

# Türkiye ve Suriye: Stratejik Derinliğin Sonu\*

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Türkiye-Suriye ilişkileri, sadece AK Parti'nin iktidara geçmesinden önce değil, Şam ile Ankara arasında 1998'de başlayan güvenlik ve siyasi alanlardaki iyileşme sürecinin başlamasından çok daha öncesine götürülecek güçlü bir darbeye maruz kaldı. Son sarsıntı, sadece geçici bir durak olmanın da ötesinde henüz çerçevesinin çizilmesinin mümkün olmadığı başka kuralların geçerli olduğu, yeni dönemin başlangıcını bizlere haber veriyor.

Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin iktidara geçmesinden sonra ortaya çıkan Türkiye-Suriye yaklaşmasına, sadece temellerinin sayın Prof. Dr. Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun attığı yeni bir düşüncenin yansıması değil, aynı zamanda ABD'nin Irak işgali ve bu işgale eşlik eden mezhebi, etnik ayrışmalar ile bölünme kaygısının meydana getirdiği sıkıntı ve tehditlerden kaynaklanan çıkarların kesişmesinin de önemli katkısı olmuştur. Türkiye ve Suriye'nin sınırlarında süper bir gücün varlığının da etkisiyle bu birliktelik gerçekleşmiştir.

Çok boyutluluk siyaseti gereği Türkiye, Balkanlar ve Kafkaslardan Rusya ve Kuzey Afrika'ya kadar yakın çevresine açılmıştır. Ancak bu siyaset çerçevesinde tarih, medeniyet ve coğrafya siyasetine öncelik tanımış, ancak bu siyasetin en önemli köşe taşı Arap dünyası olmuştur.

Arap doğusu içerisinde, Türkiye'nin bu siyasetini hayata geçirmesi bakımından 800 km.'lik sınırı olan Suriye, -özellikle de Irak'ın Türkiye bakımından Arap dünyasına açılan kapısı değil de bir Kürt kapısı olduğu göz önüne alındığında- öncelikli

öneme haiz bir ülke ve Arap dünyasına açılan kapısı olmuştur. Ankara ile Şam arasında meydana gelen yakınlaşma sadece iki ülke arasında meydana gelen bir husus olmamış, bu, aynı zamanda Abdullah Gül, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan ve Ahmet Davutoğlu üçlüsü ile Beşşar Esed arasında gerçekleşen şahsi bir yakınlaşmayı da sağlamıştır. Türkiye, önceki dönemlerde birkaç kez meydana gelen kuşatma olgusunun Suriye üzerinde meydana getirdiği baskıyı hafifletme ve tehdidi bertaraf etme noktalarında önemli katkılarda bulundu. Türkiye, Amerikalıların Irak'ı işgalinden ve dönemin Dışişleri Bakanı Colin Powel'in tehditleriyle Suriye'yi izole etme çabaları sırasında, ayrıca Lübnan Başbakanı Refik Hariri suikastı sebebiyle suçlamaların Suriye'ye yöneltilmesinden sonra Türkiye, hep Suriye'nin yanında oldu.

Buna karşılık Suriye de kapılarını ardına kadar Türkiye'ye açtı. Bu, Arap aleminin kapısının Türkiye için sonuna kadar açılması bakımından son derece önemliydi. Suriye'nin yaptıklarının ehemmiyeti sadece bununla da sınırlı değildi. Özellikle Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun Stratejik Derinlik kitabında şiddetle eleştirdiği katı Arap milliyetçiliğinin savunucusu Baas ideolojisinin bayraktarlığını yaptığı Suriye rejiminin, Türkiye'nin geçmişinde NATO müttefikliği ve İsrail'le olan ittifakı sebebiyle oluşan olumsuz izlenimlerin giderilmesi gibi örnekler gündeme geldiğinde Türke açısından önemi kat be kat artmaktadır. Suriye, bu geçmişe rağmen Türkiye'nin Arap dünyasıyla beyaz bir sayfa açarak

Arap dünyasının kapılarından içeri girmesi noktasında son derece cüretkar bir tutum sergilemiştir.

Suriye'nin ve diğer Arap ülkeleriyle 20. yüzyıl boyunca yaşananların ardından iki halk arasındaki kardeşlik, Toprak kardeşliği (Suriye'de Osmanlı'nın son döneminde iki ülke arasındaki ilişkileri konu alan bir diziyeye atfen İhvetu't Turab) olunca bütün Türkiye dizileri Arap kanallarında sadece Suriye lehçesiyle yayınlanmaya başladı. Suriye'de çekilen Babul Hara (Mahalle kapısı) adlı dizinin başarısından sonra Türk dizileri, Mısır ya da Körfez ülkeleri lehçesiyle yayınlanmış olsaydı aynı başarıyı gösteremezdi. (Kaldı ki bu dizilerin önemli bir bölümü son derece basit, yüzeysel ve Türklerin biz-zat kendilerinin itirafıyla Türkiye'nin gerçeklerini yansıtmayan diziler olmasına rağmen bu başarı elde edildi.)

Suriyeliler yeni Türkiye'nin yıldızının parlatılmasında önemli katkılarda bulundu. İlişkilerin yıllar boyu durgun bir seyir izlemesinin ardından Türkiye'ye Suriye ile İsrail arasında arabuluculuk yapma "Şeref"ini verdi. İsrail, Gazze saldırısından sonra Türkiye'nin yeniden arabuluculuğuna itiraz ederken, Suriye Türkiye dışındaki tüm seçeneklerini reddettiğini İsrail tarafına bildirdi.

Su sorununun iki devlet arasında henüz halledilmiş olmaması ve Fırat üzerinde yapılan yeni projelerden en çok zararı Suriye'nin görmesine rağmen, Suriye tarafı bu ihtilafı eskisi gibi bir soruna dönüştürmeme stratejisi yürüttüler. Hatta başkan Esed, yeni dostluk döneminin bir ifadesi olarak, başbakan Erdoğan'ın talebi

üzerine, kendisi şiddetle suya ihtiyaç duymasına rağmen bir süre önce Türkiye'ye Asi nehrinden ek su vermeyi kabul etti. Arap milliyetçiliği açısından son derece stratejik öneme sahip olan Hatay sorununun bile, Türkiye ile imzalanan ticaret anlaşmasında BM'nin tanıdığı sınırları kendisinin de tanıdığını kabulü içeren ifadeler de kullanarak bu sorunu literatürden çıkarmaya razı oldu.

Güvenlik alanında Suriye yönetimi sadece Suriye içinde değil Lübnan'da bile PKK unsurlarının etkisiz hale getirilmesi için Türkiye'yle her türlü işbirliğini yaptı. Suriye, Türkiye'nin geçmişteki olumsuz mirasına yönelik psikolojik düşmanlık duvarını yıkarak Türkiye'nin beyaz bir at üzerinde bir melek suretinde Arap bölgesine, Arapların kalbine ve aklına yeniden dönüşüne yardımcı oldu.

Türkiye'nin sıfır sorun ve komşularına açılma politikasındaki başarısının en önemli atlama taşı Suriye'di. Bu ülke, Erdoğan'ın suni dediği sınırlar kaldırılması ve bölgenin bütünleşmesi noktasındaki Davutoğlu rüyasının gerçekleştirilmesinde önemli bir nokta olmuştur. AB'ye katılma hülyası suya düşen Türkiye, gerek stratejik işbirliği konseyinin kurulması, gerekse taraflar arasındaki eşitsiz ekonomik kalkınmışlığa rağmen -Türkiye'nin devasa ekonomisi karşısında Suriye'nin ekonomisi oldukça mütevazı kalmaktadır- Gümrüklerin kaldırılması ve vizesiz dolaşım hayata geçebilme imkanı bulmuştur. Diğer taraftan baktığımızda bu eşitsizliğin, Irak'la Türkiye arasında ekonomik işbirliği konseyi anlaşmasının imzalanması önündeki en büyük engel olarak durduğunu görüyoruz.

Suriye her zaman başta Türkiye olmak üzere komşularıyla ilişkisini başka diğer bütün çıkar ve değerlendirmelerinin üzerinde görmüştür.

Ancak Arap devrimlerinin başlaması ve protestoların Suriye'ye sıçramasıyla birlikte, iki ülke arasındaki tablo değişmeye başlamıştır. Türkiye bu noktada Arap devrimlerine karşı ikircikli bir tavır sergilemekle birlikte Suriye'nin durumunun farklı olduğunu söylemek durumundayız. Suriye sadece stratejik derinlik politikasının başarısı bakımından değil aynı zamanda Türkiye'nin etnik ve mezhepsel yapısının Suriye'ye benzemesi bakımından da Türkiye için diğer Arap ülkelerinden farklılık arz etmektedir.

Türkiye'nin sorunları sadece mezhebi ve etnik sorunlarla sınırlı olmadığından siyasi sorunları bakımından da Türkiye'yle benzerlik söz konusudur. Suriyeliler siyasi birlikliklerinin ve ülkenin bütünlüğünün diğer bütün mezhebi ve etnik farklılıklarının önüne geçmesiyle övünürler. Suriye'de karışıklıklar çıkmaya başladığında Türkiye'nin yavaş yavaş uç veren ve netleşmeye başlayan tutumunu aşağıdaki gibi özetlemek mümkündür:

Türkiye, gerçekleşmesi kaçınılmaz olan reform ve değişim olgusuna destek vermektedir. Göstericilere karşı barışçı bir tutum sergilenmeli, onlara şiddet ile karşılık verilmemeli, siyasi tutuklular ile düşünce suçluları salıverilmelidir. Olağanüstü hal kaldırılmalı, demokratik dönüşümün gerçekleşmesi için siyasi çoğulculuk kabul edilmelidir. Değişimin Esed liderliğinde gerçekleşmesi en doğru seçenektir, istikrarı koruyacak ve içteki patlamayı engelleyecek olan şık budur. Türkiye bu doğrultuda Esed yönetimine birçok temsilci ve yetkili göndererek, bunun gerçekleşmesini sağlamaya çalışmıştır.

Suriye'deki gösteriler ve protestolar şüphesiz ülkede tedavi edilmesi gereken ve çok daha cesaretle üzerine gidilmesi gereken ciddi bir siyasi sorunun varlığını göstermektedir. Zira

gerçekten yönetimin reformları hayata geçirme isteğini gösterdiği söylene bile buna güç yetiremeyen alışlageldik kurumlarla ve geleneksel zihniyetle yola devam edilmesi mümkün değil, olaylar bunu gösteriyor.. Bu nedenle gelişim ve reform konularında Türkiye'nin en yüksek düzeyde görevliler göndererek yardım etmeye çalışması son derece önemliydi. Bununla da yetinmedi çözümün sadece güvenlikle önlemleriyle ya da uygulanabilirliği olmayan sloganlarla ve dolayısıyla sorunun devam etmesine yol açan açık oyalama taktikleriyle sağlanamayacağını anlatmaya çalıştı. Ancak bütün bunlara rağmen, bu aktardıklarım Türkiye'nin Suriye'yle olan ilişkilerini sarsıntıya uğratan bir takım açıklama, hareket ve tutumlarını meşrulaştırmaz. Zira bu yapılanlar, iki ülke arasındaki ilişkileri sıfır noktasına getirme tehlikesi taşımaktadır.

Diğer yandan Türkiye'deki basın ve yayın araçları Suriye'nin tutumunun netleşmesini beklemeden, Suriye Devlet Başkanı Beşşar Esed'i Muammer Kaddafi'ye benzeten ve en az onun kadar kan içici bir diktatör olduğunu söyleyen yayınlar yaparak şahsına karşı halen sürmekte olan bir kampanya başlattılar. Dehşet veren şey ise bunu yapan basının Yeni Şafak, Star, Türkiye ve Zaman gazetesi (ki bu sonuncusu halen ABD'de bulunan meşhur din adamı Fethullah Gülen hoca'ya yakınlığıyla bilinmektedir ve bu kampanyada en sert tutumu alan gazetedir) gibi AK Parti'ye yakın duran partiler olmasıdır. İlk andan itibaren, geçmişte Türkiye ile Suriye arasında birlik çağrıları yapan bir çok İslamcı yazar, anlaşılması mümkün olmayan ve benzeri görülmemiş bir şekilde çok sert bir Suriye karşıtı kampanya başlattılar.

Erdoğan, Suriye'ye ilgili açıklamalarını, burada olan bitenin aslında Türkiye'nin içişleriyle yakından ilgili olduğunu söyleyerek meşrulaştır-

maya çalışıyor. Ancak şurası açık ki iki ülke arasındaki güven ne kadar kökleşirse kökleşsin arada sınır olduğunu unutmamak gerekir, bu nedenle Türkiye'nin endişelerinin makul bir gerekçesi bulunmamaktadır.

A- Türkiyeli yetkililerin Suriye'yle ilgili her gün bir açıklama yapması, kardeşlik, komşuluk ve arkadaşlık ilişkilerini yok sayan, Suriye'nin içişlerine aleni bir müdahale biçimini almaya başladı. Öyle ki Türk yetkililer, Suriyelilere zaman zaman kulislerin arkasında açık mesajlar vermeye başladılar.

B- Türkiye'nin yukardan bakan tavrı, gerek resmi yetkililer arasındaki ilişkiler gerekse dostların kendi aralarındaki sıcak tavra uygun düşmemektedir. Türkiye, sanki daha önce Mısır'da Hüsnü Mübarek'e, Libya'da Muammer Kaddafi'ye yaptığına benzer şekilde Suriye'nin vasisiymiş gibi hareket etmektedir. Türklerin kendilerini çok güçlü bir ülke şeklinde tahayyül ediyor olmaları yönündeki vehimleri, onların Suriye'ye, sorunların çözümü noktasında ders verme ve öğütlerde bulunma yetkisini kendilerinde görmelerine neden olmaktadır.

Halbuki aynı şey, Cumhuriyetin başlarından ve hatta Osmanlı'dan miras alınan kronikleşmiş ve bazısının ömrü yüzyılı aşmış sorunlarla ilgili olarak Türkiye'ye de uygulanabilir ve aynı ders alma ve öğütlere maruz kalma durumuna o da düşebilir.

Burada dikkat çekici olan husus da tanınmış gazeteci Cengiz Çandar'ın Radikal gazetesinde yazdığı yazısıdır. Çandar, "AK Parti'nin Kürt sorununun varlığının tanımayı, 12 Haziran'da yapılacak seçimlerden sonrasına ertelemesi durumunda Yemen ve Suriye'de meydana gelen tablonun burada da tekrar etmesi tehlikesiyle karşılayabiliriz" demektedir.

Bu açıdan bakıldığında Türk yetkililerinin Şam yönetiminin yüzbinlerce Kürde uyrukluğa geçme hakkını vermiş olması karşısındaki suskunluklarını da dikkat çekici bulmaktayız.

Bununla birlikte Türkiye'nin bu "hataları", "derin" ve "kışkırtıcı" başka hataları karşısında son derece masum kalmaktadır ki bunlardan biri de Türkiye'nin Suriye muhalefetine ev sahipliği yapmasıdır. Bunlardan ilki Müslüman Kardeşler Teşkilatının sözcülerinden Muhammed Şukfe'nin İstanbul'da yaptığı basın toplantısı, ikincisi de yine İstanbul'da yapılan Suriye muhalefeti toplantısıdır. Bazı Türk yetkililer bu tür faaliyetlerin Türkiye'de basın ve düşünce özgürlüğüne kapsama girdiğini, bu noktada Londra ve Paris'te Arap muhaliflerin yaptığı toplantılarla benzeştiğini ifade etmektedirler.

Ancak burada, Türkiye'nin İngiltere ve Fransa olmadığını, gerek coğrafi gerekse siyasi bakımdan Türkiye'nin bu ülkelerden farklılaştığını hatırlatmakta fayda var. Ayrıca Suriye'nin İngiltere ve Fransa'yla olan ilişkisinin, Türkiye'nin Suriye'yle olan ilişkisinden oldukça farklı olduğunu söylemek gerekiyor. Bu ağır-lama, taktiksel açıdan hatalıdır zira nasıl ki Türkiye PKK'yı terörist bir örgüt olarak tanımlıyorsa Suriye de Müslüman Kardeşleri aynı şekilde görmektedir. Türkiye'nin Müslüman Kardeşler'e yakınlık göstermesi ve yöneticilerine faaliyet hakkını sonuna kadar vermesi, Suriye içlerinde derin bir hassasiyete yol açmaktadır. Aynı şeyi Suriye yapsaydı ve PKK yöneticilerine Şam'da basın toplantısı düzenleme hakkı verseydi Türkiye'nin tavrı ne olurdu? Bu soruya cevap vermek dahi gerekmiyor, 1998 yılında Abdullah Öcalan'ı barındırdığı gerekçesiyle meydana gelen olayları ve iki ülkenin savaşın eşğine gelişini gayet iyi hatırlıyoruz. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Esed alevi olduğu halde karısının Sünniliğini dile getirip mez-

hebi bir ayrıma işaret ederek Suriye'nin iç hassasiyetleriyle oynuyor olmasını da Suriyeliler masum olmayan kışkırtıcı bir yaklaşım olarak değerlendirdiler.

Suriye'de ne rejim ne de muhalefet, böyle bir şey üzerinden siyaset yapmalarına rağmen, Erdoğan'ın Rize'de bir seçim kampanyası sırasındaki konuşmasında Suriye'deki iç savaş tehlikesine ve Sünni- Alevi ayrımına, sanki böyle bir çatışmanın olmasını istemişçesine işaret etti ki aynı şeyi diğer Türk yetkililer de zaman zaman yapıyorlar. Ayrıca Türk basını da Suriye Türkiye sınırında özellikle de Antakya ve Mardin'deki hazırlıklar üzerinde yoğunlaşarak bu yönde hiçbir gösterge olmamasına rağmen sanki daha fazla kişinin Türkiye'ye kaçmasını sağlamak ve bu şekilde bunu Suriye üzerinde bir baskı oracı olarak kullanmak için çeşitli haberler yaptılar. Amaç, bu göçmenlerin kendi istekleriyle değil de Suriye rejiminin katliamlarından kaçmak için geldikleri yönünde bir algı oluşturmaktı. Suriye'de olaylar başlayalı bir buçuk ay olmasına rağmen Kızılay'ın kurduğu çadırlar halen boş ve gelip yerleşecek insanları bekliyor.

Suriye'de reform gerekliliğiyle ilgili ciddi bir sorunun varlığı ortada. Ancak bu sorun, son tahlilde sadece Suriyelileri ilgilendirir. Ancak Erdoğan'ın Suriye'deki olayları Türkiye'nin kendi iç meselesi gibi görmesi, uluslar arası ilişkilerde yepyeni bir yeniliği ortaya çıkarmaktadır ki bu, aynı şeyin Rusya, İran, Irak, Gürcistan, Suriye, Kuzey Irak hükümeti, Bulgaristan ve Yunanistan'ın da Türkiye'de olan bitenleri kendi iç meselesi olarak görmesine ve Türkiye'nin içişlerine karışmasına yol açacaktır.

Nihayetinde Suriye'nin kaderine ve geleceğine karar verecek olan Suriyelilerin kendisidir, büyükelçiler, uzak ya da yakın başkentler değil. Diğer taraftan bütün bunlar, Türkle-

rin devletin yetkileriyle ilgili olarak kendisine yönelik bir komplo olarak gördüğü şeye karşı mücadele etmesi noktasında belirli bir alanın varlığını görmezden gelmelerini haklı kılmaz. Suriye'nin böyle bir kampanyaya maruz kalmasının, bu ülkenin İsrail'e ve bölgedeki Amerikan müdahalesine karşı koyduğu tavır ve bölgede Hamas, Hizbullah gibi direniş hareketlerine verdiği destek nedeniyledir, Türklerin bunu bilmemesi mümkün değil. Ancak Türkiye'nin Suriye muhalefetine kucak açması, Müslüman kardeşlere yakınlık göstermesi, Suriye'de reformların aksamaması durumunda Suriye'ye karşı bir tutum alınacağını açıklaması, Esed'in tutumunu eleştirmesi, bütün bunlar, topraklarının bir kısmı işgal altında olan Suriye'nin direniş cephesi içerisindeki yerini sarsma ve onun rolünü zayıflatmaya yönelik olduğunu görmezlikten gelemeyiz.

Bunu derken Suriye muhalefeti- nin dış güçlerin kontrolünde olduğu, muhalefetin milliliğini ya da yerelliğini sorgulama, bu konuda bir şüphe oluşturmak istemediğimizi peşinen belirtmek isteriz. Endişe ettiğimiz bir diğer husus ise Türkiye'nin "stratejik derinlik" politikasının özellikle Suriye ile ilgili olan bölümünün süreç içerisinde kırılmaya uğrayacağıdır. Özellikle Türkiye'nin Tahran, Beyrut ve Bağdat üzerinden kurduğu bu derinlik, söz konusu siyaset devam ederse yıpranmaya uğrayacaktır. Bu noktada Türk dış siyasetinin çok hassas bir sınavdan geçmekte olduğunu, bu sınavın diğer bütün sınavlarla karşılaştırıldığında onlardan çok farklı olduğunun altını çizmek gerekiyor. Suriye'ye dair belirsizlikler ve sorunlar içeren Türk politikası, bu siyasetin nedenleriyle ilgili çeşitli soruları gündeme getirmektedir:

Anlaşılan o ki Türkiye, durumların daha da kötüye giderek kendi sınırlarında yeni bir cehennem kapısının açılmaması amacıyla Suri-

ye'deki olayların sona ermesi için reformların sürekliliğine vurgu yapıyor ve bunların gerçekleşmesi ya da hızlanması için muhalefeti ağırlayarak ya da onlara destek veriyor gibi görünerek aslında baskıları artırmak ve sonuç almak istiyor.

Ancak bu noktada AK Parti içerisinde ya da bu partiye yakın çevrelerde depreşen eski İslamcı güdülerin varlığına da işaret etmek gerekiyor. Zira bu islami cemaatlerle irtibatları süren grup, Müslüman kardeşlere kendilerini yakın hissediyorlar. AK Parti'de yaklaşan seçimler sebebiyle İslami tabanından oy alabilmek için bu kesimlere sıcak mesajlar veriyor. Durumun mutlaka böyle olduğuna ihtimal vermek istemiyoruz aksi takdirde, sırf yaklaşan seçimler için Türkiye yönetiminin Suriye'yle olan ilişkilerini ateşe attığı gibi bir sonuç ortaya çıkar ki bu da çok makul bir sonuç olmaz.

İkinci yorum, Türkiye'nin ve özellikle de bu ülkedeki İslami basının tutumu, Suriye'deki rejimin yıkılması halinde her türlü alternatifi desteklediği yönünde. Özellikle Türkiye'nin Müslüman kardeşleri desteklemesi, AK Parti'ye yakın basının her gün sürekli olarak Suriye rejiminin "kanlı tutumu"nu teşhir etmesi, akıllara, Müslüman Kardeşlerin temelini oluşturduğu yeni bir sisteme kapılarını açtığı yönünde bir izlenim uyandırabilir ki bu en tehlikelidir.

Zira bu durum, Türkiye'nin bölgedeki olaylarla ilgili olarak Arap ülkelerindeki mezhebi ya da siyasi taraflar arasında tarafsız tutumunu zedeleyecek doneler içermektedir ki böyle olursa insanlar AK Parti'nin Yeni Osmanlılık şeklinde gizli bir ajandasının olduğunu düşüneceklerdir.

Öbür taraftan, Suriye'de rejimin alaşağı edilmesi durumunda bu siyaset ülkenin sonu çok kanlı bitecek ve tarafların birbirini alt edemeyeceği uzun soluklu mezhebi bir fitnenin

pençesine düşmesine yol açar ki bu da Türkiye'nin bütün politikalarının sonu demektir. Sonuçta durum böyle olursa bazı vehim sahiplerinin kanaatinin aksine Türkiye, kaybeden taraf olacaktır. Türkiye'nin politikasına dair hatalarla ilgili üçüncü yorum ise, dış politika yapımcılarının ülkede genel olarak Arap devrimleriyle ilgili stratejik hata içine düşmeleridir.

Belki de Türkiye'nin çok güçlü olduğu yönündeki vehim, stratejistlerin böyle bir hata içine düşmelerine yol açmaktadır ki sonuçta onlar kaybedeceklerdir. İçine düşülebilecek en büyük hata ise, olumlu bir seyir içine girmesi için yıllar boyu verilen emeklerin heba edilmesi, iki ülke arasındaki stratejik derinliğin ve ilişkilerin ortadan kalkarak on yıl öncesine geri dönülmesi ve iki ülke arasının açılarak karşılıklı şüpheye dayalı politikaların yeniden egemen olmasıdır.

Türkiye'nin 8 yıldır uyguladığı politikalarından dolayı oluşturduğu olumlu izlenimin yıpranmaya başladığı görmezden gelinemez. Türkiye ile Ortadoğu arasındaki oyunun kurallarının artık eskisi gibi aynen sürdüğünü söylemek mümkün görünmüyor. Suriye'deki gelişmeler ne yönde ilerlerse ilerlesin, Suriye-Türkiye ortaklığı üzerinde yükselen temellerin artık önümüzdeki dönem için de aynen geçerli olacağını söylemek mümkün değil. Türk dış siyasetinin herkese eşit mesafede yaklaşma ilkesinin daha ilk sınavda çakması, "stratejik derinlik" ilkesinin de sadece birkaç yıl dayanabilmesiyle tarih aslında, Arap-Türk ilişkilerinin çöküşünün yüzüncü yılında bu ilişkilerin yeniden rayına girmesini istemiyormuş intibasını uyandırıyor. Taraflar arasındaki ilişkilerin yüz sene önce tam 1911 yılında İttihat ve Terakki'nin yaptığı hatalar yüzünden çöktüğünü unutmamak gerekiyor.

\*\* El-Sefir Gazetesi / Lübnan

**Articles and Abstracts**

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*in English*

## The Tears of Somalia\*

**By Recep Tayyip Erdoğan**

Prime minister of the Republic of Turkey

Turkey is redoubling its efforts to end the suffering of the Somali people. The world should follow Somalia is suffering from the most severe drought and famine in the last 60 years, which has already resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of people and endangers the lives of 750, 000 more Somalis. This crisis tests the notion of civilization and our modern values. It reveals, once again, that it is a basic human obligation to pursue international cooperation and solidarity to provide solace for those suffering from natural and man-made disasters.

It is not realistic to consider Somalia's plight as caused solely by a severe natural disaster. We cannot ignore the fact that, in addition to the drought, the international community's decision to leave Somalia to its own fate is also an underlying factor causing this drama. Twenty years of political and social instability, lawlessness, and chaos have added enormously to the problems in Somalia. The horrifying truck bombing of the Transitional Federal Government's ministerial complex on Oct. 4 is just the latest evidence of this. The international community must not respond to this act of terrorism by retreating from Somalia, but by redoubling its efforts to bring aid to its people.

Nobody with common sense and conscience can remain indifferent to such a drama, wherever on Earth it may be and whichever people have to bear it. Our urgent intervention as responsible members of the international community can contribute to the alleviation of the Somali people's distress. However, the establishment of lasting peace and stability will only be possible through long-term, far-reaching, and coordinated efforts.

Turkey mobilized last month to

help end this suffering. We consider this solidarity a humanitarian obligation toward the people of Somalia, with whom we have deep historical relations. Many of our institutions, NGOs, and people of all ages have made an extraordinary effort to alleviate the suffering of women and children in Somalia. We are proud of the sensitivity and cooperation displayed by the Turkish people during the holy month of Ramadan. In the last month alone, approximately \$280 million worth of donations for Somalia were collected in Turkey. The Turkish people's generosity has served as an example to other donor countries as well as the international community, offering hope for the resolution of the crisis in Somalia.

The Turkish government has also moved decisively to help alleviate this humanitarian crisis. Turkey took the initiative to hold an emergency meeting of the executive committee of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) at the ministerial level on Aug. 17. At this meeting, which was attended by the president of Somalia and high-level representatives from 40 member countries of the OIC, \$350 million was committed to help relieve the famine in Somalia, and the participants agreed to increase this amount to half a billion dollars. The Turkish Red Crescent is also standing shoulder to shoulder with international aid organizations and is working to meet the needs of those in all the camps in the Mogadishu region.

Following the emergency meeting of the OIC executive committee, I -- along with a number of Turkish ministers, some members of parliament, bureaucrats, business people, artists, and families -- visited the country on Aug. 19 to tell the people of Somalia that they are not alone. We visited the

camps. We tried to give hope and encourage people who live in very different conditions from ours. We took note of the lack of such a high-level visit from outside of Africa to Somalia for the last 20 years, and informed the international community of this fact.

Turkey has decided to launch a major humanitarian effort to help restore normalcy to Mogadishu. To this end, we are preparing to provide assistance in the fields of health, education, and transportation. We will inaugurate a 400-bed hospital, provide garbage trucks for the streets of Mogadishu, build a waste-disposal facility to burn the accumulated garbage in the streets, pave the road between Mogadishu's airport and the city center, renovate the parliament and other government buildings, dig water wells, and develop organized agricultural and livestock areas. Our embassy, which will be opened in Mogadishu shortly and headed by an ambassador who is experienced in the field of humanitarian aid and familiar to the region, will coordinate these activities.

By supporting the restoration of peace and stability efforts, we will work with the Transitional Federal Government and other institutions in Somalia in order to launch the development process of this shattered country. To this end, we expect all Somali authorities to demonstrate an extraordinary effort in unity, integrity, and harmony.

The success of aid operations is directly linked to the establishment of security. The withdrawal from Mogadishu of armed elements in the al-Shabab organization is clearly a positive development for security in the region. But this is not sufficient. Moving the Somali-related U.N. offices cur-

\* Foreign Policy, OCTOBER 10, 2011

rently located in Nairobi to Mogadishu will be a positive step to support this process and one that should be taken without delay.

Neighboring countries such as Ethiopia and Kenya bear a special responsibility regarding the restoration of peace and stability in Somalia. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development and the African Union will also share this responsibility, and Turkey supports them in their tasks. In line with the Djibouti peace process, Somalia's Transitional Federal Government should intensify efforts at reconciliation by maintaining dialogue with all fighting groups and pledge prosperity, brotherhood,

order, and prosperity in return for peace.

The military contribution provided by Uganda and Burundi within the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) to prevent chaos and terror deserves appreciation. With this opportunity, I would like to issue a call to all neighboring countries, including Eritrea, to increase their existing efforts for the establishment of peace and security in Somalia and to enhance long-term regional stability.

In Turkish culture, it is believed that something good will come out of all bad experiences. In Somalia, too, this disaster can mark the beginning of a new process by focusing internatio-

nal humanitarian efforts and global attention on the plight of the region. However, this situation will only be sustainable if we continue to be sensitive to the needs of the Somali people.

The tears that are now running from Somalia's golden sands into the Indian Ocean must stop. They should be replaced by hopeful voices of a country where people do not lose their lives because of starvation and where they express their eagerness to develop and restore peace and stability. Regardless of which culture we come from or where we live, I am confident that our common heritage as human beings will motivate us to ease the suffering of Somalia

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## The Destabilization Of Syria And The Broader Middle East War\*

by Michel Chossudovsky

What is unfolding in Syria is an armed insurrection supported covertly by foreign powers including the US, Turkey and Israel.

Armed insurgents belonging to Islamist organizations have crossed the border from Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan. The US State Department has confirmed that it is supporting the insurgency.

The United States is to expand contacts with Syrians who are counting on a regime change in the country.

This was stated by U.S. State Department official Victoria Nuland. "We started to expand contacts with the Syrians, those who are calling for change, both inside and outside the country," she said.

Nuland also repeated that Barack Obama had previously called on Syrian President Bashar Assad to initiate reforms or to step down from power." (Voice of Russia, June 17, 2011)

The destabilization of Syria and Lebanon as sovereign countries has been on the drawing board of the US-NATO-Israel military alliance for at least ten years.

Action against Syria is part of a "military roadmap", a sequencing of military operations. According to former NATO Commander General Wesley Clark--the Pentagon had clearly identified Iraq, Libya, Syria and Lebanon as target countries of a US-NATO intervention:

"[The] Five-year campaign plan [included]... a total of seven countries, **beginning with Iraq, then Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Iran, Somalia and Sudan**" (Pentagon official quoted by General Wesley Clark)

In "*Winning Modern Wars*" (page 130) General Wesley Clark states the following:

"As I went back through the Pentagon in November 2001, one of the senior military staff officers had time for

a chat. Yes, we were still on track for going against Iraq, he said. But there was more. This was being discussed as part of a five-year campaign plan, he said, and there were a total of seven countries, beginning with **Iraq, then Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Iran, Somalia and Sudan.**

...He said it with reproach--with disbelief, almost--at the breadth of the vision. I moved the conversation away, for this was not something I wanted to hear. And it was not something I wanted to see moving forward, either. ...I left the Pentagon that afternoon deeply concerned."

The objective is to destabilize the Syrian State and implement "regime change" through the covert support of an armed insurgency, integrated by Islamist militia. The reports on civilian deaths are used to provide a pretext and a justification for humanitarian intervention under the principle "Responsibility to Protect".

## Media Disinformation

Tacitly acknowledged, the significance of an armed insurrection is casually dismissed by the Western media. If it were to be recognized and analyzed, our understanding of unfolding events would be entirely different.

What is mentioned profusely is that the armed forces and the police are involved in the indiscriminate killing of civilian protesters. Press reports confirm, however, from the outset of the protest movement an exchange of gunfire between armed insurgents and the police, with casualties reported on both sides.

The insurrection started in mid March in the border city of Daraa, which is 10 km from the Jordanian border.

The Daraa "protest movement" on March 18 had all the appearances of a staged event involving, in all likelihood, covert support to Islamic terrorists by Mossad and/or Western intelligence. Government sources point to the role of radical Salafist groups (supported by Israel)

Other reports have pointed to the role of Saudi Arabia in financing the protest movement.

What has unfolded in Daraa in the weeks following the initial violent clashes on 17-18 March, is the confrontation between the police and the armed forces on the one hand and armed units of terrorists and snipers on the other which have infiltrated the protest movement.

....

What is clear from these initial reports is that many of the demonstrators were not demonstrators but terrorists involved in premeditated acts of killing and arson. The title of the Israeli news report summarizes what happened: *Syria: Seven Police Killed, Buildings Torched in Protests*.

(See Michel Chossudovsky, SYRIA: Who is Behind The Protest Movement? Fabricating a Pretext for a US-NATO "Humanitarian Intervention", <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=24591> Global Research, May 3, 2011)

## The Role of Turkey

The center of the insurrection has now shifted to the small border town of Jisr al-Shughour, 10 km from the Turkish border.

Jisr al-Shughour has a population of 44,000 inhabitants. Armed insurgents have crossed the border from Turkey.

Members of the Muslim Brotherhood are reported to have taken up arms in northwest Syria.

There are indications that Turkish military and intelligence are supporting these incursions.

There was no mass civilian protest movement in Jisr al-Shughour. The local population was caught in the crossfire. The fighting between armed rebels and government forces has contributed to triggering a refugee crisis, which is the center of media attention.

Muslim Brotherhood Rebels at Jisr al Shughour Photos AFP June 16, 2011

In contrast, in the nation's capital Damascus, where the mainstay of social movements is located, there have been mass rallies in support rather than in opposition to the government.

President Bashir al Assad is casually compared to presidents Ben Ali of Tunisia and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt. What the mainstream media has failed to mention is that despite the authoritarian nature of the regime, president Al Assad is a popular figure who has widespread support of the Syrian population.

The large rally in Damascus on March 29, "with tens of thousands of supporters" (Reuters) of President Al Assad was barely mentioned. Yet in an unusual twist, the images and video footage of several pro-government events were used by the Western media to convince international public opinion that the President was being confronted by mass *anti-government* rallies.

On June 15, thousands of people rallied over several kilometers on Damascus' main highway in a march holding up a 2.3 km Syrian flag. The rally was acknowledged by the media and

casually dismissed as irrelevant.

*AP. Thousands of supporters of Syrian President Bashar Assad carry a 2, 300-metre-long Syrian flag in a demonstration in Damascus on Wednesday.*

While the Syrian regime is by no means democratic, the objective of the US-NATO Israel military alliance is not to promote democracy. Quite the opposite. Washington's intent is to eventually install a puppet regime.

The objective through media disinformation is to demonize president Al Assad and more broadly to destabilize Syria as a secular state. The latter objective is implemented through covert support of various Islamist organizations:

Syria is run by an authoritarian oligarchy which has used brute force in dealing with its citizens. The riots in Syria, however, are complex. They cannot be viewed as a straightforward quest for liberty and democracy. There has been an attempt by the U.S. and the E.U. to use the riots in Syria to pressure and intimidate the Syrian leadership. Saudi Arabia, Israel, Jordan, and the March 14 Alliance have all played a role in supporting an armed insurrection.

The violence in Syria has been supported from the outside with a view of taking advantage of the internal tensions... Aside from the violent reaction of the Syrian Army, media lies have been used and bogus footage has been aired. Money and weapons have also been funnelled to elements of the Syrian opposition by the U.S., the E.U....Funding has also been provided to ominous and unpopular foreign-based Syrian opposition figures, while weapons caches were smuggled from Jordan and Lebanon into Syria. (Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya, *America's Next War Theater: Syria and Lebanon?* <http://globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=25000>, Global Research, June 10, 2011)

## The joint Israel-Turkey military and intelligence agreement

The geopolitics of this process of destabilization are far-reaching. Tur-



key is involved in supporting the rebels.

The Turkish government has sanctioned Syrian opposition groups in exile which support an armed insurgency. Turkey is also pressuring Damascus to conform to Washington's demands for regime change.

Turkey is a member of NATO with a powerful military force. Moreover, Israel and Turkey have a longstanding joint military-intelligence agreement, which is explicitly directed against Syria.

...A 1993 Memorandum of Understanding led to the creation of (Israeli-Turkish) "joint committees" to handle so-called regional threats. Under the terms of the Memorandum, Turkey and Israel agreed **"to cooperate in gathering intelligence on Syria, Iran, and Iraq** and to meet regularly to share assessments pertaining to terrorism and these countries' military capabilities."

**Turkey agreed to allow IDF and Israeli security forces to gather electronic intelligence on Syria and Iran from Turkey.** In exchange, Israel assisted in the equipping and training of Turkish forces in anti-terror warfare along the Syrian, Iraqi, and Iranian

borders."

...

Already during the Clinton Administration, a triangular military alliance between the US, Israel and Turkey had unfolded. This "triple alliance", which is dominated by the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, integrates and coordinates military command decisions between the three countries pertaining to the broader Middle East. It is based on the close military ties respectively of Israel and Turkey with the US, coupled with a strong bilateral military relationship between Tel Aviv and Ankara. ....

The triple alliance is also coupled with a 2005 NATO-Israeli military cooperation agreement which includes "many areas of common interest, such as the fight against terrorism and joint military exercises. These military cooperation ties with NATO are viewed by the Israeli military as a means to "enhance Israel's deterrence capability regarding potential enemies threatening it, mainly Iran and Syria." (See Michel Chossudovsky, "Triple Alliance": The US, Turkey, Israel and the War on Lebanon, August 6, 2006)

Covert support to armed insurgents out of Turkey or Jordan would

no doubt be coordinated under the joint Israel-Turkey military and intelligence agreement.

## **Dangerous Crossroads: The Broader Middle East War**

Israel and NATO signed a far-reaching military cooperation agreement in 2005. Under this agreement, Israel is considered a de facto member of NATO.

If a military operation were to be launched against Syria, Israel would in all likelihood be involved in military undertakings alongside NATO forces (under the NATO-Israel bilateral agreement). Turkey would also play an active military role.

A military intervention in Syria on fake humanitarian grounds would lead to an escalation of the US-NATO led war over a large area extending from North Africa and the Middle East to Central Asia, from the Eastern Mediterranean to China's Western frontier with Afghanistan and Pakistan.

It would also contribute to a process of political destabilization in Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine. It would also set the stage for a conflict with Iran.

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## **The Futility of Green Capitalism\***

**by Daniel Tanuro**

*Daniel Tanuro's new book, L'impossible capitalisme vert, or "The Futility of Green Capitalism", is a major contribution to our analytical understanding of ecosocialism.*

Tanuro, a Belgian Marxist and certified agriculturist, is a prolific author on environmental history and policies.

Addressed primarily to the Green milieu, as the title indicates, this book is a powerful refutation of the major proposals advanced to resolve the cli-

mate crisis that fail to challenge the profit drive and accumulation dynamic of capital. Much of the book appears to be a substantially expanded update of a report by Tanuro adopted in 2009 by the leadership of the Fourth International as a basis for international discussion. That report was translated by Ian Angus and included in his anthology *The Global Fight for Climate Justice*.

Tanuro's book includes much ad-

ditional material elaborating his central thesis that climate degradation cannot be dissociated from the "natural" functioning of capitalism as a system and that a valid "emancipatory project" to confront and overcome the impending crisis must recognize natural constraints and aim for a fundamental redefinition of what we mean by social wealth.

Among the topics of particular interest to readers are extended critiques

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\* [Climaandcapitalism.com](http://Climaandcapitalism.com)/January 17, 2011

of popular writers on climate crisis ranging from Jared Diamond to Hans Jonas and Hervé Kempf, as well as his critical assessment of the contributions of Marxist writers such as John Bellamy Foster and Paul Burkett. Tanuro makes a compelling case against many ill-conceived nostrums such as the Sierra Club's campaign for immigration controls, or such cost-efficiency based market mechanisms as carbon trading and ecotaxes.

A major feature of the book is its cogent explanation of how Marxist value theory explains the ecological crisis and points to its solution. He also addresses what he considers a major deficiency in Marx's ecology, an inadequate appreciation of the crucial implications of capitalism's reliance on non-renewable fossil-fuel resources. This aspect is explored in detail in Tanuro's article "Marxism, Energy, and Ecology: The Moment of Truth," published in the December 2010 issue of *Capitalism Nature Socialism*.

We hope that this outstanding book will soon be published in English and other languages.

In the following interview, Daniel Tanuro outlines some of the major themes in the book. My translation from the French, *À propos du capitalisme vert*./Richard Fidler

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## Concerning Green Capitalism

**Daniel Tanuro, you are the author of *L'impossible capitalisme vert*, published by Les empêcheurs de penser en rond/La Découverte. You are also the founder of the NGO "Climat et justice sociale." What is "green capitalism"?**

**D.T.:** The expression "green capitalism" may be understood in two different ways. A producer of wind turbines may boast that he is engaged in green capitalism. In this sense — in the sense that some money is invested in a "clean" sector of the economy — a form of green capitalism is obviously possible and quite profitable. But the real question is whether capitalism as a whole can turn green, that is, whet-

her the global action of the numerous and competing capitals that constitute Capital can respect ecological cycles, their rhythms, and the speed by which natural resources are reconstituted.

That is the sense in which my book poses the question and it answers in the negative. My main argument is that competition impels each owner of capital to replace workers by more productive machines in order to achieve a superprofit greater than the average profit.

Productivism is thus at the heart of capitalism. As Schumpeter said, "a capitalism without growth is a contradiction in terms." Capitalist accumulation is potentially unlimited, so there is an antagonism between capital and nature, as the latter's resources are finite. It may be objected that the productivity race leads capital to be increasingly resource efficient, as expressed for example by the observed decrease in the quantity of energy necessary for the production of a percentage point of GDP. But this tendency to increased efficiency obviously cannot be prolonged indefinitely in a linear way, and empirically we find it is more than offset by the growing mass of commodities that are produced. Green capitalism is therefore an oxymoron, like social capitalism.

This observation opens a debate between two opposing strategic conceptions. For some, the spontaneously ecocidal functioning of capitalism can be corrected through political action within the system by resorting to market mechanisms (taxes, fiscal incentives, tradable emission rights, etc.). For others, including me, our policy must be to break with capitalism because if the environment is to be saved it is absolutely indispensable to challenge the fundamental laws of capitalism. This means daring to challenge private property of the means of production, the foundation of the system.

In my opinion, the debate between these two lines is decided in practice by the example of the struggle against climate change. In the developed capitalist countries, we are confronted

with the obligation to abandon the use of fossil fuels almost completely in barely two generations. If we exclude nuclear power — and it must be excluded — this means, in Europe for example, dividing by about one half the final consumption of energy, which is possible only by reducing to a substantial degree the processing and transportation of material.

The transition to renewables and reduction in energy consumption are linked and necessitate major investments which are inconceivable if the decisions remain subordinate to the dogma of cost efficiency. The alternative to cost efficiency can only be democratic planning focused on social and ecological needs. And such planning in turn is possible only by breaking the resistance of the oil, coal, gas, automobile, petrochemicals, naval and aeronautic construction monopolies, for they want to burn fossil fuels for as long as possible.

**Climate change is at the center of your book. You interpret this change as a "climate tipping" [*basculement climatique*]. What do you mean by tipping, and why do you consider it to be otherwise more disturbing than a mere change?**

**D.T.:** The expression "climate changes" (and I do mean changes, in the plural) suggests the repetition of climate variations analogous to those in the past. But between now and the end of the century, in a few decades, the Earth's climate risks changing as much as it has during the 20,000 years that have elapsed since the last Ice Age. There is now no doubt that we are not very far from a "tipping point" beyond which it will no longer be possible to prevent the eventual melting of the icecaps formed 65 million years ago. The word "tipping" is indisputably more adapted to describing this reality than the word "changes"! The speed of the phenomenon is unprecedented and poses a major threat, for many ecosystems will be unable to adapt. This applies not only to the natural ecosystems but also, I fear, to some ecosystems engineered by human beings.

Look at what is happening in Pa-

kistan: designed by the British colonizer to serve their imperialist interests, the water management mechanisms of the Indus using dams and dikes which supply an extensive irrigation system are proving inadequate in the face of exceptional floodwaters. And this risk is increasing because the warmer climate disrupts the monsoon regime and increases the violence of the downpours.

It seems to me illusory to hope that this race will be won by reinforcing the existing infrastructures, as the World Bank and the big capitalist groups specializing in public works propose. Instead of building dikes it would be more reasonable to restore the flexible management of water levels that was practiced prior to colonization. That is what is proposed by the International Rivers Network: allowing floods to clear the sediment and prevent the silting up of the basin, feeding the Delta, stopping deforestation, accommodating zones liable to flooding, etc.

But that requires a complete overhaul of the mechanisms over more than 3000 km, with major implications for territorial management, agricultural policy, urban policy, energy production, etc. Socially, such an overhaul, to be achieved in two or three decades (that is, very quickly for work of such scope!), means challenging the power of the landed oligarchy and the development programs that the IMF and World Bank impose through the debt. And this debt must be canceled or else the reconstruction will be heavily mortgaged and the country strangled, in danger of entering history as the first example of a regressive spiral in which global warming mutually links all the mechanisms of underdevelopment and multiplies their negative effects.

We see clearly in this how the social and environmental questions are interpenetrated. In fact, the fight against climate tipping requires a policy shift toward another model of development centered on the satisfaction of peoples' needs. Without that, further catastrophes, even more terrible, may well result, and the poor will be the major victims. That is the warning

emerging from the tragedy in Pakistan.

**You think the countries of the South should "skip" the fossil energy stage in managing their development and go directly to that of renewable energies. What is your answer to those who object that renewable energies are not (technically and quantitatively) able to do this?**

**D.T.:** I tell them they are wrong. The solar energy flow that reaches the surface of the earth is equivalent to 8 to 10 thousand times the planet's energy consumption. The technical potential of renewable energies — that is, the share of that theoretical potential that is usable through known technologies, independently of cost — represents 6 to 18 times the world's needs, according to estimates. It is certain that this technical potential could increase very rapidly if the development of renewables were finally to become an absolute priority in energy research policies, which it is still not at present. The transition to renewables certainly poses a host of complex technical problems, but there is no reason to think they are insurmountable.

The major obstacles are political. One: without exception, renewable energies remain more expensive than fossil energies. Two: the transition to renewables is not the same thing as changing fuel at the pump: it is necessary to change the energy system. That requires enormous investments and, at the beginning of the transition, these will necessarily be consumers of fossil energy and therefore additional generators of greenhouse gas; these additional emissions must be offset and that is why, in the short run, the reduction of final consumption of energy is the *sine qua non* condition for a passage to renewables which, once carried out, will open new horizons.

I repeat: there is no possible satisfactory solution without confronting the dual combined obstacle of capitalist profit and growth. This means, in particular, that the clean technologies controlled by the North must be transferred free of charge to the South, on the sole condition that they are imple-

mented by the public sector and under the control of the local population.

**You advocate a social ecology which you call ecosocialism. What is an ecosocialist? And how does he or she differ from a "plain and simple" ecologist or socialist?**

**D.T.:** An ecosocialist differs from an ecologist in that he analyzes the "ecological crisis" not as a crisis of the relationship between humanity in general and nature but as a crisis of the relationship between an historically determined mode of production and its environment, and therefore in the last analysis as a manifestation of the crisis of the mode of production itself. In other words, for an ecosocialist, the ecological crisis is in fact a manifestation of the crisis of capitalism (not to overlook the specific crisis of the so-called "socialist" societies, which aped capitalist productivism). A result is that, in his fight for the environment, an ecosocialist will always propose demands that make the connection with the social question, with the struggle of the exploited and oppressed for a redistribution of wealth, for employment, etc.

However, an ecosocialist differs from the "pure and simple" socialist, as you say, in that, for him, the only anticapitalism that is valid today is one that takes into account the natural limits and the operational constraints of the ecosystems. This has many implications: a break with productivism and consumerism, of course, within the perspective of a society in which, the basic needs having been satisfied, free time and social relations constitute the real wealth. But also contestation of technologies and of harmful productions, coupled with the requirement of reconversion of the workers. Maximum decentralization of production and distribution in the framework of a democratically planned economy is something else that the ecosocialists stress.

One point that it seems to me important to stress is the need to question the traditional socialist vision that sees any rise in productivity of agricultural labour as a step toward socialism. In my opinion this conception

does not allow us to meet the requirements of increased respect for the environment. In fact, an agriculture and a forestry that are ecologically more sustainable necessitate more labour, not less. To re-create hedges, groves, wetlands, to diversify crops and fight for organic produce, for example, implies an increase in the share of social labour invested in tasks of ecological maintenance. This labour may be highly scientific and highly technical — it is not a return to the hoe — but it is not easily mechanizable.

That is why I think that a culture of “taking care” (I borrow this concept from Isabelle Stengers) must permeate economic activities, in particular those that closely affect ecosystems. We are responsible for nature. In a way, this means extending the logic that the left applies in the area of personal care, education, etc. No socialists would argue that nurses should be replaced by robots; we are all conscious of the fact that we need more nurses who are better paid so that patients are better cared for. Well! The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the environment: if it is to be better cared for, there needs to be more labour, intelligence and human sensibility. Contrary to the “pure and simple socialist”, and even though it is difficult, the ecosocialist, because he is conscious of the urgency, tries to introduce all of these questions into the struggles of the exploited and oppressed instead of postponing them until after the revolution.

**Many, including myself, are convinced that an effective struggle against climate change necessarily entails a break from productivist capitalism. To this effect, you appeal to “socialized man, the associated producers.” Who are they, and what specifically can they do?**

**D.T.:** You are alluding to the quotation from Marx that serves as an epigraph to my book: “Freedom ... can only consist in socialized man, the associated producers, rationally regulating their interchange with Nature....” We must realize that in Marx’s thinking the rational regulation of exchanges is conditional on the disappearance of capitalism. Indeed, on the

one hand the struggle of all against all permanently undermines attempts by producers to associate; on the other hand, a significant fraction of producers — the waged workers — are cut off from their means of production. The latter, including natural resources, are appropriated by the bosses. Deprived of any power of decision, the workers are unable to rationally regulate anything at all concerning production, let alone rationally regulate interchange with the environment!

To constitute social beings, producers must begin to join together in the fight against their exploiters. This struggle in an embryonic way points to the need for collective appropriation of the means of production and collective usufruct of natural resources. These in turn are necessary but not sufficient for a more harmonious relationship with nature.

That said, we can answer your question about concrete action by examining how different groups of producers understand — or don’t — the need to rationally regulate the interchange between humanity and nature. At present, it is striking that the most advanced positions of an ecosocialist type emanate from indigenous peoples and small farmers mobilized against agribusiness. This is not accidental: both groups of producers are not, or not completely, cut off from their means of production. Therefore they are able to offer concrete strategies for rational regulation of their interaction with the environment. Indigenous people see the defence of the climate as an additional argument in favor of preserving their precapitalist lifestyle in symbiosis with the forest.

As for the Via Campesina peasant movement, it has developed a whole program of concrete demands on the theme that “the peasants know how to cool the climate.” In contrast, the labour movement is lagging behind. This is of course due to the fact that each individual worker is inclined to wish for the smooth operation of the company that exploits him, in order to maintain his livelihood.

Conclusion: the greater the retreat in worker solidarity in the face of the neoliberal offensive, the harder it will be to develop environmental awareness among workers. It’s a big problem, because the working class, by its central role in production, is called on to play a leading role in the fight for the anticapitalist alternative needed to rescue the environment. Indigenous peoples, peasant organizations and youth have an interest in trying to involve more and more unions in climate campaigns — increasing collaboration, rank-and-file contacts, etc. Within the labour movement itself, the task is to promote demands that address the concerns about jobs, income and working conditions while helping to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

An important issue in this regard is the need for a generalized radical reduction in hours of work without loss of pay, with a drastic reduction in the pace of work and additional hiring to compensate. Another aspect is the extension of a public sector under the control of workers and users: free, first-rate public transportation, publicly owned energy services, public insulation and building renovation firms, etc. Ecosocialists have a role to play in promoting the emergence of such demands.

**With *L’impossible capitalisme vert*, you do not seem to fear being accused of undue alarmism by those who have yet to understand that we have entered the Anthropocene Era, and that it is man that is primarily responsible for runaway warming, especially since the industrial era. Doesn’t green capitalism, like “sustainable development” and “greenwashing”, reflect a desire to deny this responsibility and to “continue as before”? If we are to abandon productivist capitalism, shouldn’t we first alter our behavior as consumers and producers?**

**D.T.:** I am not an alarmist. In my book, I relied almost exclusively on the reports of the IPCC which, in terms of the diagnosis on global warming and its possible impacts, appear to me, whatever is said about them, to be an excellent summary of “good

science", subjected to peer review. It is true that the IPCC lags a bit when it comes to recent discoveries, but this does not change much in its findings.

In fact, I dread the discourse of panic and exaggeration. Too often, it tends to obscure the real threats and real responsibilities. Climate tipping easily lends itself to eschatology, and there is no shortage of gurus to claim that "the planet is in danger", that "life is in danger", that "humanity is in danger," that the "photosynthetic ceiling" will fall on our heads, or whatnot. All of this is excessive. The planet fears nothing, and life on Earth is a phenomenon so tough that humanity, even if it wished, could probably not come to an end, even with atomic bombs.

As to our species, climate change, by itself, does not jeopardize it. The danger it poses is more circumscribed: around three billion people risk substantial degradation in their living conditions, and hundreds of millions of them — the poorest — are threatened in their very existence. Policy makers know this and do nothing — or almost nothing — because it would cost too much, and thus impede the smooth operation of business. That is the naked reality.

Too often, catastrophic discourse serves to obscure the potential barbarism and dilute the issues in a vague overall sense of guilt: "Don't waste time quibbling about the responsibilities," "we are all guilty," "we must all agree to make efforts", etc. Meanwhile, the energy lobbies quietly continue burning coal and oil non-stop.

This leads me to the second part of your question about changing our behavior as producers and consumers. Following on what I said earlier, it is worth noting that employees are incapable of changing their behavior as producers. Who produces, how, why, for whom, in what quantities, with what social and environmental impacts? In everyday life, only the bosses have the power to respond to these questions and, ultimately, they respond according to their profits. Em-

ployees can only try to have a say in management in order to challenge it and recognize their ability to do better, according to criteria other than profit. This is the dynamic of workers' control, and ecosocialists should think about how this old demand may be revisited in order to encompass environmental concerns.

In terms of consumption, I think it is necessary to distinguish between individual changes and collective changes. All in all, it is certainly better if someone who travels by plane offsets his CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in one way or another, but this offset will mainly allow him to buy a good conscience on the cheap while diverting him from the political struggle for indispensable structural changes. To promote this kind of behavior is to engage in "greenwashing" and it actually means to "continue as before."

Collective changes are a different matter. They help to validate another possible logic, favour the invention of alternative practices, and contribute to the realization that structural changes are necessary, and will come about through social mobilization. Those changes, such as group purchases of organic produce from farmers, or urban community gardening, are to be encouraged.

**Can we fight against climate tipping regardless of the financial and social costs that it represents? Is it urgent to build another model and risk jeopardizing the entire society? Between nature and civilization, what choice is there?**

**D.T.:** To say that another climate policy would jeopardize the entire society in the name of some priority of nature over civilization is to stand reality on its head! What happens in reality is that the present policy jeopardizes civilization while causing enormous and irreversible damage to nature, which is our common heritage. This policy is completely subordinated to the dogma of cost efficiency, and we see what that produces: peanuts. We are heading straight toward the wall.

Of course, a different policy cannot pretend that the cost of various measures is of no importance: between two equivalent strategies to reduce emissions, it is reasonable to choose the one that will be of least cost to the community, all other conditions being equal. But at bottom there must first be a different policy, guided by criteria other than cost, and especially qualitative criteria. In technical terms, an essential criterion is that of energy efficiency at the systemic level.

The great American ecologist Barry Commoner advanced this argument more than twenty years ago. It is thermodynamically absurd, he said, to transport coal over thousands of kilometres to produce electricity which, then conveyed over hundreds of kilometers, will be used to heat household water, something that can easily be done with a solar water heater. In social terms, a major criterion must be the protection of people and their well-being, particularly the protection of the poorest. This criterion today is widely ignored, hence the tragedy in Pakistan, among others.

**Finally, do you think your ecosocialist project is feasible in the near future?**

**D.T.:** The feasibility of this project depends entirely on the balance of forces between capitalism on the one hand, and the exploited and oppressed on the other. This balance of forces currently favours capital, we should not kid ourselves. But there is no third way possible: the attempts to save the climate through market mechanisms consistently reveal their ecological inefficiency and their social injustice. There is no way other than resistance. It alone can change the balance of forces and impose partial reforms pointing in the right direction. Copenhagen was a first step, a second was the summit in Cochabamba. Let us keep going, let us unite, let us mobilize and build a global movement to save the climate in social justice. This will be more effective than all the lobbying efforts of those who nourish illusions about a green capitalism.

## The Basic Contradictions in Efforts to Christianise

by **Mesut Mezkit**

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It is notable that missionary activities in Turkey are gaining speed day by day. These missionary activities are carrying on full speed nearly in all areas in Turkey. Missionaries do their activities so secretly that many people who do not know what Christianity is, especially our teenagers, believe in them. They are in an effort to reach their goal well by taking advantage of the good atmosphere which exists in Turkey.

Missionaries tell people not the real Christianity but the false one while approaching people. They never tell about the written Bible; in contrast, they follow the paths which fit theirs to reach their secret aims. Furthermore, they define Christianity as the religion of peace, tolerance, dialogue, self-sacrifice that serves for people and persecuted and deceive people by using these words. They claim that the terrorist attacks which were performed

by muslim people of our age stem from Islam and they reflect discredit on all muslims, that is, they are in a struggle to show Islam as a religion of terror. They use any kind of communication to do this. Besides, they describe our lovely prophet with bad words. They do these activities not abroad, but in Turkey.

In this study, we will examine how the bibles were falsified and why they were presented in a twisted way.

## Everyone Has a Door and This Door Will Be Knocked One Day

by **Süleyman Faruk Göncüoğlu**

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While going past the mosques which are in city centres, there is an expression on some of the garden gates of the mosques: No parking. It is funeral gate. There is a strange feeling inside me when I see it. Suddenly, I feel as if lonely. This is to realise for a

moment that the adventure of life which starts in a delivery room ends at a funeral. That is why I feel so then.

It is interesting that we waited between these two gates and many other sills. We forgot that the real thing lies in these gates which are the beginning

and end of life, and the others are of no importance.

We made the life ordinary at the gates of owners of power who are expected with hope, at the gates of government and darling.

## Michael Porter's Competitive Forces Research at Course Sector in Denizli

by **Celalettin Serinkan**

Associate Professor, Pamukkale University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences

The aim of this study is to examine the current situation of course sector in Denizli in the aspect of strategic management perspective and to recommend strategic proposals in order that the sector develops. To this end, the

approach of strategic management was analysed first, competitive and competitive forces were, afterwards. For this reason, for competitive force, an evaluation was done related the sector with the five forces analysis

of Michael Porter which is an analysis method. In the parts of result and evaluation some strategic proposal were recommended for the sector in the light of evaluation and analyses which were made in the previous part.

# Turkey and Syria: The End of a Strategic Deepness

by **Muhammed Nureddin**

The paper Es-Sefir published in Lebanon

Turkey-Syria relations were exposed to a strong shock not only before AKP came to power but also long before the improvement process starting

in 1998 in security and political fields between Şam and Ankara. The last shock, away from being a temporary station, announces us the beginning

of a new period that not having possibility to enframe but having another rules.

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## The Strategy of Foreign Policy of Malaysia and Turkey

by **Abdul Rahman Adam**

National University of Malaysia, Bangi.

This article searches the potential at the relations between Malaysia and Turkey in accordance with the purpose of the 9th Development Plan of

Malaysia. As an introduction to this debate, we have a look at the strategies underlying the orientations of Foreign Policy of Malaysia and discuss

the main problems which arise at the implementations of these strategies.

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## The Relations between Turkey and the Turkic Republics: The Past, Present and the Future

by **Rovshan İbrahimov**

Qafqaz Universitesi Hukuk Fakültesi

This article focuses on the relations between Turkey and the Turkic Republics. Relations between Turkey and the Central Asian Republics, which had been a disappointment at the be-

ginning because of the political romanticism of both sides. Later the relations, particularly the economic relations, has gained wider and more realistic perspectives.

In addition to the examinations of these topics, the article also proposes perspectives related to the future relations.

**Abstracts**

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*Deutsch*



## Ein Grundlegender Widerspruch Der Bemühungen Um Die Christianisierung

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Die Beschleunigung des missionarischen Aktivitäten ist Tag für Tag bemerkenswert in der Türkei. Oberflächenbehandlung bei der Bühne, der alle missionarischen Aktivitäten in der Türkei sind weiterhin in vollem Gang. Die Missionare, Christianisierung Aktivitäten, die so heimtückisch macht hat auf unserm Volk, vor allem junge Menschen, die nicht wissen Christentum zu glauben. Mit dem Best-Effort, um die Ziele von empfindlichen Umwelt der Türkei zu erreichen.

Die Missionare, nähert sich unser Volk, nicht das Original des Christentums; sondern bezieht sich auf das gefälschte. Es wurde Beitrege erwähnt zur den geschriebene Evangelien; der Weg zur Geheimnisse Erreichung ihre Ziele ist aber öfter entscheidend. Christentum wird, "Frieden, Toleranz, Dialog, Menschen, die Dienen, Opfer, religiöser Unterdrückten" als Etiketten zu täuschen unseres Volkes verwendet. Bis jetzt, den Terror, dass die Menschen in einigen muslimischen Identität in ihrer Terrorarbeit

durch die Aneignung Islam machen, macht alle Muslime schlecht; damit Versucht man zu beweisen, dass die islamische Religion von "Terror" eine Religion ist. Um dies zu tun, benachrichtigt man mit allen Mitteln der Kommunikation. Selbst die geliebten Propheten wird mit schlechten Taten vorgestellt. Dies schlecht sprechen wird nicht ausserhalb; sondern in der Türkei gemacht. In dieser Studie werden wir, wie die Evangelien manipuliert wurden, und untersuchen die Ursache.

## Jeder hat ein Tür, jedoch dieses Tür wird in der Glocke geklingelt

**Süleyman Faruk Göncüoğlu**

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Die Moschee im Zentrum der Stadt befindet, an den Eingangstüren von einigen der Hof ist mit der Tabelle "Beerdigungs Tor Parken verboten" gekennzeichnet. Es war seltsam in mir, wenn ich dieses Artikel gesehen habe. Ich hatte immer das Gefühl, ganz allein zusein. Ab der Tür von Kreißaal

bis zu Beerdigungstür war mir des Leben für einen Moment bewusst. Der Moment ist aktuelle Grund für dieses Gefühl. Es ist interessant, dass viele in der Tür zwischen den beiden Türen gewartet hat. Was ist die Wahrheit, ist die zwei Türen in den Anfang und das Ende des Lebens zuverstehen, ohne

Sinn auf der Grundlage der anderen Türen zu gessen...

In der Hoffnung erwarteten die jenen in der Regierung Türen, Tore, keine Notwendigkeiten, Staatenstüren, zustand bei den Toren der Geliebten machten wir das Leben selber gewöhnlich.

## Denizli Unterrichtsforschung Sektor Der Wettbewerbsfähigkeit Untersuchung

**Celaleddin Serinkan**

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Das Ziel dieser Studie, Analyse der aktuellen Situation aus der Perspektive des strategischen Managements Sektor in Denizli und strategische Empfehlungen für die Entwicklung des Sektors ist. Auf diese Weise untersuchte zunächst die strate-

gische Management-Ansatz, dann untersucht der Wettbewerb und Wettbewerbsfähiger werten. Aus diesem Grund, eine der Methoden zur Analyse, war Michael Porter von fünf Kräfte wettbewerbsorientierten Analyse und Auswertung auf dem

Sektor gemacht. Und Auswertung am Ende des vorhergehenden Abschnitt, in das Licht der Bewertung und Analyse von strategischen Empfehlungen wurde für den Sektor.

## Tränen Von Somalia

**Recep Tayyip Erdoğan**

Premierminister der Republik Türkei

Premierminister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, einer der führenden Publikationen in den Vereinigten Staaten über das Drama von Somalia, schrieb in Foreign Policy Artikel. Veröffentlicht in der Unterschrift des Ministerpräsidenten Erdogans mit dem Titel "TRÄNEN VON SOMALIA" des Artikels meint Erdogan, dass Somalia in letzten 60 Jahren das größte Dürre und Hungersnot, lenkte die Aufmerksam-

keit auf den Mangel.

Somalia; die Gesichter von diesem Blatt, Zivilisation, moderne Werte, menschliche Werte und all das testen die Verdienste zu überdenken veranlässt der Ministerpräsident Erdogan darauf hin, dass in diesem Drama, ist der Kampf gegen Katastrophen durch den Menschen auf der globalen Ebene konfrontiert, die Zusammenarbeit, Verantwortung und Solidarität auf

dem Display für die Annahme sicher ein Grundbedürfnis des Menschen Pflicht noch einmal auf der Vorderseite zu hingewiesen.

In Somalia, die resultierende Tabelle, nur eine Katastrophe, die durch schwere Form der üblichen Interpretation einer Situation verursacht nicht einen realistischen Ansatz, war bemerkenswert.

## Was sucht Türkei in Syrien?

**Michel Chossudovsky**

Während der Clinton-Administration, USA, Israel und die Türkei hatte einen Militärbündnisses erschienen. Richtung des Generalstabs aus den USA, diese dreifache Allianz zwischen den drei Ländern untereinander

und mit den Entscheidungen der Großen Nahen Osten zu koordinieren.

Vorbemerkung: Michel Chossudovsky Globale Research'te am 17. Juni in Syrien, in der Türkei veröffentlicht wurde, bietet dieser Artikel

einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Diskussion darüber, wie es funktioniert. Das Originalmanuskript "Syrien zu destabilisieren, und im ganzen Nahen Osten Krieg" ist ...

## Türkei und Syrien: Ende der strategischen Tiefe

**Muhammed Nureddin**

Die libanesische Zeitung Al-Botschafter

Türkei-Syrien, nicht nur vor dem Ablauf der AK-Partei an die Macht kam, sondern durch die Sicherheit und politischen Bereich im Jahr 1998 zwischen Damaskus und Ankara, der

Beginn des Heilungsprozesses begonnen haben, können zu einer viel zu starken Stößen ausgesetzt führen. Letzte Vibrationen, ist aber nur ein vorläufiges Ende des Seins über den

Rahmen der Abgrenzung nicht möglich ist, gelten andere Regeln für das nächste Generation.

## Malezyas Außenpolitik Strategy und der Türkei

**Abdul Rahman Adam**

Internationale Universität in Malesiya, Bangi

In diesem Artikel, 9. Malaysia Development Plan Für die (MP 9) Zwecke, erforschte mögliche Beziehungen zwischen Malaysia und der

Türkei. Als Einstieg in diese Debatte, um in Malaysia Foreign Policy (NDP) zu durchsuchen, und Strategien zugrunde liegenden Trends in der Aus-

führung dieser Strategien, die wichtigsten Fragen diskutiert.

# Türkei-China Relations: China in den Augen der Türkei

**Erkin Ekrem**

Prof. Dr., SDE Specialist

Die Chinesen kennen die Türkei mit der Namen Göktürken, Koreakrieg, die mächtige Armee und wie z. B. Brücke zwischen Asien und Europa. Darüber hinaus ist die Türkei ein Land, das die Ost-Turkestan Unabhängigkeitsbewegung zu unterstützen würde, ist ebenfalls angezeigt, vor allem nach den Ereignissen dieser Beise wurde in Urumqi am 5. Juli gestärkt. In den letzten Jahren die Türken, die auch im Fußball bekannt sind, der 2002 FIFA WM-Qualifikationsspiel in

der Türkei, die dritte in der Welt wurde, besiegte Türkei Chinas mit 3:0. Ähnliche Situation wurde auch eingetreten nach 8 Jahren und im 2. September 2010, FIBA WM 2010 Spiele, in der Türkei und China Basketballspiel 87-40 geführt hat.

Chinesische Presse hat diesen Spiel, als Schande von China beschrieben. Darüber hinaus die Wirtschaft der Türkei, gefolgt von den Anstieg der Regionalpolitik, hatten die Chine-

sen vor, dass in der Türkei eine regionale Macht gezeigt. Manche Leute bezeichnen es als ihre Begeisterung für die Türken. Einige chinesische Journalisten, die chinesischen Restaurants von Istanbul und von Taksifahrer ausgetrickst worden sind, haben die in chinesischen presse veröffentlicht. Aber die Chinesen erhalten in der Türkei wissen und vermehrten sich mit Bewertung und Forschungen.

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## Ungültigkeit der grüne Kapitalismus

**Daniel Tanuro**

<http://www.internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?auteur54>

Tanuro Daniel's neues Buch, L'Impossible Capitalisme Wert, oder "Die Sinnlosigkeit des grünen Kapitalismus" (Green Capitalism Invalidität), bietet Ökosozialismus einen wichtigen Beitrag, um die analytische Perspektive.

Tanuro ist ein Marxist und ein zertifizierter Spezialist in der belgischen Landwirtschaft, Umweltgeschichte,

Umweltpolitik durch ein fruchtbarer Schriftsteller.

Das Buch, wie der Titel besagt, ist besonders grüne Kreise und die Krise des Klimawandels, das Gewinnstreben und die Dynamik der Kapitalakkumulation, um ohne die wichtigsten Vorschläge in eine starke Lösung zu basieren. Die meisten der Inhalt des Buches ist in der Tat, von der Spitze der

Vierten Internationale, im Jahr 2009 angenommen, um zu dienen als Grundlage für eine Diskussion, Tanuros über internationale Bericht scheint eine Fortsetzung der erweitert und aktualisiert werden soll. Der Bericht von Lan Angus und wurde durch Angus "The Global Fight for Climate Justice" übersetzt. (Climatic globale Kampf für Gerechtigkeit) hat die Namen der Antologie aufgenommen.

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## Der Untergang des U. S. Drug-Client Staaten

**Max Fisher**

The Atlantic

Client-abhängigen Staaten Amerikas Liebesaffäre, Großbritannien und Frankreich im Jahr 1956, besetzte den Suezkanal von Ägypten bis das Drucken macht den Text nach einer weile fing an zu verlassen (Die Sowjetunion war ein Meister der Erstellung des Kunden-Staaten). Amerika und die

Sowjetunion bei den Vereinten Nationen in diesem Jahr sind veraltet die europäischen Kolonialismus, destabilisiert, und argumentierte, die Kündigung. Briten und Französische Truppen zogen aus Ägypten, und innerhalb 10 Jahre war der britischen und Französisch Imperien zusam-

mengebrochen. In der Zwischenzeit hatten die Vereinigten Staaten und der Sowjetunion in eine andere geopolitische Spiel begonnen: Staat sucht Kunden. Amerika spielt den Spiel heute noch.