

GLOBAL CURRENTS AND TURKEY

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As we approach the 21st century, the political scene is witnessing the emergence of an increasing number of independent states and an augmentation in nationalistic tendencies and approaches within the existing states. With the end of the Cold War a number of independent states have been formed on the territories of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The new states are being shaped according to the classical state model, complete with elements which determine their independence, such as a national government, armed forces, customs and border crossings, a budget and a national currency. While the modern approach with an increased respect for democracy and human rights appears to hold the individuals before the state, countries which display a contrary attitude are subjected to the strict criticism and resistance of world opinion.

The trend in economic developments in the world is completely different. In contrast to the political fragmentation, the economy is heading towards unification, liberalisation, and globalisation, under the leadership of the United States of America. The Uruguay and Tokyo Rounds have been the most effective instruments of these economic policies.

Consequently, today's global community is faced with the task of harmoniously combining traditional political structures, national consciousnesses, social needs and institutional organisations with such a technological change and economic integration as could not have even been imagined half a century ago.

No nation, as it prepares for the 21st century, has the opportunity to keep itself outside these emerging global trends or remain disinterested about these rapidly developing events. For, these events, like it or not, affect the fates of all nations and communities, and have become the primary element in continuing their existence. When the institutions of an existing regime fail to keep up with these developments the people first inform them of their discontent and then are forced into actions that might go so far as armed conflict. The break-up of countries such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the pleas for help discontented groups make to other countries, international organisations and NGOs, the search for legal-illegal means of immigration, and the embracing of nationalism and fundamentalism are all examples of the headaches caused to communities which have failed to keep up with these political and economic developments in the world. The solution to the problems recent developments may create in various countries does not lie in protectionism, rejection and obstruction of technologies and views, or the alteration of constitutions and elective systems. Those communities which wish to better enter the 21st century might, if necessary, have to reorganise their national structures and capabilities and abandon their old habits and attitudes. Government authorities which are prepared to make such changes in the name of long-term goals may be compelled to struggle against management and business circles with an interest in maintaining the status quo. Especially, in societies which have not been fully informed of the need to take precautions against these changes, it might be considered difficult, or even unfair to expect people who cannot enjoy the present to alter their existing work practices and make sacrifices for the future.

Nevertheless, it is essential that these precautions be taken. Thus nations which fail to follow emerging political and economic orders, whose rate of development is slow or even negative and whose national revenue declines or remains stable, will in the face of other nations' developments, have no competitive power or chance of survival in the 21st century. For instance, nations which fail to curb their population growth and which allow environmental problems to run their course without intervening, will pay heavily by having to face the contempt of nations which engage in international activities in related fields, and will therefore become the grounds for major political feuds, social unrest, armed conflicts and even war in the upcoming century. It would not be erroneous to say that nations which fail to recognise man's own power to create as the most important global resource (ie technology, organisational skills), and which do not take an active role in corresponding international activities nor begin to implement new practices immediately, hold no

hope for the 21st century. A game can only remain a gamble if it is played without having had a say in the establishment of its rules. For this reason, the job at hand is to immediately begin to evaluate the events of the 21st century, to participate in the preparation and establishment of the ground rules so as to ensure their suitability for individual national conditions, and to consequently strive towards raising national consciousness.

Another approach that is just as dangerous as opposing or ignoring changing global conditions is to strictly appropriate and implement these new rules, which are determined by and according to the structures and benefits of economically advanced nations, without taking into consideration the conditions of the specific nation. In this complicated era it does not seem feasible for nations to be solely governed according to macro-economic policies. Issues such as liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation present considerable threats unless approached with the utmost care, a sense of timing and an awareness of a nation's particular conditions.

We have witnessed the fact that a number of nations which attempted to alter their economic systems and policies without having made the necessary preparations and studies to ensure their suitability, have been eventually faced with disappointment. It is impossible to achieve success by changing a nation's economic decision-making mechanism and implementing by role models cultivated according to the conditions of developed countries without first considering each particular nation's own set of economic, cultural and financial values and resources. What is important is to develop national systems which have as their basis the general principles of the times, and to move within these systems towards institutionalisation. It is necessary to judge these decisions and their execution according to how much they contribute over a developmental period, and not according to their immediate, temporary effects.

Long-term development is first and foremost dependent upon the existence of institutions which can be self-managed. Only opportunists stand to benefit from temporary gains achieved under the guise of renewal and change. Furthermore, while such behaviour undermines a nation's legal, ethical, educational, technological and administrative institutions to an extent which is hard to repair, it also obstructs long-term development. Therefore, it is only possible to adopt important political and economic concepts of our age such as liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation as a national policy through the implementation of systems developed as a result of scientific, political, social and economic research on these concepts.

No reasonable person would reject, or find undesirable, the prosperous and peaceful order engendered by economic development. However, if for the sake of renewal and change and through tolerated means, economic interests are allowed to overshadow ethics and morality, which are as much the fundamental element of the economy, finance, industry, agriculture and trade, as of the social fabric, this might pose a grave danger to the fate of the individual and society at large. The fact that societies which on a daily basis feel the acute frustration and pain of this lack of morality, embrace religion as a saviour should be treated with understanding. At first glance it might seem the unfortunate fate of a people when religious exploitation groups take advantage of this tendency. Let us suppose that the soundest judgement in a society is that of the public majority, and that this is an expression of the truth reached through a somewhat lengthy manner instead of the claim of those who blindly believe in democracy. Then it would not be insupportable optimism to expect the public will to overcome this regrettable fate.

In the face of changing circumstances and interests, international co-operation in the 21st century will be different from that of the Cold War era. It is possible for governments to be successful in this co-operation provided that they perceive very early their targets, national interest and what lies ahead in an overhanging environment, and base their policies upon specific data which confirms these perceptions. Global theories of strategic and geographic importance remain valid for all ages. However, there will undoubtedly be differences between strategies which gained prominence during the Cold War era and those theories of strategic and geographic importance which will be employed in international co-operation in the 21st century.

Turkey needs to study patiently, meticulously, scientifically and systematically all 21st century issues which have the potential to create problems and changes. Below, I would like to touch upon two topics which are critical for Turkey, according to the space kindly provided.

It is calculated that petroleum will retain its importance as an energy resource at least for the next 30 years, particularly because of its use in transportation. Even if an alternative energy resource is discovered, it is evident that the United States' world leadership in economic and industrial fields is explained by the monopoly it holds in petroleum research technology. It is said that the United States' two biggest rivals, Japan and Germany, are at a disadvantage not so much because they did not possess nuclear arms technology during the Second World War, but because they lacked the technology and opportunity for petroleum exploration. In fact, it has been pointed out in a number of memoirs, evaluations, books and articles, that the real reason behind the 1990 Persian Gulf War was this conflict of interests.

As we enter the 21st century, one critical point on the subject of petroleum which must be noted is that the era of OPEC is now over, and rather than countries which produce petroleum, it is the countries and companies which transport, refine, and especially buy, sell, and thus govern the pricing of petroleum, which stand to benefit from this business. The chances of success in this field are largely related to geography. In this respect, Turkey has an ideal geographic location since it is situated close to countries which both produce and consume petroleum. It is at the crossroads of petroleum transportation. Yet, it would be impossible to claim that Turkey has thus far fully benefited from its location. There has been no co-operation in the transport and trade of the petroleum of neighbouring Iran because of its known conduct and policies. The transportation of Iraqi oil, meanwhile, has remained limited to the renting of a pipeline. Due to Saddam Hussein's own imprudent policies, even this opportunity has been rendered impossible for a long period in recent years. Later, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Turkey expressed interest and sought opportunities for co-operation in the transportation of natural gas and petroleum from the Turkic states of the Caucasus and Central Asia. The fact that western nations show no willingness to allot their technology or financial resources towards such projects, which require immense investments in very high risk regions, is sufficient proof that these endeavours are neither realistic nor cost effective. It is thought that further attention towards these projects is simply to keep us out of the competition. It is my belief that there are far more simple, stable, and seemingly profitable opportunities by which Turkey can benefit out of petroleum.

Based on the examples of Rotterdam and Singapore, which best illustrate the logistical importance of location, Turkey and the region in which it is located, must plan how to modernise its existing refineries and, from the point of view of capacity, productivity and quality, establish high-calibre refineries. Turkey can and must assume the role outlined for it in this field, with an awareness of both its own economic interests and the opportunity for increasing regional co-operation.

Egypt has been exporting refined petroleum and petroleum products to Africa since the 1970s. Increasing its daily refining capacity of 570,000 barrels of petrol, will spur activity in Egypt's consignment delivery of petroleum. Furthermore, an expansion of storage capacity added to the existing increase in the capacity of the Sumed pipeline, seen as an alternative to the Suez Canal, will provide further impetus for this initiative. The renovation and increase in capacity of the old Trans-Arabian pipeline, which carries petroleum from Saudi Arabia across Jordan to Syria and Lebanon, and, in particular, the extension of the pipeline to the Black Sea to meet the needs of Ukraine, is a good example of far-reaching regional co-operation.

The foremost of these opportunities is making modifications to the Yumurtalık oil pipeline. At present, Turkey's profits from the pipeline are limited to the revenue accrued from its rental. Whereas, by securing a preferred nation status from Iraq on the purchasing right of the oil with current prices, the moment it emerges from the pipeline in İskenderun, Turkey can truly benefit from this pipeline.

The purchased oil, while being stored in already existing or additionally constructed facilities in a raw or preferably nationally refined condition, could not only sustain our armed forces for at least 30 days, but also help Turkey take part in what is now a monopoly of the oil market and prices, provided that the non-Mediterranean buying and selling is timed correctly.

The second option by which Turkey can take advantage of the petroleum-related opportunities has to do with the transportation of oil to the Black Sea. I am of the opinion that in this matter, what is most important for Turkey is not the fashion of oil transportation or its destination in the Black Sea,

but rather its fate upon arrival. If you note the fact that Europe currently provides for its petroleum needs either from its own resources or by importing it, the main shipping destination for Caucasian and Central Asian petroleum is the Far East, and no matter where the oil arrives on the Black Sea it is obligatory that it be transported through Turkey. It is possible for us to profit from the transportation and refinery of this oil, and to store it in our own depots, thus benefiting our own Treasury through market fluctuations and allowing us to determine oil prices. Therefore, the best way to take advantage of this petroleum opportunity is to establish a refinery in Zonguldak or Karabük, and, until this ultimate goal is reached, to construct pipelines which will transport Black Sea petroleum from Karabük-Zonguldak to our Mediterranean or Aegean ports and to Aliağa or other refineries.

In this case there will arise a need to increase the capacities of Turkey's existing refineries, or to build new ones. It is possible to increase the capacity of the Aliağa refinery, which was built with Russian technology, by up to 70 per cent using solely Turkish technology. With experience gained from such a project, the upgrading of Russian refineries, which were abandoned and rendered obsolete with the Russian transition to nuclear energy, but which were re-embraced after Chernobyl, would provide great opportunities for Turkish companies specialising in this field.

The United States can be made to contribute administrative, financial, and technological aid, and to thus join in the co-operation between Russia and Turkey. In order to realise all these joint projects including increasing the capacity of refineries, this co-operation would involve production, transportation and depot construction efforts. There are two clear advantages for the United States:

- Entering into a valid and consistent project with Russia in such an important field as petroleum and furthering its economic relations with the latter
- Becoming a partner in the monopoly of Mediterranean petroleum which still remains in the hands of others.

Following the construction of the pipeline which will transport petroleum from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, it will be possible to obtain co-operation and support from Russia and the USA concerning necessary changes to the convention governing the passage of oil tankers, most of which are old and dilapidated, through the Dardanelles and Bosphorus straits, sparing Istanbul and the Sea of Marmara from pollution and imminent disaster.

Economic co-operation centered around petroleum, and including Russia and the USA, would be easier to direct towards projects in the Turkic states of Central Asia. Thus, economic co-operation which is realistic and based on common interests, would undoubtedly calm the politics and increase the prosperity of the region.

I believe that this and other similar projects, the research, evaluation and negotiations of which will be carried out in a scientific, logical and professional manner, are a powerful enough means to single handedly carry Turkey into the 21st century. Thus, not only will it be possible to pay our foreign debts, provide our economy with the resources it needs, and increase our country's credibility, but it will also become feasible to follow more sovereign and weightier policies in our immediate region and in the world.

The second means by which Turkey will securely enter the new millennium will be by paying the necessary attention to environmental issues.

The main expectation of the 21st century is, as has always been the case, the fulfilment of man's primary needs. These primary needs will remain the same as those in the time of Adam and Eve, that is, air, water, food and shelter.

Adam and Eve were provided naturally with these, and were not even aware that they were needs. It was only when they made the transition from eating vegetables to eating meat that they had to inconvenience themselves with killing animals, and in time they felt the need to clothe themselves

and seek shelter. The packaging of foods dates back a long time. Yet bottling water is a phenomenon of the late 20th century. It is evident that by the 21st century even air will have to be attained with money. The proper terminology for this is tourism. It is already clear that mankind, in order to seek shelter once again, will have to embrace firmly the notion of environmental protection and implement it after having determined the rules.

As we approach the end of the 20th century we have realised that the world is not as large as it seemed, and life is not as guaranteed. Astronaut John Glenn remarked on his first trip to the moon, "we went out to explore space but ended up discovering the world; how fragile the atmospheric layer appears." The sort of problems that will be caused by population growth in the 21st century, and the possible methods of preventing them, are important and wide ranging enough topics for major research. I will suffice with saying that, taking into account the world's increasing population, we will be unable to look with hope into the next century unless the allocation of the world's limited air, water and land are monitored according to definite regulations.

Since environmental problems are a world-wide threat they are difficult to perceive and their solutions are as hard to raise interest in as they are to finance.

The belief that nothing will happen to our vast world, that nature will repair and renew itself, and that it is not the individual's problem, are widespread in every community. However, this is an erroneous approach. It is not prophetic to realise that the environment will be the primary issue of the 21st century. Societies which today are questioned about human rights violations will find themselves in trouble with environmental violations in the 21st century. Therefore it will be advantageous to approach the subject immediately and systematically and raise social consciousness. Another aspect of this issue is participation in a prepared and active manner in international summits which seek to research and take preventive measures against environmental problems, and by contributing to these summits, ensure that the standards and regulations are defined in accordance with our conditions and views. The determination of these regulations and standards are too serious a matter to leave to the monopoly of technologically advanced nations. A contrary approach will lead to the exploitation of both our nation and our people on this vital matter.

Situated within the world's most suitable climate and geography, and its natural beauty adorned with historical and varied civilisations, our country can become the pearl of 21st century tourism, provided that environmental protection measures are taken immediately.

Tourism's development together with unavoidable models such as energy production, the establishment of new industries, the production of goods, and telecommunications, and the utmost environmental awareness in any plan or project, will be the key measurements of a state's success in the 21st century.

Spain and Greece realise today that they have suffered great losses due to poor planning 20 years ago in the marketing of their climate and natural beauty. Currently the demand for Turkey's unspoilt natural beauty is higher than ever. In other words, the value of our climate and nature has increased because of the exhaustion of others.

Since air and nature have become the equivalent of gold, it is the duty of our people not to slay the goose that lays the golden egg with environmentally detrimental behaviour. The interests of individuals, and even political parties, do not always coincide with the interests of society which can extend over centuries. In the effort to overcome environmental problems, raised national consciousness is, as in all other areas, the most effective safeguard against individual and political interests.