper forces were landed when the fights ended. After the war, UN Force was deployed on

⁷¹ Israel Wars,
http://www.unitedjerusalem.com/HISTORICAL_PERSPECTIVES/Israel_Wars_Maps___History/israel_wars_maps___history.asp (14 February 2006).

⁷² The Suez War of 1956,
http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/Suez_War.html (14 February 2006).

Egypt-Israel border and Israel gained an entrance to Akabe Gulf. Gamel Abdel Nasser requested UN Force to leave in 1967 and began to prevent Israeli vessels entering Akabe Gulf. Before it, there were some skirmishes in Israel-Syria border. In order to prevent sudden attacks of Arab countries which were powerful than it, Israel decided to perform the first attack. On June 5th, the attack of Israeli Air Forces to bases of Egyptian Air Forces lasted 6 days and called as "Six-Day War". At the end of this war, Israel took Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula from Egypt and west side of Jordan River from Jordan and Golan Heights from Syria.⁷³ Six-Day War caused great anger among Arab states. Diplomatic attempts resulted with the decline of giving back the lands occupied by Israel. Thus, Egypt and Syria performed a coordinated surprise attack in Yom Kippur which was the holy month of Jews in October 1973. Israel had to leave Golan and Sinai at the beginning but at the end of the second week, took back Golan Heights and repulsed Egypt forces. Invincibility myth of Israel was shaken with this war. Israel bombed Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) camps in Beirut and South Lebanon after the crisis between Israel and PLO on June 5th 1982. Israeli forces occupied the south of Lebanon and went forward to the slum quarters of Beirut. Palestinian refugees within the city were sent to refugee camps. After withdrawing from the city, Israel occupied Beirut on 14th September again. Falanjist guerrillas supported by Israel killed hundreds of Palestinian refugees

⁷³ Six-Day War,
<http://i-cias.com/e.o/sixdaywr.htm> (14 February 2006).

by entering to Sabra and Shatilla camps on 16th September.⁷⁴ All these fervent conflicts, that are uprising movement against Israel look like civil war, have kept Israel under pressure since it was founded and forced it to find a solution for relief. Finally Israel which tries to get away from its disputed neighbours in many ways made a serious cooperation with Turkey with the agreement reported in 1996.

The relations between Turkey and Israel began just after the foundation of Israel. In the beginning, Turkey was on the side of Arab countries due to the anxiety about the Soviet Union. Then, Turkey, with the help of the West and because of the indifference of Ankara against Arabs countries, joined the first countries that recognized Israel. The strategic cooperation between two countries reached its climax in the second half of the 1950s. The two countries became involved in a secret alliance directed to stop Iran and Arab nationalism on the one hand, and Soviet's influence in the region on the other hand. Nevertheless, commercial relations were improved. The new Middle East policy of Turkey started in 1960s took shape in 1970s. Turkey, with the new policy, showed close interest for the Palestinians on Palestinian problem.

The implementation of this policy resulted in Turkey's disagreement of gaining land by using weapons during Arab-Israel war in 1967; not allowing

⁷⁴ The Massacre of Sabra and Shatila Camps, <http://www.palestinehistory.com/mass05.htm> (14 February 2006).

Israel to use NATO bases and voting in favour of Palestine in the UN. Within this context, Turkey developed commercial affairs with Arab countries and cancelled the commercial agreement concluded with Israel in April 1969. The affairs that began secretly in the beginning of Prime Minister Menderes period weakened because of the insufficient support of Israel for the Cyprus question. The affairs began to change with Ozal's new political and economic attempts in the Middle East. Turkey tried to find new solutions because of the terror aroused after the 1991 Gulf war, insufficient support of Arab states for Turkey's struggle against terrorism and the criticism against Turkey for the water problem with Syria. The crisis with Greece caused them almost fight. Turkey began to get closer with Israel in order to get rid of all these problems, to strengthen the military and intelligence and most of all, to get the support of the strong Jewish lobby in America.⁷⁵ In the beginning, getting closer was just militarily and in secret. Even military agreement was heard in Turkey after its announcement by the Israeli media.⁷⁶ The agreement that was said to comprise only military education and cooperation, was also extended to the economy by the mutual visits of Turkish and Israeli authorities lasting for months.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Findley, Paul, (2000), *ABD'de İsrail Lobisi*, İstanbul: Pinar Yayınları

⁷⁶ Turkey and Israel to Cooperate on Security,
<http://www.jinsa.org/articles/articles.html/function/view/categoryid/102/documentid/281/history/3,2360,102,281> (14 February 2006).

⁷⁷ Türkiye-İsrail Serbest Ticaret Anlaşması,
<http://www.dtm.gov.tr/AB/sta/israil/israil.htm> (14 February 2006).

There was another reason behind the military and commercial agreements with Turkey. Israel which is surrounded by hostile countries, wants to get water and oil by the same way. Israel covers most of its current water needs from Lake Galilee. However, the control of Litany River which is poured down to the Lake Galilee is not in the hand of Israel. There are not enough water resources in Israel. If the global warm and draught are taken into consideration, it is obvious that the need for water in Israel will increase. The international researches support this conclusion as well; the most important reason for the wars made by Israel in the Middle East is water, with the climatic change, this danger may spread to the whole Middle East.⁷⁸ For that purpose, Israel has a water bargain with Turkey for long years. Although it is said that the Manavgat water project was cancelled due to its price, it seems so hard for Israel to break off Turkey which has the most quality drinking water. Israel, with different alternatives for water and for increasing the agricultural production, wants to work on GAP with Turkey. Israel wants to develop close cooperation with Turkey in order to get the agricultural areas and go beyond the crisis caused by its home politics, all these workings and the formal call to visit are evaluated as "A New Road Map" for Israel.⁷⁹ The other reason why Israel shows close interest to Turkey is the project of Baku-Ceyhan oil pipeline. After the tension with Arabs and the oil crisis in

⁷⁸ Su Vakfi, BM 38 Yıl Sonraki Tehlikeye Dikkat Çekti, <http://www.suvakfi.org.tr/sudosyalari/uluslararasisu/susavaslari.htm> (23 January 2006).

⁷⁹ Kohen, Sami, Bir Başka Yol Haritası, <http://www.milliyet.com/2003/07/10/yazar/kohen.html> (15 February 2006).

1973 war and afterwards, Israel was hard up with energy. Although Israel meets most of its electricity need from coal and nuclear energy in its country, there is not enough uranium and quality coal resources. Israel meets its oil need from distant places such as Mexico, Norway and West Africa now. With the completion of Baku-Ceyhan project, the energy need will be met by oil from the states of Middle East and Mediterranean.

The increasing of states included in the Middle East equation by the GMEP is to the advantage of Israel in the long run. This way, Israel will meet with other nations apart from Arabs for its water and energy needs. Israel which thinks that it was always surrounded by Arabs wants to develop the relations with Middle East states with this project. It takes the advantage of long term solution of energy problem in addition to provide short term political solution. The American support behind the project makes the Israel support necessary. For the policies on the region is the same since the foundation of Israel. The strict attitude of Ariel Sharon in domestic policy isolated Israel from the international arena in recent years. The interference of America called as against "Islamic Terror" forms a manoeuvre area for Israel and helps it get rid of being alone. Israel which is always under political pressure is a candidate to become the most important supporter of political and economical change in the Middle East. Peace gained by the help of America in the Middle East will make Israel relaxed.

2.2 World Economic Balances and Financial Movements

2.2.1. Pax-Americana

The US was the only power at the end of the WW II. Two World Empires were destroyed and both England and France became wretched after the war. Big cities of the Germany were razed and its economy was collapsed. Russia suffered casualties and faced with hunger and misery. The situation of Japan was not so different from them. The industry of the US, which was the only big country that did not saw any attack on its territory during the war, was improved and got richer. The US helped the countries which were damaged in the war through programmes such as Marshall Aid, Truman doctrine. It founded and financed the UN. San Francisco Conference was held in their lands and they encouraged other countries to sign the international human right declaration. They used first atom weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki but this inhuman behaviour was tolerated. Nobody was denying that the US was the biggest army of the world. The US had a gold reserve about 20 billion dollars in the years after the war. With the Bretton Woods Agreement, world currencies were bound on dollar which had a safe gold base. The World Bank was opening new markets to American industry by means of credits for reconstruction objectives. 40% of the world trade was under the command of America. They were stipulating some indebted countries to remove their customs control and with these stipulations, the exportation of the US increased. The US established military

bases all over the world and made bilateral agreements at the same time. There was no area the US did not go, except for the Soviet domination area. The US was a military giant even back in 1945. The US was the only country who had the atom weapon until 1949. American leadership was instituted and it was called as Pax-Americana. Anyway, the US was not the only powerful country in the world. Its domination had limitations because the Soviet Union, which was the second armed powerful in the world, was establishing its own domination area. We could say that the world in 1940s was bipolar. It is called as the Cold War period. It was a strategic, economic and ideological war. The conflict continued until 1989 in which the war actually ended and left its place to Pax-Americana. As seen in the Gulf War in 1991, there was no obligation to consult to the UN.

Though the superiority of the US was in weapons; it had also a great economic power. This situation, established with Bretton-Woods agreement, continued until 1971. Bretton-Woods is a small town of America famous with its beautiful nature. An international meeting was held in this town in 1944 which was very important in respect of the future life of people and a financial system called as Bretton Woods system born after this meeting. Somehow, the discussion agenda of this meeting are not examined in Turkey. It was supposed that the thesis of England and the US would clash in this conference. But the plan of Mr. White the Finance Minister and American delegate was accepted. J. Maynard Keynes who was in charge of

England Delegation could not be effective at the conference despite his great fame. Churchill the Prime Minister of England states this situation as follows: "Of course it would happen as they declared because they had a great army three times more than us in the front."

With the agreement of Bretton Woods signed in 1944, it was provided that all currencies were bound on a constant rate against the gold and the gold was bound on a constant amount of dollar so the dollar became a world currency. With the end of the war, the US began to give great trade surplus as a result of its powerful economy. Bretton Woods was a general fixed rate system which was designed to facilitate the international trade as a reaction against the protectionism of 1930s. Thus, rates wouldn't be allowed to float and this would make the trade generally less risky. As long as the gold and the dollar of the world were almost only in the US, it was representing the institutionalization of the hegemony of America. Organizations such as International Monetary Fund , World Bank and The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (which would become World Trade Organization -WTO) which are very famous today were constituted as products of the Bretton Woods negotiations in order to arrange not only the rate systems but also various aspects of world economy. With such an enormous economical superiority, the US has established its political and military hegemony upon the rest of capitalist world inevitably. In this period, Europe was considered as "substantially an American protectorate".

As to the Bretton Woods system, the value of US dollar was fixed as 1 ounce gold equalling 35 US dollar and this was making the US dollar the reserve currency. Central banks of the world began to save dollar in equal value of gold in order to facilitate the international trade. The greatest convenience to constitute this system was the Soviet fear. Countries gathered around America due to the Soviet threat. Here is how the system worked; America was writing the values on to the papers and took goods from other countries, the countries who took dollar performed their trade among them or saved in central banks for emergency. On the other hand, world economies were developing unequally even though all of them showed a great improvement speed in the period after war, but they didn't improve at the same speed. Germany and Japan who stood up with the support of the US developed more quickly and dynamically than the US within this period. The share of the US in the world production decreased continuously. The share which was 57% in 1945 regressed to 40% in 1950 and regressed to 20% 30 years later in the beginning of government of Reagan. This means that share of the US was reduced three times within a relatively short period. The same situation can be seen in the import and export balance. While the US was giving trade surpluses about 34.2 % of its imports in the early 1950s, this rate became -6.3 % in 1974/76 for the first time and it has reached such an enormous figure as -40.1% in 1985/87 period by increasing every year; this deficit barely regressed to 28% in 1988/89. In contrast with these shares, especially the productions and shares in trade of Germany and

Japan continuously increased in the same period. Here is the situation in gold reserves which is the most important reason of taking dollar as a base; while the share of the US in gold stocks of the world was 65% in 1950, it decreased to 23% in 1973.⁸⁰ Thus, the hegemony period of the US undermined its hegemony at the same time. This corrosion process resulted in ending the absolute economical hegemony of the US in the first half of 70s. President Nixon had to declare that he had removed the gold-dollar standard in 1971. The dissolution of Bretton Woods system by the US was a symbolic declaration of the end of American absolute financial hegemony.

2.2.2. Alteration within the World Financial Movements

There were some companies which were selling goods to colonial countries while they were supplying raw materials from these colonies in respect of the politics at the colonial period. These companies enabled the development of the capitalist system by contributing to capital accumulation with their gained profits. So, national markets were not enough for powerful industrial companies established at the end of the 19th century and they dispersed to the outer markets. Modern international manufacture in this context began by Alfred Bayer the pioneer of German chemical industry in 1865 and in the factories founded in Glasgow by American Singer Company two years later; American companies such as Ford, General Motors and

⁸⁰ Green, Timoty, Central Bank Gold Reserves an Historical Perspective Since 1845, http://www.gold.org/pub_archive/pdf/Rs23.pdf, p. 18 (25 January 2006).

General Electric followed them and they tried to find foreign partnerships in European markets. Great alterations happened in 1950s in the world in respect of the rate and flow of foreign investments which were stopped due to the fact that 1930s were crisis years and that 1940s were war years. One of the most important reasons was the quick revival of the European and Japanese economies. The leader of the world has been the US after the WW II. This system, which had manifested itself as colonialism under the leadership of England in previous centuries, was manifesting itself as the New World Order after the war. International companies had a great role in improving and establishing the system. MNCs are arbiter of both global economy and world policy now. The pioneer and the carrier of globalization process are these companies. For example, economical power of Ford is greater than Saudi Arabia or Norway and annual sales of Philip Morris are more than the Gross National Product of New Zealand.⁸¹

The US invested in Europe and Japan, which were important for them, to prevent the global capitalist system to lose against the Soviet Union after WW II. They helped Europe with a great economical development program called as Marshall Plan. In this context, the US supported Europe's efforts for a European unification. A similar development campaign was executed for Japan. These aids contributed the ascent of the world economy. This ascending process is important basically in respect of forming the

⁸¹ Aydođan, Metin, (2001), *Bitmeyen Oyun ve Trkiye'yi Bekleyen Tehlikeler*, İstanbul: Otopsi Yayınları, p. 230.

background for the US hegemony. There is a fundamental relation between the hegemony of the US and this ascent and the following descent processes. In respect of this relationship, American companies increased their investments four times within Europe between the years 1957-1967. European companies who followed American companies in the same years converted their efforts into investments in the US by using the same methods. While its shares were decreasing quickly since 1960, the US was still the leader of foreign investment with its 45.5 % share. England was the next biggest core country but the MNCs of Germany and Japan challenged them. Today, 500 international companies govern 80% of all subsidiary companies. The production of subsidiary companies belonging to American MNCs at the beginning of 1970s is more than American exportation four times as value. Until 1970, 62% of the exports, and 34% of the imports of the US had been realized by these companies. Because international production of MNCs has increased more than the international trade and world production. The share of total MNC based in the US was 26.3% within developed countries. When compared with the 26.5% share rate of England, the share of the US was 32.6% for total bounded companies of MNC.⁸² Japan and some developing countries have begun to found MNC as from 1977. Thus, American domination over international activities was reduced.

⁸² Multinational Companies, <http://www.itcilo.it/english/actrav/telearn/global/ilo/multinat/multinat.htm> (26 January 2006).

Investments revived after the demolition of East Block have showed a quick trend in recent years. While international foreign capital investments were about 200 billion dollars annually in between 1989-1995, they were 1,705 billion dollars in 1999 and 1,271 billion dollars in 2000.⁸³

While the MNCs were the pioneers of American Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in Western Europe in the beginning, they appeared in industrialized and industrializing countries in the course of time. As the share of American MNC was 50% in global investments up to the end of 1970s, this share decreased later. Most important reason of this situation is that companies of other developed countries took place in this trend effectively. The US has 55%, Japan has 11%, England has 9.4% and Germany has 4.7% of these investments and they are based and supported by these countries. These four countries constitute more than 80% of the MNC which are fundamental to the world economy.

Even though international countries have focused on the US, Europe and Japan today, some developing countries especially in Southeast Asia and Latin America have established their own MNCs. American General Electric was the biggest MNC when ranked by assets in 1998. Royal Dutch-Shell, which is a partnership of England-Netherlands, follows it with a small difference. Other companies follow them such as Ford, Exxon, General

⁸³ Asomedy, *Doğrudan Yabancı Sermaye Girişleri*, April 2002, <http://aso.org.tr/> (26 January 2006).

Motors, IBM which are American, Toyota which is Japan and Volkswagen which is German. Venezuela Petrol is the first in the list of biggest 50 Multi National Companies in developing countries due to the increase of oil prices. Daewoo of South Korea follows it. First ten ranks belong to MNCs of Southeast Asia.⁸⁴

There is a continuously increasing trend in the direct foreign capital investments to Southeast Asia from 1990 to 1996. The US is the first in the ranking for foreign capital which flows to this region; Europe and Australia follows it. It is China draws most of the capital of the US.⁸⁵ Also, Hong Kong and China is the biggest investor in FDIs which flow out of the region with 137.5 billion dollars foreign investments in 1997.⁸⁶ This region, improving by the help of foreign investments, made investments to other regions in respect of their benefits. 143 billion dollars of FDI entered to developing Asian countries in 2000, and Southeast Asia countries and China which took 64 billion dollars have the biggest shares. Asian countries survived the Asia Crisis, China has been accepted to WTO as a full member, MNC thus desired to have biggest share in China and a great MNC union in there on communication sector was in question which was equal to 1/3 of total FDIs

⁸⁴ Foreign Investment in Asia,
<http://www.unctad.org/Templates/webflyer.asp?docid=2711&intItemID=1465&lang=1> (26 January 2006).

⁸⁵ Focus, *Asya*, August 1999, p. 55.

⁸⁶ World Investment Report 1998, p. 17,
http://www.unctad.org/en/docs/wir1998overview_en.pdf (26 January 2006).

in China; all of these explain the FDI flow to the region.⁸⁷ Investments of American companies to the Southeast Asia increased, too, much with the support of the countries in the region. As a result, foreign trade deficit of the US has been increasing continuously. The US is trying to remove this deficit by becoming indebted and the value of dollar is decreasing day by day.⁸⁸ There is no importance for the companies about the states on which they are affiliated to. "Louis Wells states that MNC could ally with governments, but it is not possible to make longer this alliance because common profits could change in time. Indeed, whether profit of the government or profit of the company is protected or which element is more effective in a certain manner is not clear. For example, according to Kenneth Waltz, where these kinds of companies should serve to American external policy, this external policy serves to these companies. For more than half of a century, it is accepted that using state external politics for profits of companies is a description of imperialism. Because the companies are the actors who do not depends on any states and only feel loyalty themselves and it is not expected them to show any activity to serve a state."⁸⁹ It is companies who direct the world capitalist system not the countries as thought. George W. Bush thinks that he is on the top of the system but Morgan Stanley investment association objected; to them, world economical system under the leadership of the US

⁸⁷ Yılmaz, Gaye, (2001), *Kapitalizmin Kaleleri-II WTO-Dünya Ticaret Örgütü*, İstanbul: Türkiye MAI ve Küreselleşme Karşıtı Çalışma Grubu Yay., p. 15.

⁸⁸ Dikbaş, Kadir, Dolar Nereye Koşuyor, Aksiyon, 29.11.2004, <http://www.aksiyon.com.tr/detay.php?id=18451> (26 January 2006).

cannot be maintained anymore. Wallerstein calls this difference as "Empire and the Capitalists."⁹⁰

2.2.3. What We Learn from Enron Bankruptcy Case

Enron Corporation, one of the largest companies in the world went bankrupt. The bankruptcy that devastated, many countries, as well as the US, financial institutions and companies in the world did not come into value for the Turkish media. The bankruptcy of the Enron when it was the 7th biggest company means that it maybe the biggest bankruptcy in the world history. Along with the financial extent of the bankruptcy period of Enron, it seems that the other particular realities that came out with the bankruptcy are more important. The exposures are not only devastating the US government, but it also gives us more about it.

The Enron Corporation founded in 1985 became the 7th the biggest company by growing in a short time. The company that grew basically by the distribution of energy bought, captured the production and distribution of natural gas, wind energy and other electricity. It was marketing much of the production online. It is said that it made billion dollars of investments in many countries other than the US. These investments extend from Turkey to India and from European countries to Saudi Arabia and to the Caucasus.

⁸⁹ Arıboğan, Deniz Ülke, (2001), *Globalleşme Senaryosunun Aktörleri*, İstanbul: Der Yayınları, pp. 183-184.

⁹⁰ Wallerstein, Immanuel, *Empire and the Capitalists*, <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=3654> (25 January 2006).

The Enron that went bankrupt was a shareholder in Unocal in many energy projects in the Middle East. Unocal that undertook the pipeline project that carries the Turkmen gas from Afghanistan to the Indian Ocean, undertook this project with Enron Company. There are banks and financial institutions in Holland, Austria, Japan and the US in trouble with the devastation of Enron.

It is understood that the Enron uses capitals from many nations. The Enron of which shares came into value over 90\$ and which is one of the 10 biggest companies, became the biggest company that went bankrupt in the world on 17 August 2000. While it was the 7th biggest company of the US on account of its revenues, its shares declined to 1,01\$ on 5 November 2001 and 60 billion dollars were evaporated. In its bankruptcy announcement, the loan of the company seemed 13,1 billion dollars, but the shareholder's loan seemed 18,1 billion dollars that was expected to be added 20 billion dollars to that. The Enron that was the real "Global Company" caused the investors to lose 80 billion dollars around the world.

There are many reasons for the bankruptcy of the company. That it showed an extreme growth after it started to deal with the electricity commerce that we took as a model brought about the company's end while it was a traditional natural gas company. It is mentioned that as the company blew up its profits, it dealt out billions of dollars to the American politicians. The company of Arthur Andersen that audits and provides

consultancy to the company explained that it destroyed all the documents except from the main documents of the company just before the bankruptcy.⁹¹ For this reason the details about the bankruptcy may never come out.

The most important event that came out with the bankruptcy and called as a scandal is that a great amount of money were given to many politicians and bureaucrats, also to the US presidents. Besides the company do not discriminate between the Republican and Democrat parties. It is reported that 35 people still working in the White House in the period of Bush government have shares in the Enron.⁹² It is said that during the bankruptcy, the democrats who used this bankruptcy against the Bush government and planned to get political advantage from it, hesitated and even started to be ashamed when their close relations with the Enron came out slowly.

When the fact that Enron also made investments and showed activities in many countries were taken into consideration, it can be estimated that even the same relations existed in these countries and many compromises were taken by the US government to be used. Another truth that came out in this period is that the company of Arthur Andersen that audits and provides consultancy to Enron did not reported much unlawfulness in the documents

⁹¹ Enron Materials Destroyed by Artur Andersen, <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0201/13/sun.01.html> (26 January 2006).

⁹² Enron: Drain the Swamp, <http://www.populist.com/02.3.edit.html> (26 January 2006).

of the accountancy and destroyed many of the documents just before the bankruptcy. It shows that the control is directed to suppress the dirty and unlawful works of the company, rather than the comment of an audit company which has about 100 year of past lose its trust. Arthur Andersen, along with the other American audit companies, has activities also in Turkey. Enron deceived its investors by means of the press and these kinds of companies by hiding the real situation.⁹³

The documents about the bankruptcy that came out in this period show that the economical policies in the US and other countries are determined by giant companies. Besides all these things are known, it has been explained officially that how the system is functioning. The scandal in the US is not limited with the Enron. It is explained by some of the members of the Lower House and American press that the giant companies are working with the same procedures. Paul Krugman from the New York Times comments that "as the press suspects, the government is afraid that the latest explanations about the Enron will lift the cover up on American style capitalism."⁹⁴ The events are not only limited to Enron, but also the WorldCom, the giant of communication shocked by the blames of illegality and unlawfulness registered to the legal authorities for the biggest bankruptcy of the American history. It was reported that it demanded protection from the Federal court

⁹³ How Enron Played the Media,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/1817445.stm> (26 January 2006).

⁹⁴ Krugman, Paul, Crony Capitalism,
<http://www.zmag.org/content/Economy/krugman0115.cfm> (26 January 2006).

to be protected from the settlement because of the total 41 billion dollars of loan. The bankruptcy of the WorldCom which was founded in the state of Mississippi in 1983 and became one of the biggest companies in the country by buying 75 companies in this period was expected weeks ago. It was reported that while the market value of the WorldCom which directs more than half of the internet traffic and has 85 thousands employers, is over 100 billion dollars, that the company tries to show its profit high by hiding 3,85 billion dollars of its costs in the last 5 financial quarters. All these scandals show that the US economy is decaying in fact and the calculations have been blown up especially to attract the foreign investors. That this is known by the US government is the other extent of it.

2.2.4 China: The Awakening Giant

Throughout the history, China is the country that draws attention with its giant population and with a different civilisation structure reaching until today. It is accepted that especially until 1600s it was quite advanced when compared to the other regions in the world. After these years, with the beginning of the industrialization movements, technological developments and the control of the overseas commerce by the West, they lost some of their lands. China with this recession in 19th century grew out of its estimation. But in the late of the 20th century and in the beginning of the 21st century, it took out the new formations in the economy and policy of the world. In this formation, China grew up again as a country which can

activate its historical, cultural and socio-economical potentials that it has. The words of Napoleon about China as "There is a sleeping giant there, let it sleep, for the giant when woke up will shake the world," came true after 200 years. Although the economy of the world shows a static condition, the economical developments that the country displays became the point mostly focused on such explanations as the awakening of the giant, the sharpening the nails of dragon and the birth of the new super power. Besides the pains of globalization came out after 1990s and brought about unipolarity led by the US, the emergence of the regional national governments and lastly the enterprises of this country to seize the energy sources of the world, first of all the Middle East, caused to draw attention to China in terms of economical, political and military balance of the world.

The Peoples Republic of China was founded by the leader Mao Zedong in 1949 when the socialists had the government after the end of WW II. The Great Leap Forward program was put into practice by China by the leader Mao to increase the national income in great measures and in a short time. With this program, the industrialisation of the rural regions was given priority. Within the Great Leap Forward program performed between the years of 1959 and 1961, people's communes were formed and steel factories were founded across China. The plans in this period were done on the basis of ideology rather than economical rationality. However, because of the inexperienced staff, the opposition against commune system, the stop of the

Russian help and the infertility due to the drought, this program did not reach the target and brought about the scarcity and the death of millions of people. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that Mao started in 1966 and has basically the aim to suppress the opposition against himself in the party also gave big social harms.

With the economical reforms by Deng Xiaoping after the death of Mao, the transition from opening to foreign and planned economy to market economy was started step by step. In this period in which a different approach was accepted, the economy policies were performed on the basis of concrete data and programs were prepared for every region and economical sector according to their conditions rather than one program for the whole country not political ideologies as in Mao period. In this period the admittance of foreign capital and foreign commerce came into prominence. The regulations about market economy with the reformation program in 1980s were started. For this purpose, the system of double pricing was formed and while the prices of some goods and services were controlled the prices of the other goods and services were determined according to the market conditions. In the beginnings of 1990s, these controls were abolished and the prices of almost all goods and services were determined according to the market conditions. The economical reforms in 1990 focused more on the foundation of applicable banking system. At the end of the 1990s the focus of the

reform duration was on industrialization and social security. This duration aimed at the close of many of the governmental companies.

With the economical reforms put into force in 1978 and continue until today, China woke up from a long sleep and entered a fast changing period. Chinese economy, the 9th biggest economy in the world in 1979 and with 177 billion dollars Gross Domestic Product (GDP), reached to 1.26 trillion dollars GDP. With the membership to the WTO in 2001, it can enter to the international markets more easily. Within China and WTO agreements, it decreased the average price list to 10, 4%. China, according to purchasing power parity arose to the situation of the second biggest economy in the world. But the GDP is the 6th biggest economy of the world. If China continues 8% average rate of annual growth in recent years and if the growth of the US stays around 3% average, it will be the biggest economy of the world until 2015. In other words, China continues to have the economic power which is one of the necessary basic keys to become superpower. Also in terms of military power, it is among the countries which have weapons and space technology. It is true that it has necessary soldier number. As a military technology, it is behind the US, but it is known that it tries to get military help over Israel. Also tens of thousands of Chinese young people are getting education in different fields. At the same time, it is one of the 5 members who have a right to veto in the UN Security Council. This makes it

strong diplomatically, so China is the candidate to become the strongest rival of the US in 20 years.

2.3 Energy's Future and Future's Energy

2.3.1. Energy Shortage in World Market

Humankind took the first step on the way to get the power for the world's destiny with the start of using the fire as an energy source except from the other livings. Since then human societies who search for new energy sources, find and use them, gained more comfortable life and power. Humankind who uses the energy sources in accordance with the their technological developments for thousands of years, started to use up sources existing on the earth with the Industrial Revolution rapidly in the recent 150 years.

The Industrial Revolution started with the use of steam engines running by coal at the first half of the 19th century and became the big turning point in the world history. With the understood of the importance of machines on production, power and energy researches alternative to coal were started. This research came to an end with the discovery of oil at the end of the century. This new energy field that exceeds its economical aspects exceedingly in a very short time turned into a shape that affects the world policy. Today, Oil has 40% of the world energy pie. That the big part of the oil fields exist the outside of the borders of Western states who firstly used it caused to expand the struggle in the much bigger areas. Even, the same

issue exists among one of the reasons of the WW I. Today, we know that the oil sources in the world exist in particular two areas. One of it is the oil basins in the Middle East and the other is the Central Asia.

It was thought that the world industry feeding from the Middle East until the destroy of the Eastern Block for a long time, the fossil fuel oil which was used mostly until the 1973 crisis would not be used up in a short time and the economies would continue with the low prices. Just after 1973 crisis it was understood that the fossil energy sources that the nature had made for thousands of years could not be used up savagely. After this period, developed countries fasten their studies about renewable energy resources to solve the problems they have faced with.

The world that passed the years of the 70s and the 80s with oil crisis became pleased with the positive news from the area after the disintegration of the East Block. According to the news from the first investigation, the Central Asia is on the way to become a new Middle East. But after the wells were opened and analyzed, it was understood that the Central Asia is not rich that much. At the same time, it was determined that the quality of the oil is low and the rate of the sulphur is high. And then, the big companies cancelled their pipeline agreements. For this reason, the Bush government suddenly turned their attention on Iraq which is known to have at least 112 billion of barrels of oil that is 11% of the world. That's why, the big enemy

Osama Bin Laden handed over the role of being number one public enemy to Saddam.⁹⁵

With the America's interference to the region, the oil prices started rising up again. But this rise was at the level of having the old prices sought. Then these prices that affect developed markets such as Europe and Japan whose oil supply is weak, show a different effect this time. Although the oil prices were very above the level of the 1973 crisis at the end of the Iraq War 2003, that causes a global energy shortage in the world, because the developed countries that took lessons from those days diversified their energy sources to lessen their dependence on oil. Today the upward progresses of the oil price affect much more generally the developing markets such as China and India.⁹⁶

2.3.2 Control over Oil

The Middle East region, it will be seen as its historical development duration was examined, became the problem of the world in every period and it seems that it will continue in the future. The foundations of the new formation are being laid down for a long time. To be able to see the form that the future will take, the past must be understood truly. It is not possible to take step towards nowadays and control your own future without understanding the 20th century well. It was seen that the developed

⁹⁵ Özakıncı, Cengiz, (2005), *Euro-Dolar Savaşı*, İstanbul: Otopsi Yayınları, p. 128.

⁹⁶ Özhan, Taha, Petrol Fiyatları Kimi Vuruyor, <http://www.haber10.com/makale/976/> (23 January 2006).

industrial countries that hold the world under their control for 300 years, as long as the importance of the colonies increases, the number of the ones who want to have the big rate from increases. To put a limit for this, many sharing wars were done.

The US preferred to ensure the global security via regional gendarmes instead of interfering directly to the countries that form threat for its security after Vietnam War. This situation increases the importance of Iran under the regime of Shah in the Middle East. But, the fall of Shah Regime by Islamic revolution in Iran caused both an important oil basin got out of the control of and the US lost one of the regional gendarmes. After 1979, Iraq came out the foreground as a new candidate to fill this position. For this reason, during the Iraq-Iran War, the regime of Saddam Hussein was supported by the US and its allies against the threat of Iran in terms of economical, military and diplomatically. One of the most important results of the Iraq-Iran War is both countries came to the threshold of bankruptcy and their infrastructure of oil production were devastated completely. For this reason after the war both countries had to open their oil production to foreign capital (in 1972 Iraqi oil, in 1979 Iranian oil were nationalized). Meanwhile, the fall of Iranian and Iraqi oil outside the market raised the oil prices and increased the profits of the US oil companies.

Expression of the ex-foreign minister H. Kissinger as "Petrol is as important as not to be left to Arabs" shows that the steps taken in this

direction are intended to the aim. The event what we call as big sharing starts from here. It lost its convincing that Iraq produces WMD, forms a great threat for the US and its allies with chemical and biological weapons, tries to form a legal ground its attack by bringing forward to cases such as its relations with Al Qaeda and for this regards tries to persuade the world public opinion. The main purpose is to perform the main idea to control the prospective reserves existing in Iraq and the countries surrounding, to control the Middle East, so to prevent the threats of the great powers such as Iran, China and Russia that is possible. The US and England who were fighting with mutually in the oil areas in the past turned their relations into incorporation by the uniting of BP and Amoco that is part of Standard Oil which are the two big oil kings in 1988.

This sentence that Churchill said in the House of Commons defines best how the oil is important: "a drop of oil is more precious than a drop of blood".⁹⁷ By the way, the purpose is to take Turkey under control and to gain the raw materials that it needs easily. CIA president J. Woolsey says that "The situation is clear. French and Russian oil companies show interests and have interferences in the Iraqi areas. If they help them to banish the Iraq's present government, it must be said that we will give the necessary help for them to work with the new government that will become after Saddam and with the American companies in a close way. But if they show

⁹⁷ Mütercimler, Erol, (2005), *Kompla Teorileri*, İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, p. 485.

any manner in favour of Saddam, it is hard to impose to work the government of Iraq with France and Russia.”⁹⁸

Although the US said that he did wrong at the end of the Gulf War I, the most important reason why he could not knock down Saddam is that he is afraid of the possible Iran control over the Shia in the South. For this reason, he chose the low-intensified wearing down war lasted for 12 years. When the US and British attacks, the scope and goal of the embargo have been taken into concentration, it is possible to sum up main motivations lay behind the Iraq policy of the US during the sanctions: the first preference of the US is to prevent the drainage of the Iraq’s oil into international market via the Russian and French companies. Iraq’s oil is closed to the US companies at the end of the Gulf War I. Besides the Iraq’s oil, the French and Russian companies have also the opportunity of accessing Iraq’s oil. It means that the major part of the Middle Eastern oil is closed to the access of the US. One of the main purpose of the sanctions regime is to demolish the regime of Saddam and try not to be taken the advantage of Iraq’s oil by anybody until ally regime is founded and the access of the Iraq’s oil by the US companies is provided. For this purpose, oil sale of Iraq which was invaded was prevented by the events came through. In fact, the US prepares itself

⁹⁸ Peña, Charles V, It's Not About Oil, <http://www.cato.org/dailys/09-25-02.html> (24 January 2006).

for a new energy revolution, therefore it wants to control these oil regions in a negative sense.⁹⁹

The US government want to control the Gulf sources which are expected to satisfy the 2/3 of the need of the energy source of the world in the future. As an important historical study on oil industry depicts that rather than providing great profits that most covetous people cannot see in their dreams, this region is still strategically a huge power source and it is the lever of the world. To have control over the Gulf energy reserves is to have the veto power over the actions of the rivals as the famous planner George Kennan depicted half a century ago.¹⁰⁰

At the same time the control of the US over the region prevents developed countries such as Europe and Japan to make this region possible market. In the long term, the high oil prices would not be rival to energies that will be newly developed.¹⁰¹ Russia helps the high oil prices by nationalizing the Yukos, during 73 crisis, one barrel of petrol rose from 2,5 dollars to 12 dollars, today it is over 50 dollars.¹⁰² The possible US-Iran tension will ride the prices over 70 dollars, thanks to this, the consumers can be persuaded to give up oil.

⁹⁹ Kaynak and Gürses, op. cit., p. 102.

¹⁰⁰ Kareem, Hawzheen O, An interview with Noam Chomsky, http://www.zmag.org/content/print_article.cfm?itemID=4780§ionID=36 (23 January 2006).

¹⁰¹ Kaynak, Mahir, (2004), *Sonuçlardan Sebeplere*, İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, p. 53.

2.3.3 Petro-Dollar or Petro-Euro

The US is the most indebted country of the world, debt of the US is 8 trillion \$.¹⁰³ But how can it execute its economy with all these debts? Of course, it does this by using its banknote printing-house. Because the US dollar has been the most demanded money since WW II. Due to the money is being stored by the world central banks, it is not used so much. But it is also very important that how this banknote printing is used. No other country in the world can write out open cheques. It is the most trusted country with its economy and country which seem indestructible by other countries. The most important reason is the air, land and naval forces of it and the enormous nuclear stock. An enormous arming and the military project expenses in the large scales reaching 400 billion \$ annually is not such a thing that could be done on its own alone. The US does this with the power of dollar over the world.

There was no rival against the US for a long time. Japanese Yen got stronger in 70s but had a limited area in Asia-Pacific. German Mark was just valid in the Middle East and North Africa with the crushed force of Europe. But today, there is a big power against the US dollar; Euro the currency of Europe. When we consider in this point the subject, a conflict is inevitable in respect of Japanese Yen, and both Euro and Dollar. Because the US obtains

¹⁰² Petrol Fiyatları,
<http://www.enerji.gov.tr/petrolfiyatları.htm> (24 January 2006).

¹⁰³ Usa, National Debt Clock,
http://www.brillig.com/debt_clock/ (24 January 2006)

this 8 trillion source predominantly from its rich allies. Now, stop the source transfer to the US from outside, this means approximately 800 billion – 1 trillion \$. This causes a serious economical regression in the US. And even losing the effectiveness over the oil area jeopardizes the energy safety of America.

Currently the US conducts the economies of entire world like an orchestra conductor. It can provide Europe to regress by bumping up the oil prices, and can provide Japan to suffer problems, and also can stop the China. Moreover, it can solve the problems of Russia.¹⁰⁴ In fact, it can be said that; “To execute the American economy in a healthy manner or not having any financial crisis is also important in respect of Japan and the EU”. But the matter is not so simple. Because Japan tries to constitute a “Japanese Yen area”. Germany and France try to constitute a “Euro area” and they struggle gradually to extend these areas.

We are not talking about a military competition, but an economical commercial competition is in question. What is the US doing? It demonstrates a military force in order to protect the power of dollar against other currencies. While the US is demonstrating its military force to guarantee this source transfer, it heads to the weak enemies which would ensure an easy victory. Granada, Panama and Iraq as to their determination. These are also an intimidation to its own allies. When we consider about

¹⁰⁴ Kaynak, Mahir, (2005), *Derin Devlet*, İstanbul: Timaş yayınları, p. 181.

Japan or Germany which provides 54% which provide 90% of its oil needs from the Gulf, and France which has a dependence on oil import from this region, it is engrossing that the US comes and settles down to this area and has a veto authority based on the oil against these countries. This veto authority determines the movements of Japan, Germany and France within the hegemonic limits drawn by the US in the share of the world. They accept second class hegemonic power positions. And they demonstrate their powers against the US in terms of their export capacities, technological enterprise dimensions and also their competition advantages.

Whether the US is a giant in respect of military, it is becoming a dwarf in respect of its capacity and economy. Because, an economy which has 8 trillion dollar debt could not exist for a long time without destroying its own production structure. The future of such an economy is dark.

There is such a controversial process between Euro and Dollar. Occupation of Iraq by America is related with protecting its hegemony over the world currency system. The real reason of the war is that Iraq stopped using dollar for oil marketing and began to use Euro in October 2000. They did this change when 1 Euro was 0.8 dollar. Though they risked the money loss, this lost became a profit by the increase of the Euro in time.¹⁰⁵ Other countries followed the Iraq example. Iran started to earn oil incomes as

¹⁰⁵ Clark, William, The Real Reasons for Upcoming War with Iraq, <http://www.ratical.org/ratville/CAH/RRIraqWar.html> (24 january 2006).

Euro. This trend spread to Malaysia. Even it is not so big power, North Korea declared that they would use Euro for that purposes, too. The rotten apples within the basket began to increase but the most rotten apple was Iraq. Such a declaration of Saddam Hussein and its influences were essential. Maybe Euro wouldn't be used for any purchase and sale (especially in oil purchasing and selling) in the world in the short term. But heading to the Euro by OPEC countries and supporting them by France and Germany created a hegemony problem in respect of the US. The US intervened in Iraq in order to solve this problem. In short, the US showed its veto authority based on oil against Japan, Germany and France. "Your sources, your energy sources in my hands and thus I can do demonstrate all kinds of military force." This is related with the competition of Euro-Dollar.

We will see different examples about shifting to Euro in following process. Venezuela is important. When Venezuela keeps Euro as reserve and when performs the payment on Euro, it will become a great defeat in respect of the US. Because the US deemed that the Europe could not intervene in America in accordance with Monroe Doctrine. Can America accept such a defeat if extending Monroe doctrine and including the Middle East within the Monroe Doctrine in question? This was one the main reasons behind CIA's staging of a military coup in Venezuela, and the other reason was the trade in the Mexican Gulf. The trade of Venezuela with Cuba and other Central America and Latin America countries in exchange for oil which not based on

cash is a problem in respect of the US. When we consider the matter in this point of view, it is known that Venezuela and Iraq are the countries which strive for the foundation of OPEC, they have similar oil politics and even they have common historical backgrounds in respect of oil. Thus, the coup processes improving simultaneously in Venezuela and Iraq can be understood in this light. In addition, if the dynamic which created with the conflict between Euro and Dollar is added to the matter, it comes to a true picture that the existence of the US in Iraq is related with America's hegemony crisis.

This is not only a military interference for the control of the resources of region. It has consequences on a world scale. If all OPEC countries begin to use Euro instead of Dollar, this will be a destruction for the US economy and dollar. This is the real "Achilles heel of the US" which is being called as the super power of the world.¹⁰⁶ Japan, France and Germany meet their petrol needs there. A veto authority is constituted in respect of the US and it uses its veto authority for occupation, it seizes a strategic area which makes its indebtedness to be continued. The reason why Dollar is the hegemonic money in the world is being the reserve money and the money circulation is executed with this money. We can understand how weak the baselines of the US domination system are. We see that they can constitute the conditions

¹⁰⁶ Trifkovic, Srdja, Dollar; Achilles Heel of the Empire, <http://www.chroniclesmagazine.org/www/News/Trifkovic/NewsST043003.html> (24 January 2006)

with their own politics which could drag the world into a financial crisis. This money policy can cause very serious financial crisis over a period and also can cause the US to withdraw A military fight with its allies is not in question now. None of them has such a capacity but the US will be in a disadvantageous state due to the technologically, economically and globally improving dynamics. The final result of the conflict between Euro and Dollar will be determined by the condition in Iraq.

2.3.4 Hydrogen: Future's Energy

The expression belonging the English Prime Minister Churchill "One drop of oil is more precious than one drop of blood" in one times started to be said for borax in the first quarter of 21st century. But this time, the expressions are more careful. George W. Bush told us these words (on which we should think quite carefully) in the speech of State of the Union in Lower House lately in January of 2003 when the US prepared itself to attack to Iraq: "... The most important development for the environment within this century is not done by endless claims or command control arrangements but by discoveries and technology. In this evening, I'm suggesting you that the US should be the pioneer of the world in developing vehicles based on hydrogen. Be with me and join me in this discovery which will make our air more clean and our country less dependent to foreign energy sources"¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ State of the Union Message, Hydrogen Fuel, <http://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/docs/bush280103.htm> (24 January 2006).

Hydrogen was discovered in 1500, and its flammable feature was noticed just in 1700s. It is the most simple and the most abundant element in the universe; it is a colourless, odourless gas which is lighter than the air for 14.4 times and absolutely non-toxic. The fuel of the heat of thermonuclear reaction of the Sun and other stars is hydrogen, thus it is the basic energy source of the universe.

It can be liquefied at -252.77°C . The volume of the liquid hydrogen is just about 1/700 of the volume of the gas hydrogen. Hydrogen has the highest energy content per unit within entire known fuels. (Maximum thermal value is 140.9 MJ/kg, minimum thermal value is 120.7 MJ/kg.) 1 kg hydrogen has equal energy of 2.1 kg natural gas or 2.8 kg petrol. But the volume per unit energy is higher.¹⁰⁸

Hydrogen is not free in the nature, it is found in compounds. The most known form of it is water. It is clear and easy in sectors which need heat and explosive energy and also it is just as water and water vapour while being ejected to the atmosphere in energy systems which use hydrogen as a fuel. Hydrogen is 1.33 times more effective than oil fuels.¹⁰⁹ While achieving energy from hydrogen, there is no harmful gas or corruptive chemical material polluting the environment except water vapour. While hydrogen gas could be achieved by different methods, it could be produced by water, solar

¹⁰⁸ Hidrojen,
<http://www.enerji.gov.tr/hidrojen.htm> (24 January 2006).

¹⁰⁹ Emir, Ahmet, Hidrojenin Gizemli Dünyası,
<http://www.fizikdosyasi.com/hidrojen.htm> (24 January 2006).

power or wind, wave and biogas which are accepted as the derivations of them. The researches show that the hydrogen is 3 times more expensive than other fuels and its usage as a common energy source depends on technological developments which will reduce its costs. Moreover, storing the electrical energy as hydrogen which is constituted daily or seasonal periods more than needs can be a valid alternative today. To use commonly the energy stored in this way -public transport vehicles- depends on the developments of automotive technologies based on fuel batteries.

Hydrogen covers the area for 4 times than oil; to reduce the area that hydrogen covers, storing the hydrogen as liquid is necessary. High pressure and cooling process are needed for that. Liquefied hydrogen can be stored in steel tubes under high pressure. This is the most common method for middle or small quantities of storing. But it is a quite expensive method for bigger quantities. Because, about 1/4 of hydrogen energy should be used for liquefying process. Keeping the liquid hydrogen in low-temperature tanks is another practical solution. The liquid hydrogen which is used as rocket fuel is kept with this method in space programs.

The hydrogen can be stored chemically in metals, alloys and semi-metals as hydride. Although metal hydrides are very appropriate method for storing the hydrogen, their weights pose a serious problem. For ten years especially, complex hydrides including aluminium and borax have been used for their high storage capacities. Complex hydrides including borax are important due

to their usage in liquid situations. Systems based on borax basically uses sodium borax hydride. NaBH₄ includes 10.5% hydrogen when it is solid.

In this point, we can see the importance of borax. Borax is an important mineral in respect of strategy and economy. Most of the borax reserve of the world is in Turkey and it is still a question how this reserve is used. Borax and its products are the basic input of the industry with its extreme products reaching to 250 varieties in countries which have the improved industry and technology in the world. Eti Holding and US Borax (in the US) perform the production of borax. 31% of the production of the world is done by Eti Holding and %37 of the production of the world is done by US Borax. There are only two dominant countries who produce this mineral in the world. Turkey has 63% and the US has 10% of the world reserves. Turkey has a potential of meeting the world's needs for 200 years alone, but the US who stops the activities in its own borax deposits purchases about 350-400 thousand tons raw borax from Turkey every year. We know that our borax is more superior to American borax in respect of quality. 320 million tons of borax reserve of 488 million tons of borax reserve of the world is in Turkey. This means that if the world stops to use oil as a fuel and starts to use hydrogen based on borax, entire world will covet borax of Turkey.¹¹⁰

When borax is processed and becomes an end-product, its value increases. Production costs of borax of Turkey are lower than in the US's.

¹¹⁰ Özakıncı, *Euro-Dolar Savaşı*, op. cit., p. 81.

(This is not only for the labour costs but also for the land structures. The borax could be extracted from the ground easily in Turkey but it is even taken out under lakes in the US.) Although it has the biggest reserve, Eti Holding has 20-25% share worth of 1.2 billion \$, while US Borax has 70% share in the world market.¹¹¹ The most important reason of this situation is that the borax is being purchased from our country as raw and there is not enough facility to produce extreme products of borax. The raw material purchased from our country could be sold at a price for 4 times of raw borax after grinding process. Even though this process is performed with a simple technology, our country sells borax as raw to the agent companies and the borax is marketed to the world by these agent companies. Thus, enough facilities which will do the grinding processes should be founded, the borax should be sold after the grinding processes and raw borax sale should be stopped or quotas should be applied on raw borax. But price determination authority of this source is wanted to be seized as happened in oil before. While Bush was talking to his nation by saying that they will use hydrogen as energy, he was demanding many bases from Turkey on the other hand; it was so ridiculous that they would use them in Iraq War, Tekirdag-Corlu,

¹¹¹ Bor Madeni, p. 9,
www.dtm.gov.tr/ead/bor/BOR%20VE%20TORYUM.doc (24 January 2006).

Sabiha Gökçen and Afyon Airports and Sinop Harbour,¹¹² under which have rich borax deposits.¹¹³

2.4 Transforming the Middle East

As to the article called as Transforming the Middle East in Washington Post written by Condoleezza Rice; "Iraq has a key role in performing the "change" in the region which is constituted of 22 countries and of which has 300 millions of people. Liberilazing Iraq will make the region feel a change which may be compared with the ones that Europe felt in WW II." In her article, Rice, who indicates that they will stay in the area for long, claims that the Middle East countries from Morocco to the Persian Gulf will undergo political and economical changes and that the end of Saddam Hussein's regime has strengthened the changes in the region. She writes in her article that "Arabian intellectuals demand from Arabian governments to define liberty understanding which is lacking, and also demand them to support interior reforms, more political sharing and economical clarities."¹¹⁴ This article shows that America actually did not failed in Iraq. Their objective is to force people act as America want. All of these political demands are the proofs that America did not occupied Iraq to find any WMD; also the most

¹¹² Özakıncı, *Euro-Dolar Savaşı*, op. cit., p. 82.

¹¹³ Türkiye Bor Yatakları Jeolojisi, <http://science.ankara.edu.tr/~kavusan/borpage/turkgeo.html> (24 January 2006).

¹¹⁴ Rice, Condoleezza, Transforming the Middle East, Thursday, August 7, 2003; Page A21, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A26193-2003Aug6?language=printer> (29 January 2006).

important explanation is done by the UN weapon inspector Hans Blix: "There wasn't any weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, America and England commentated the reports in their opinions."¹¹⁵

The reason of the existence of America in that region seems political but it is actually economical, because every activity for politics is done for economical profit. Just like pleading the operation for occupying Iraq as an excuse for weapons of mass destruction and Saddam's support on terror. Yet, bringing democracy to Iraq means to establish regimes by means of occupation or military coup as in the examples of Iraq and Georgia. They began to play with balances for changing the borders and political systems of 22 countries which are mentioned by Rice before. The US applies East Europe's revolutions in here as "Velvet" revolutions in Georgia, "Orange" revolutions in Ukraine, "Cedar" revolutions in Lebanon, "Civil" revolutions in Kyrgyzstan.¹¹⁶

As to the estimations of American Ministry of Energy, there will be a quick increase in energy demands up to 2012 and these demands will come from countries called as "Emerging Market" like China.¹¹⁷ The only candidate region to meet these demands in a short time is the Middle East. Controlling

¹¹⁵ Blix Attacks Iraq Weapons 'Spin', <http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/09/18/sprj.irq.blix.bush/index.html> (29 January 2006).

¹¹⁶ Oğan, Sinan, NGO Devrimlerinin Yeni Rotası: Orta Doğu'da Sedit Devrimi, <http://www.turksam.org/tr/yazilar.asp?kat1=3&yazi=229> (30 January 2006).

¹¹⁷ International Energy Outlook 2005, p. 27, [http://www.eia.doe.gov/oiaf/ieo/pdf/0484\(2005\).pdf](http://www.eia.doe.gov/oiaf/ieo/pdf/0484(2005).pdf) (29 January 2006).

the energy will increase the profits of American and English companies which monopolized the world oil through price increases. The most essential reason of price increasing is the political chaos in the region. As mentioned by Rice, Iraq is not alone. The next target of the US is Iran who wants to use Euro instead of Dollar in oil trade like Iraq.¹¹⁸

World trade is a game in which the US produces dollar and other countries produce something that can be bought by dollar. Interconnected economies of the world do not trade to get relative superiority anymore, they compete to accumulate dollar. Central Banks of the world need to have dollar reserve as value of their circling currency in order to protect their currency from speculative and manipulative attacks. A certain currency which loses value by market pressure causes that central bank to have more dollar reserve. This situation forces central banks to earn and accumulate more dollar reserve and makes dollar more powerful which is more settled.¹¹⁹ Actually, the power of the US dollar beginning from 1945 depends on being an international reserve currency. Thus, it undertakes the role of being official currency for purchases and sales of global oil. The US mints these petro-dollars for billions and these are used by countries to purchase oil from OPEC producers. These petro-dollars return as treasury bill from OPEC or American shares or real estates later. Indeed, global oil consumption provides

¹¹⁸ Hersh, Seymour M. *The Coming Wars*, http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/?050124fa_fact (29 January 2006).

¹¹⁹ Özakıncı, *Euro-Dolar Savaşı*, op. cit., p. 111.

incitement to American economy.¹²⁰ Here is one of little dirty secrets of today's international order; if everybody stops to use dollar as a whole, the world will overturn the US domination. In order to prevent this, the US government tries to protect its economical power with military power today.

¹²¹ War is an unimportant detail within the struggle for world domination, words of Arthur Schlesinger in Foreign Affairs is the best proof: "We are not going to achieve a new world order without paying for it in blood as well as in words and money."¹²²

Terrorism is "the usage of violence systematically to get the political results" and it is a political activity which is used to create fear in order to change the behaviours and attitudes of governments and it is as old as history.¹²³ As seen in the film of "Operation Swordfish",¹²⁴ it is used to hoodwink the community and to find excuses for military expenses. There is a classical method to be able to ensure people remain silent on the matters they oppose: "To create fear, propaganda system is performed, the big evil founded in the agenda in that time is being exaggerated. We see that the role of big evil in American history is played sometimes by England, or by Spain and sometimes by Barbarians. A problem arises here, facing with big evil may cost them a lot. It should be avoided. Here is the answer; struggling

¹²⁰ Ibid, p. 109.

¹²¹ Ibid, p. 120.

¹²² Ibid, p. 42.

¹²³ Ariboğan, op. cit., p. 241.

¹²⁴ Sena, Dominic (Director) (2001), *Operation Swordfish* (Film), Los Angeles, USA: Warner Bros. Studios.

with little evils in spite of big evil. The country of little evils should be occupied and their people should be treated in a bad way. Since they are defenseless, it is not difficult to finish them off.”¹²⁵

GMEP can be defined as the first concrete project which determines American strategy of controlling the region for ten years. Conceptual frame of the big strategy is being drawn for the first time which is kept going on with attacks as Afghanistan and Iraq occupation qualified by attributes such as regime alteration, WMD, Islamic threat, Islamic terrorism, rogue states. They mention reform¹²⁶ and women rights¹²⁷ in Islam and they even say that Islam needs a Caliph.¹²⁸

The US tries to get support from European countries to implement this project. Anyway, Europe has no another choice. Thus, Joschka Fischer the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Germany put on the agenda a Europe-US project in the conference on security policy in Munich predicting to provide stability to the Middle East in two phase. It is being predicted in the project that the area stretching from Morocco, Israel and Palestine to Syria should be converted to a free trade zone. In the second phase, the project includes to announce a “declaration on a common future” directed at Central Asia and

¹²⁵ Chomsky, op. cit., p. 215.

¹²⁶ Lobe, Jim, Neocons Seek Islamic 'Reformation', <http://www.antiwar.com/lobe/?articleid=2273> (30 January 2006).

¹²⁷ Bill Clinton: 'Hz. Muhammed yaşasaydı', <http://www.haberx.com/n/113549/bill-clinton-hz-muhammed-yasasaydiesinin.htm> (29 January 2006).

¹²⁸ Peköz, Mustafa, ABD ve AB'nin İslam Politikası, <http://www.acikgazete.com/?action=journalist&aid=1143> (29 January 2006).

Middle East. Establishing a state of law by democracy and abandoning violence are demanded in the declaration which includes also Iran and Afghanistan. Fischer suggests NATO to contribute to provide stability in the Middle East.¹²⁹ Anyway, the most essential reason of rapprochement between Turkey and the EU is the GMEP. The EU negotiations will end in 2010 or 2015 which is the time predicted for GMEP by the US. If there will be an agreement between EU and the US, Turkey will lost its importance.

¹²⁹ Fischer, Joschka, Speech on the 40th Munich Conference on Security Policy, http://www.securityconference.de/konferenzen/rede.php?id=123&menu_konferenzen=&sprache=en& (30 January 2006).

CHAPTER 3

TURKEY'S POTENTIAL ROLE

In this chapter, it would be tried to answer the questions such as what is the place of Turkey in this project, what is the dangers that Turkey may face and what should done in the future. It is known clearly that Turkey is included into that project but it is not known how much Turkey would be affected in the future.

Turkey has had a national defense indexed to NATO and the US for years. The Cold War was a kind of armour. Turkey is entering into a new war period now, and the events up to now show that the circumstances will not change in a short period. How will political alterations affect Turkey and what precautions have to be taken? How should be the best suitable strategy and partnership for Turkey's national interests?

3.1 Turkey within the Project

Turkey is wanted to be a jumping point of GMEP in the short term and be an objective in middle and long terms. Turkey was a wing country of NATO in the Cold War but becomes a central country and a keystone in this project. Zbigniew Brzezinsky discusses this intention of America in his work *Hegemonic Quickstand* and offers some suggestions to America in order to not bog down. Brzezinsky gives the names of five countries called as key partners in his work in which he discusses which countries that America may

collaborate in order to control the geography which is defined as "Global Balkans" and would be "the most dangerous region of the world" in future and also called as the Greater Middle East by the US: Turkey, Israel, India, Russia and European Union. He analyzes the circumstances in these countries one by one and discusses the limits for cooperation with these countries. For example, he mentions about two elements limiting such collaboration with Turkey: Islam and Kurdish problem. Brzezinsky tells that if Turkey could not be transformed to a Western Europe country, it may head to dangerous preferences and this is a possibility that limits the collaboration with Turkey; in addition he mentions that these four countries have limits for a comprehensive collaboration and says that "The only choice of America is allying with Europe or they will bog down."¹³⁰

It has been tried to tell that this project is not new. In Autumn 1995, the Greater Middle East was mentioned in the magazine of Joint Force Quarterly which is a great source for American army. The situation of Turkey is discussed in the article entitled "Turkey's role in the Greater Middle East" in the magazine in which the objectives of the US with respect to Middle East are analyzed. It is mentioned in the same issue, in the article entitled "Focus on the Middle East" by Hans Binnendijk, that new progressions in the Middle East threats the interests of the US and the article offers some suggestions to secure these interests. The writer in discussing how the US would achieve

¹³⁰ Brzezinski, Zbigniew, *Hegemonic Quicksand*, p. 6, <http://www.kas.de/upload/dokumente/brzezinski.pdf> (30 January 2006).

military control draws the map of "The Greater Middle East". The writer refers to the factors that change the geographical parameters of the region and mentions that the narrow definition of Middle East became obsolete; developed "The Greater Middle East" comprising a region from Turkey in the north to the Horn of Africa in the south, from Morocco in the west to Pakistan in the east. The writer states that the profits of the US needs oil resources in the region to be secured, Israel to be protected and political movements to be limited.¹³¹

Finally, the speech titled as "The New NATO and the Greater Middle East" done in Prag by R. Nicholas Burns, in October 2003, the NATO representative of the US, shows the greatness of the project, military characteristics developed against Middle East, what kind of threat that the US directed NATO through and what kind of operations against in this geographical region. Burns says that NATO will focus on The Greater Middle East goal and he mentions that "New mission is the most important mission. We accumulated an enormous continental army to region to defend Western Europe in the Cold War period. NATO will continue to defend Europe and North America. But we cannot do that by sitting in Western Europe, Central Europe or North America. We should settle our conceptual interests and

¹³¹ Joint Force Quarterly, Autumn 95, http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/jfq_pubs/autumn95.htm (30 January 2006).

military forces into the East and South. The futures of NATO are East and South. This is 'The Greater Middle East.'¹³²

A lot of things are mentioned until today as a reason of war. But the real reason is the "journey from the US dollar to Euro", the attempt for demolishing the domination of dollar. It should be remembered the Iraq occupation again: Saddam declared that they will sell Iraqi oil by taking Euro as a reference as a member of OPEC as from 6 November 2000. This was a courageous decision, Euro-Dollar parity was 0,8 at that time and Iraq was being damaged because dollar was losing its value against Euro. This was the biggest mistake of Saddam and an inexcusable declaration for the US. Two members of OPEC (Iran and Syria) were in the preparation period for shifting to Euro and other members were following and taking them as models. Venezuela (which has 17 % of the world oil reserves) also began to change its currency reserves as a mixture of Euro-Dollar. Russian Central Bank converted half of the reserves to Euro, China also did the same. Thus, an abnormal Dollar surplus and Euro demand emerged in the world markets. America loans Dollar to these countries and they sell their products to America to get out of their debts. As a vicious circle, the Dollar was circling between countries. If Asia abandoned Dollar and began to use Euro, the American economy would experience a self-collapse and the legend of Dollar would end. Because Asian countries need oil too. They were ready to use

¹³² Burns, R. Nicholas, The New NATO and the Greater Middle East, <http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/2003/25602.htm> (30 January 2006).

Euro in order to buy oil from OPEC. If Turkey also follows them by using Euro for international trade before being a member to EU, it would be harmful for Turkey.

But if Turkey starts to use Euro with other powerful countries such as Russia or China, it can get free from the US effect. Great empires in the history such as Carthage, Rome, Byzantium and Soviet Union were suddenly destroyed and dispersed when they are considered as on the top of their power. The US has to pay 1 billion dollar debt every day. Holding the NATO Summit in Turkey shows that Turkey is on a vital and historical turning point in respect of the futures of both self history and world history. Turkey is experiencing a time in which the EU expands, China ascends and the US penetrates to Balkans, Caucasus and Middle East deeply, it should be determined the opportunities in this environment. The US has found partners in every part of the world since Nixon Doctrine. As Melvin Laird the Minister of Defense said: "The America cannot carry on the job of being the police of the world anymore. We should find partners; we should provide oil forces from these partners. By means of these forces, we should put our enemies in their places in the region. It is obvious that the control mechanism of these forces would be hold totally by Washington."¹³³ If Turkey becomes a strategic partner of the US, it only may take missions as a subcontractor. Thus it may be deactivated in the long term as happened in the Cold War.

¹³³ Chomsky, op. cit., p. 196.

With the ending of the Cold War (actually in 1984), Turkey expected to get a share of victory as an ally of the West, but it encountered with the danger of decreasing in spite of increasing.¹³⁴ The most important reason of not appearing the Southeast problem during the cold war, the US did not want to create an unstable area in the East of Anatolia which is a possible occupation area for Soviet Union. Kurdish minority report prepared before the Cold war was postponed for that reason.¹³⁵

Russia the most important actors of international area seems as the opposite of America. But Putin government, which wants to make Russia powerful as old days, tries to strengthen the government. The most essential alternative of the government is not nationalist wing or old communists as supposed. Today there is a dispute in Russia and this dispute is actually between Russian state within state and global capitals. When Putin acceded, he eliminated the oligarch which integrated with global capital and confiscated their goods. He took the media which was being controlled by them. It should be seen as a war against international capital in spite of an internal war.¹³⁶ Just as America, Russia fights with international capital which is established in Southeast Asia for its national interests.

While Islam was being commented as supporting socialism once upon a time, it becomes a defender of global capital in these days. What a big

¹³⁴ Mütercimler, *Kompla Teorileri*, op.cit., p. 27.

¹³⁵ Özakıncı, Cengiz (2005), *Türkiyenin Siyasi İntiharı Yeni Osmanlı Tuzağı*, İstanbul: Otopsi Yayınları, p. 137.

victory to reconcile a belief with two opposite doctrine. Because foresaw model is suitable for international conditions. This model will be religion based. Islam will be commented as supporting market economy and as giving freedom to women to make them consumer in the market. So it will be provided that Muslim world would expand as a market. It is possible by making laicism discredited and its representative should be disgraced.¹³⁷ Inculcations to Turkey such as “forget the laicism” or “Kemalism is outdated” are the results of these situations. The struggle is not against a stateless terror but stateless capital.

Turkey should appreciate these conditions well for its national benefits. But today, foreign policy of Turkey is mainly under the control of Kemalist elite and this domination is shared by military elite and foreign policy elites who act as a natural alliance of military elite.¹³⁸ They should meet with alternative groups for right choices. Israel noticed the project just it was in constitution process and commentated in its opinion. Shimon Peres the old Israel Prime minister wrote a book as New Middle East in 1993 and this show that Israel wants to be included to planning.¹³⁹ But while the only problems in Turkey in these years were inflation pressure in economy and southeast

¹³⁶ Kaynak, *Derin Devlet*, op. cit., p. 179.

¹³⁷ Kaynak, Mahir, (2005), *Maskeli Balo*, İstanbul: Truva Yayınları, pp. 200-201.

¹³⁸ Aras, Bülent, (2004), *Ortadoğu ve Türkiye*, İstanbul: Q Matris, p. 16.

¹³⁹ Peres, Shimon, Biography, <http://nobelprize.org/peace/laureates/1994/peres-bio.html> (30 January 2006).

problem, the army made radical Islam a target in February 28th.¹⁴⁰

There are MNCs in the world today. They are as powerful as deciding what people would wear or drink. These enormous companies are economically qualified actors who are ready for 21st century have great organizations and financial potentials.¹⁴¹ There is such a condition in this project called as Greater Middle East: "people who defend global economy on the one hand, and Bush government who wants to establish a military hegemony on the world and soldier they need on the other hand."¹⁴²

The importance of Turkey surfaces with the need for soldiers. The estimated earliest conclusion date of GMEP is between 2012 and 2015. It is interesting that Turkey's accession negotiations with the EU will begin during this period. The coinciding of these two different processes, which are perceived as very different from one another, can be explained in the following way. The American administration needs a partner in the process of transforming the Middle East. If this partner will be Turkey, it can help the American administration only in the military sense. Besides, the economic crisis experienced just before September 11 has crippled Turkey. If the US administration and the EU could forge an agreement, the European Union can participate in the transformation process only economically, and can only

¹⁴⁰ Gökmen, Özgür, 28 Şubat: Bir "Batılılaşma Restorasyonu" Mu?, <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/tcimo/tulp/Research/og2.pdf> (30 January 2006).

¹⁴¹ Barnett, Richard J. and Mueller, Ronald E, Mechanisms of Corporate Rule, <http://www.converge.org.nz/pirm/mechcorp.htm> (30 January 2006).

¹⁴² Kaynak, *Maskeli Balı*, op. cit., p. 153.

provide benefits in the economic respect, because the Europe cannot compete with the US on the military field. During the 90s, events like Yugoslavia has explicitly demonstrated that such structures as OSCE and the European Army are still in need of the US support for the security of the Europe. In order for Europe to have a greater voice in the transformation of the Middle East, it needs for soldiers. These soldiers can be recruited from such countries as Poland and Ukraine in the short-term and from Turkey in the long-term. But if the US and Europe will be unable to agree on the GMEP, this time the struggle will be over Turkey. Therefore, Europe has prolonged Turkey's membership process beyond the year 2010 without closing the door.

In fact, when the general context of the project is considered, Turkey's inclusion is not limited with military aspects. Already in the maps drawn and lists prepared by the US administration, it is explicitly indicated that Turkey will undergo a transformation process like Iraq. To understand the nature of this inclusion, it is useful to look into the past, and as mentioned above, particularly to the 90s when the project took shape. Butros Gali, the General Secretary of the UN who presided over the opening of Habitat II Summit in June 1996, called President Suleyman Demirel to desk as the President of the Federal Republic of Turkey. Demirel did not correct this inaccurate title, and remained silent.¹⁴³ Gali stated that the spirit of Istanbul should direct the

¹⁴³ T. B. M. M. Tutanak Dergisi, Season : 20 Volume : 6 Legislation Year : 1, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanak/donem20/yil1/bas/b062m.htm> (29 January 2006).

future of the humankind and the cities and that this spirit means collaboration and friendship among governments and non-governmental organizations in order to create fair, secure, habitable towns and villages and he highlighted the phrase of Istanbul federate state. Gali: "the world is not including 200 countries anymore; it is going to a structure having 2000 and even 5000 countries."¹⁴⁴ His statements were discussed in the parliament and recorded in its minutes. So, what does all that mean? Can it be said that it was merely a slip of the tongue by the General Secretary of the UN? Then, how can it be explained that nobody reacted to him? In fact, this incident reveals the real intention of the UN in the world. This idea is a legacy from the time the UN was established and belongs to William Bullitt. Bullitt was the first diplomat who suggested starting a cold war against Soviet Union after WW II. He was the US Ambassador to the Soviet Union during November 1933 – May 1936, and acted as an ambassador in France later on. He was a defender of one world state.¹⁴⁵ Bullitt proposed a cold war against the Soviet Union in his book "The Great Globe Itself" published in 1946, and persuaded the US administration for cold war with his writings. Bullitt has come to be remembered as a prophetic diplomat after the collapse of the Soviet Union, because all his suggestions made in 1946 was implemented by

¹⁴⁴ Özakıncı, Cengiz, *Türkiyenin Siyasi İntiharı*, op. cit., p. 253.

¹⁴⁵ Bullitt, William Christian, <http://www.bartleby.com/65/bu/Bullitt.html> (30 January 2006).

the US administrations and all of his predictions came true.¹⁴⁶

He was the mentor of George Kennan who is a supporter of one world state, the first American diplomat suggesting religious unions against communism, viewing dialogue of religions as a weapon against the Soviet Union, and the father of the Cold War theory. He said: "it is real that we are the most powerful nation among the world nations. In order to carry the world leadership burden, we need wider mental opportunities in parallel to our economical power. Regional unions and associations such as Europe Federation, Middle East Federation and Asia Federation are not contrary to the constitution of the UN."¹⁴⁷

The strategy of establishing regional federations based on religion and tied to the US expressed by Bullitt in 1946 was adopted not only as a necessary method and stage to destroy the Soviet Union, but also to establish the one world state.¹⁴⁸ Middle East Federation, which is one of these federations, appears today as GMEP. To popularize the project, praises are poured on the Ottomans, and it is mentioned how equitable and fair the Ottomans were. It is evident that the current division of Iraq is based on the state system back in the Ottomans time, as Mosul in the north, Baghdad in the middle, and Basra in the south. This is what is called the "New Ottomanism". That is, dividing the regional countries into small

¹⁴⁶ William Bullitt,
http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives_roll/2003_01-03/sempa_bullitt/sempa_bullitt_p2.html (30 January 2006).

federations under the disguise of democratization, and then uniting them under a single regional confederation. At this point, the wording of the former UN Secretary General Butros Gali about Turkey can be understood clearer. Turkey is both a model with the historical Ottoman system, and the leader country for a future Middle East confederation.

The issue of patriarchate, which causes headaches to Turkey for long years, should be assessed in this context. Every Western leader making an official visit to Turkey visits, without exception, the Patriarch in Istanbul as well. They dare to mention the visit explicitly even in their official announcements.¹⁴⁹ Their goal is to control the Orthodox community just as Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror did.¹⁵⁰

As for Islam, the "Green Belt Project" was created during the Cold War Period. Turkey had participated in that project. Today, Turkey has come to bear a strategic importance in GMEP. Turkey, acting as the "Outpost" during the Cold War period, will now "Export a Model" in order to spread Liberal Islam in the Middle East. Thus, laicism has begun to be discussed and the Islamic face of Turkey has been remembered much more. Colin Powell, the

¹⁴⁷ Özakıncı, *Türkiyenin Siyasi İntiharı*, op. cit., p. 88.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 245.

¹⁴⁹ Türkiye, Uluslararası Din Özgürlüğü Raporu, p. 7, <http://turkey.usembassy.gov/uploads/images/YA9jOaF-EPIL25wNBJSvw/IRFR.pdf> (30 January 2006).

¹⁵⁰ Sandıklı, Atilla, Patrikhane ve Ekümenlik Tartışması, <http://www.tasam.org/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=52> (29 January 2006).

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the US, defined Turkey as an "Islamic Republic" in ZDF TV and said that:

"There will be an Islamic Republic in Iraq, just like the ones in Turkey and Pakistan. It will be according to a constitutional framework, according to the Sheri'a and the Qur'an law"... "the US is hoping for a democratic, Islamic Republic in Iraq"... "There is nothing that says that Islam and democracy cannot co-exist. Why should there not be other Islamic Republics like Turkey? Why should there not be democracy just like what Turkey has?"¹⁵¹

3.2 Solutions and Suggestions

When it is looked at Turkey's foreign policy after WW II, it can be seen that two projects such as the GMEP were put before Turkey. One is the Green Belt project developed at the beginnings of 1950s. The other is the concept of "strategic association" directed to increase the commerce with Middle Eastern countries by the leader of Özal in 1980s. In the first project, the relations between Iraq, Iran and Pakistan were strengthened by bringing these countries together by the leader of Menderes, on the other hand, the spread of the Soviets over the region was prevented. Unfortunately, many countries, most of all Egypt, opposed to the project and in 1960s, both the project failed and the leader of the project, Menderes government was recalled by the military coup. In the other project, Turkey by the leader of

¹⁵¹ Powell Calls Turkey 'Islamic Republic', <http://www.zaman.com/?bl=international&alt=&trh=20040403&hn=7146> (29January 2006).

Özal developed well rounded economical, commercial, financial, social and even political relations with the Middle Eastern countries. That was impeded after the Gulf War I. But in the GMEP, the attributions for Turkey came out as "model country, central country."

What they call as the Middle East is generally the old Ottoman lands in fact. Almost all countries included to the project were under the control of Ottoman formerly. When the Ottomans fell, the difference of religion and nation was in question, even today Iraq was divided with the same way. Under the control of the Ottomans, Iraq was consisting of three states like today. The dividing of the countries gives a reason for the political scenarios in the future. The method of the US is classically the method called as "Divide Et Impera." After removed by Rome, the Jews came back as in important role in world economy 2000 years later. England was the leader then, but now America is the leader. The most important reason that the Jewish lobby is effective in the US is the mutual relations. By the way, Turkey should become very close to the Turks in the Caucasus and Middle East to be effective.¹⁵² According to the report that CIA prepared: Turkey is in the regional hot spot and there is a possibility of popular insurrection in the future.¹⁵³ It is known very well that separatist movements are used by

¹⁵² Prof. Dr. Anıl Çeçen ile "Büyük Ortadoğu Projesi"nin İç Yüzü, <http://www.hakimiyetimilliyeye.org/modules.php?name=News&file=print&sid=1655> (30 January 2006).

¹⁵³ Global Trends 2015, p. 56, http://www.cia.gov/nic/PDF_GIF_global/globaltrend2015.pdf (30 January 2006).

the strong governments. Also the minorities in Turkey are taken advantage of them on all occasions. With the actual division of Iraq, a region posing threats to Turkey has emerged in the north of Iraq. Although wars bring catastrophe where happen, they also bring economical development surrounding there. The market of the Middle East was developed with the Iraq, Iran wars. Japan started to develop with the Korean war and Korea was developed with the Vietnam War,¹⁵⁴ America meet its needs from the places close to it, the Iraq war was not in favour of Turkey, but the next one may be so. "It is a traditional technique for imperial countries to exploit the local population by holding them under pressure with the help of local collaborators and legions. There are many examples of it. The Indian military functioned more than the English in the hold-down of India in the name of England. And then Indian legions were benefited greatly for holding the Indians under control."¹⁵⁵ While Turkey wants to take role in this region, it should not be in this position.

Today, there is an active group called hawks in the US government. When it is looked at the past, it can be seen that many of these people have taken role in the Reagan government. Also in this period, they had an aggressive manner. They undertook a smear campaign against Libya who wanted to use the oil as an economical weapon, when it was not effective, military solutions were implemented. As the power of Libya was limited, it could not stand

¹⁵⁴ Chomsky, op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 93.

much and the pressure was gone on as an embargo. Libya cannot be a serious rival against the US, the real rival was the Soviets then. The Ministry of Defense Rumsfeld was on the same duty. An extreme arming campaign was started to frighten the Soviet. According to the project called as "Star Wars"; America will place weapon against the Soviet threat and will be ahead for self-defense. Today it is known that with the project in question the US government did not do anything other than wasting millions of dollars for the Research-Development. The project was not other than a huge expense feeding just weapon companies. It is interesting that almost the same team come to the throne and do the similar things together with Bush.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless they defy whoever they want and it is mentioned about democracy. The American writer overstepped the limits to call the situation as the empire of the barbarism.¹⁵⁷ One of the most important reasons behind it is that the US is in economical gloom and the devaluation of Dollar. The foreign investors withdraw from the US market and it is the signal of a new crisis.¹⁵⁸ Today, it cannot be denied that the US is the giant economy of the world in capacity, but the goings-on are not on the right way.

From the points of famous historians, the goal of the politicians is to deceive the public. One of the famous historians Thomas Bailey says that

¹⁵⁶ Klare, Michael T., Rumsfeld: Star Warrior Returns, <http://www.thenation.com/doc/20010129/klare> (30 January 2006).

¹⁵⁷ Foster, John Bellamy and Clark, Brett , Empire of Barbarism, <http://www.monthlyreview.org/1204jbfclark.htm> (30 January 2006).

¹⁵⁸ Satran, Dick, StocksView: Slumping Dollar, Rising Stocks: What Gives?, <http://markethistory.com/news/pdf/REUTERS20031212.pdf> (30 January 2006).

"the public is quite narrow-minded, they are not aware of what is going on until the threats come very close to them. The state men have to deceive the public to keep the benefit of the public." Samuel Huntington, the Director of the International Relations in Harvard University agrees with him. He says that "we can show that it is a struggle against the Soviet Union to interference militarily by overstepping the limits and to interfere to the affair of other countries. This is the strategy that America has followed since Truman doctrine."¹⁵⁹ It should be evaluated well the things told and it should be determined a goal. It has been told that the terror is a serious threat for the public since September 11, but nobody helped Turkey against the terror was threat , and applied to the 5th article of NATO. People who voted for the Bush due to Gore's Jewish vice president candidate in the 2000 election, voted for the John Kerry as a reaction in the 2004 election. But neither of the president candidates were convincing for changing the American policy. Although Clinton seemed as a rival against to Bush senior, he is in the same action.¹⁶⁰ This can be the case for other countries. It should be avoided facing the same danger by orienting towards other countries because of naive American opposition.¹⁶¹

It can be said that the US and Russia that gave a direction to the world arena will not quarrel and will perform the model determined before during the foundation of new balance. These countries lived tension throughout the

¹⁵⁹ Chomsky, op. cit., p. 9.

¹⁶⁰ O'Brian, Cathy, (2002), *Baykuş İmparatorluğu*, İstanbul: Aykırı Yayıncılık, p. 127.

cold war, did not have a serious problem except from the small border disagreement (Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan). The conflicts was seen have the purpose of organizing and convincing. It is thought that results are gained by the conflict, but things were planned before. Today if the global finance in the center of conflict becomes one part of America by giving up the independence allegation, Russia, with America, will turn back to the double system mutually. The political power of EU becomes impossible and turns into a shape without a core.¹⁶² Both American and Russian government worry about the global finance, because the power of the global finance exceeds them. Finally, America and Russia becomes the region that the global finance governs. For this reason, they together will dispose of it.¹⁶³

The debatable history of Cyprus started with the agreement of Berlin in 1878. England that Ottoman sheltered anxiously in the case of Russia would engage in and the ally of the Crimean war demanded a wish for its help. Thrace was taken back that is in the same size with Cyprus. England was not intent to give the Bosphorus to Russia in fact. But Cyprus was given without making war. Cyprus, not only is very important strategically but it also is economically the most effective center of Eastern Mediterranean commerce since the past. But it could not be taken advantage of it before and after the embargo. The intervention of Turkey made Jewish ship-owners to take

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p. 252.

¹⁶² Kaynak, *Maskeli Balo*, op. cit., p. 188.

¹⁶³ Kaynak, *Derin Devlet*, op. cit., p. 176.

more advantage of it than Greek ship-owners in fact.¹⁶⁴ Turkey prevented Europe from taking here in the intervention of Cyprus.¹⁶⁵ Moving alone for Cyprus which is quite clear that it is included in the equation of the Middle East may make us cornered. If Cyprus stays in balance among the great powers, then Turkey can take part in the game. That the countries who blamed Turkey think that it was right act today is not surprising.

The global finance always moves with a super power, but when it became unique actor in the world scene, it left the super power. England is an important example of it. In the 21st century, the global finance is preparing to move with China. That is to say, China will be the power of the century. To be able to understand that the US is determined to locate in Afghanistan, it needs to be given attention to future that China and India promised. America on the other hand may have the danger of break-up inside because of the income distribution. Undoubtedly, the opposite may also be true. The state of California that the former actor is the Governor gave a signal of separation before Bush was elected. China may have the same problems as well and even more strongly. What is the answer of the people who are angry at the separation of the Kurds, when the Turks in Iran or China want to separate? It's hoped that the states that were praised as the Asian tigers will not turn into beasts when they start to strain Turkey in commerce. The

¹⁶⁴ Mütercimler, *21. Yüzyıl ve Türkiye*, op.cit., p.308.

¹⁶⁵ Çeçen, Anıl, *Büyük Ortadoğu ve Kafkasya*, <http://www.2023.gen.tr/tamyazi/kasimanil.htm> (30 January 2006).

world is not like in 19th century; even Abdulhamit II entered into relations with Japan to be a balance against Russia in those restricted conditions. He acknowledged the Muslims in China by sending a committee.¹⁶⁶

In the past Iran was the most important ally of America in the region. The American government did not become anxious when the mullahs started to grow,¹⁶⁷ but the French and Russian government knew how to take an advantage of it. They got the right to run the oil richness of Iran from the US. It is thought that America-Iran relations stopped after the revolution, but the Contra scandal showed that it is not in fact. Moreover, the weapons were provided from Israel.¹⁶⁸ Israel does not want any country to be strong in the region in fact, for this purpose it came close to the weak to draw itself. It is the worst hidden secret of the Middle East that Israel which seems to help Turkey on terror supports the separation of Kurds.¹⁶⁹ Arabians always depend on cotton fibre in the relations with others. Anyway, the Arabian states were taken apart from Ottoman and founded superficially because of the oil after the WW I . The meetings to be done with the regional countries against the GMEP are ready to disintegrate at any moment. It should be doubted about the trust of Arabs on Turks,¹⁷⁰ because of not only the

¹⁶⁶ Belgelerle Osmanlı Türkistan İlişkileri, <http://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/yayin/osmanli/osmanliturkistan/68.htm> (30 January 2006).

¹⁶⁷ Sevindi, Nevval, (1994), *İki Ülke İki Devrim: Türkiye ve İran*, İstanbul: Say Yayınları, p.115.; Özakıncı, Cengiz, (2002), *United States of İrtica*, İstanbul: Otopsi Yayınları, p. 214.

¹⁶⁸ Yavuz, Turan, (2003), *Abd'nin Kürt Kartı*, İstanbul: Otopsi Yayınları, p. 59.

¹⁶⁹ Yurtsever, Hasan (2004), *İsrail ve Büyük Ortadoğu Projesi*, İstanbul: Düşünce Yayınları, p. 106.

¹⁷⁰ Berkay, Gül İnang, (2001), *Abd Diplomasisinde Türkiye 1940-43*, İstanbul: Buke Yayınları, p. 38; Özakıncı, Cengiz, (2005), *Türkiyenin Siyasi İntiharı*, op. cit., p. 78.

English propaganda, but also for their potential hatred that may remain from pre-Islamic periods.

The matter of Iraq has been a problem for Turkey since 1990. Although the beginning of the southeast problem is old, the period that it came close to be unsolvable was the beginnings of 1990s. The candidate country which wants to be regional actor like Turkey "should not do its analysis as regional and small. The foundation or non-foundation of a Kurdish state does not change the balance of the world. But today, all the conflict is about the balance of the world. And Turkey should take these into consideration: Can America accept to lose Turkey? If so, there is no problem, then it founds a Kurdish state against Turkey. In today's conditions, if America loses Turkey, it loses ground very much in the war. For this reason, Turkey should not get caught in such problems."¹⁷¹ The conditions seem unsuitable to establish a Kurdish state in the southeast of Turkey. As the Kurdish state to be established in the northern Iraq will depend on Turkey in terms of defense, Turkey may use it as a factor to enlarge the manoeuvre area.¹⁷² Turkey may be profitable by the independence of Iraq and running of oil to be developed economically.

Terror is one way to suppress the voice of public. In the atmosphere of suppression the reaction of the public against policies needed becomes weak. The terrorists can be blamed for whenever wished. When the goal was

¹⁷¹ Kaynak, *Derin Devlet*, op. cit, p. 174.

reached, "they can boast for they handled the problem, they deleted the terrorists supposedly." These can happen to every state under the influence area of the US.¹⁷³ But the empires have a lifetime. They are politically unstable, the dependent units always prefer more independence and the elite opposition in these units moves to gain more independence when it has a chance. In this sense, the empires will not fall, moreover they will separate. It is generally slow though it is sometimes highly fast.¹⁷⁴ The American government chooses the attack to solve their problems, but the method of retreat that Russia followed when it lose the Soviet Union should not be omitted. People in Turkey deceived by the praise says: "your one soldier is equal to our ten missiles" for years and now people are wanted to be used as legions. The explanations of the biggest export factor of Turkey are its military sums the duty given. As Dulles, minister of foreign affairs of the US said, it should not be the "cheap soldiers" of the others.¹⁷⁵

For the Ottoman of which lands and oil regions were taken by using every kinds of cheatings the US president Wilson said that "The Ottoman had to fall", and said that one of the reasons for this fall was oil. The similar sentence was expressed as "to understand the 20th century, the history of Turkey is the key, but I believe that the future of Turkey will play an

¹⁷² Mütercimler, *21. Yüzyıl ve Türkiye*, op. cit., p. 441.

¹⁷³ Chomsky, op. cit., p. 157.

¹⁷⁴ Puchala, Donald, (1994), *The History of the Future of International Relations, Ethics and International Affairs 8*, p. 183; Brzezinski, Zbigniew, (2005), *Büyük Satranç Tahtası*, op. cit., p. 25.

¹⁷⁵ Özakıncı, *Türkiyenin Siyasi İntiharı*, op. cit., p. 77.

important role for the taking shape of the first century of the thousand years." by the US ex-president Clinton in his speech in the assembly when he visited Turkey. ¹⁷⁶ Turkey is in the new turning point, should do its choices truly. England wanted to divide Ottoman in the WW I, therefore it pushed Ottoman to the opposite side. Today, the US follows the same way, it should be provided the balance truly.

Needed courage for the true decisions; it should be remembered the saying of the famous writer Bernard Shaw as follows:

"...the reasonable man adapts himself to the world; the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore, all progress depends on unreasonable man!!!"

¹⁷⁶ Abd Başkanı Clinton'un Türkiye Ziyareti 15-19 November 1999, http://www.belgenet.com/arsiv/clintontbmm_01.html (30 January 2006).

CONCLUSION

The US has always been a country which produces projects. The successes in their projects are not surprising because the point they reached, is the evidence of how they well in producing and applying. Several projects have produced since 1823 Monroe doctrine, the US has raised one step at all. People are facing now with the most important of these.

The US came to position of the only super force of the world suddenly with the ending of the Cold War. The US behaved as if it was gendarme of the world during the year 90s. The US as the greatest economy of the world, but it provides this greatness thanks to the huge internal and external debts in every year. Initiative is not owned about banking and producing industry anymore. Investments are now directed to Asia-Pacific countries. China which is the fastest developing economy, is preparing to be now a giant with great population.

The most important aspect differentiating GMEP from other projects is that it is a matter of surviving as a superpower or becoming an ordinary country for the US. If it can be successful, in the Middle East cannot be shared at the time of the Cold War, a new construction which is useful for the US will appear. On the contrary, richness of the US can decrease quickly with decreasing of demand on dollar. Most of the countries that is qualified as powerful, have the thought of world sovereignty. However, few of them have the organization and power to realize this. Even the greatest rival of the

US, Soviet Union couldn't reach this aim. The US is the biggest candidate for world hegemony with its military force and vast amount of money.

The process which is prepared subjects such as NATO defense strategy Centcom, terror, started with the event of September 11. The US administration started a unilateral hegemonic expansion towards the Greater Middle East. This will bear enormous impact on international security. Economic distress of the US and more importantly the risk of losing Petro-Dollar sovereignty accelerated this process which sometimes leads to problems or confrontations due to lack of administrative preparations.

Turkish people have been in a critical geography during the history with a notable civilisation background. Turkey is likely to be a key of the plans for democratization and economic development in the Middle East. Therefore, it is in the middle of the developments regarding the GMEP. The collapse of the Ottomans was the result of the interests of the big forces in this region. It is being faced the same situation today. The Middle East is again candidate to be the key thanks to the possessing of petroleum and strategic position. In fact, both preferences were oppose to Turkey. It should be produced third preference to decide for the future of Turkey. As old the US President said; Turkey's preference will determine the twenty first century. The whole international system needs to initiate a new mechanism to prevent unilateral disastrous effects of such an approach. Only having provided this, the plans

like the GMEP would achieve desired success and draw support from insider forces.

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