

Issue: October 6-7 2010, the Conference on “Changing Global Power Balances and Turkey”

Dr. Michaela Ulieru,

August 31, 2010

The Institute of Strategic Thinking (SDE), is an independent, nonpartisan think-tank aiming at contributing to the formation of a new world based on peace, justice, respect, human rights and the implementation of common human values.

The SDE is planning to organize a conference on “Changing Global Power Balance and Turkey” in order to discuss the future of the world, to better explain Turkey’s new foreign policy outlook, and to elaborate on its evolving position in international politics and its new strategic identity. The conference would be honored by H.E. Mr. Abdullah Gül, the President of the Republic of Turkey and H.E. Mr. Mehmet Ali Şahin, the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly, to be held on October 6-7 in Dolmabahçe Palace Istanbul. The conference will be seeking answers to where the world goes and where Turkey will position in this process. We will be honored if you could kindly participate in our conference with your valuable ideas.

The draft program and the related information about the conference is attached, the SDE will cover the costs of your participation (hotel, transportation, accommodation). We will inform you about the logistics regarding the conference. I kindly ask your confirmation about the participation to my Executive Assistant Handan Hilal Köse, whose contact details are below, until the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, 2010.

Yours Sincerely

Prof. Dr. Yasin AKTAY

The Chairman of the Institute of Strategic Thinking (SDE)

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#### **Appendix-1: The Draft Program**

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TURKEY

## APPENDIX

### CHANGING GLOBAL POWER BALANCES AND TURKEY

While we are entering the third millennium, the fundamental dynamics of the politics have been changing radically. The contemporary international system, which was established in the aftermath of the Second World War, is currently redefined by the powerful and transformative effects of globalization. The global western hegemony maintained by economic efficiency, technological innovation and social development in the last couple of centuries began to lose ground against increasing economic and political powers of the developing countries. Furthermore, the US and European countries are still suffering from the deep impacts of the global financial crisis of 2008. Moreover, half a dozen of emerging powers have been increasingly shaking the world geopolitical landscape with their fast growing economies and their growing assertiveness by such countries as Brazil, Russia, India, and China in order to protect their political interests in the international arena. Especially the change in the USA administration might be a signal to a new world order in formation.

Thus, how the future of strategic competition among the world's superpowers will be shaped in general, and the roles and responsibilities to be undertaken by regional powers in particular, have recently started a new wave of lively debate among politicians, academicians, diplomats and related political actors. Now the debate is more focused on *the return of the history* rather than *the end of the history* in a world where *the alliances of civilizations* is preferred for *the clash of civilizations*.

Among the new emerging actors, Turkey stands out with its unique geopolitical position, historical legacy, cultural identity, social capital and new political vision in the world politics. While the wealth and prosperity is being redistributed due globalization and the world politics seems to become polarized, Turkey has surprised the international community with its comprehensive democratization reforms at home, its bold steps in foreign policy and its new

initiatives. Turkey's new active foreign policy, diplomatic initiatives, and unaccustomed ideas and projects contributing to the world peace have caught the attention of the whole world.

Turkey's new activities involved leading the project of the Alliance of Civilizations, rapprochement with its former rivals such as Greece and Armenia, attempting to solve its chronic foreign policy problems such as Cyprus, proposal for establishing a Caucasian Stability and Cooperation Pact, the role of a mediator between Iran and the West for the nuclear crisis, intervention into the Palestinian conflicts, pressuring Israel on humanitarian grounds about the Gaza blockade and undertaking a constructive role for establishing political stability in Iraq and Afghanistan, lifting visa requirements with a number of countries in the region, strategic initiatives on Africa, and its non-permanent membership at the UN Security Council. All can be inferred as the sign of Turkey's emerging new role as a global actor.

Turkey's assertive foreign policy, however, has also been creating some challenges and criticism inside and abroad. While Turkey has long been committed to EU membership as a westernization goal, its strategic opening to the Middle East, Asia and Africa during the last decade creates a new debate whether or not Turkey is shifting its foreign policy axis from the west toward the east. Furthermore, Turkey's increased activity and effectiveness in its surrounding regions carry some political risks, as well. Thus, while the rise of Turkey is reshaping the balance of power in its region, Turkey's foreign policy initiatives also face some opposition and resistance from global and regional powers, as witnessed in the cases of Iran and Gaza problems.

**Appendix-1:**

**DRAFT PROGRAM**

**THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON  
"CHANGING GLOBAL POWER BALANCES AND TURKEY"**

**OCTOBER 6, 2010 (FIRST DAY - THE FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS)**

<b>10:00 - 12:00</b>	<p><b>OPENING SPEECHES</b></p> <p><b>Prof. Dr. Hasan Köni</b> (SDE Board)  <b>Abdullah Gül</b> (President of the Republic of Turkey)</p>
<b>12:00 - 13:30</b>	<b>Lunch Break</b>
<b>13:30 - 15:30</b>	<p><b><i>SESSION-I: TURKEY'S NEW VISION</i></b></p> <p>Pessimistic scenarios slowly replaced the growing hopes for the possibility of establishing a more peaceful and fair world after the Cold War due to such events as the escalation of ethnical and cultural clashes in the 1990s, the September 11 attacks in the early 2000s, leading to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. A stable international system has not yet been established instead of a secure but not stable bipolar system of the Cold War. Today we are passing through a period where and as a natural result of the globalization process the hegemony of the American-axis has gradually weakened and new political actors have entered the scene. The structure of global system was explained by such models as "the Center-Periphery Dualism" in the seventies and eighties followed by "the End of the History" or "the Clash of Civilizations" in the 1990s. However, today the structure of the global system is viewed through the concepts of "multi-polarity" or "non-polarity". Given the historical changes in the global system, to what extent have structural economic-political conditions materialized to express a transformation in today's world system? From a historical perspective, is it possible to predict how the future of the world will be shaped? Will the world's military-political center shift to another region or would it become more pluralized? What possible scenarios can be envisioned about Turkey's place in the future world? What are the conditions or potentials for Turkey to undertake such roles to become a regional power, an independent global actor or a new polar in its region and surroundings?</p> <p><b>Keynote Speaker : Prof. Dr. Ahmet Davutoğlu</b> (Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey)  <b>Moderator : Prof. Dr. Beril Dedeoğlu</b>  <b>Discussants : Prof. Dr. Kemal Karpat, Özdem Sanberk, Prof. Dr. Richard Falk, Stephen Larrabee, Prof. Dr. Alon Ben-Meir, Hasan Cemal</b></p> <p>Philip H. Gordon</p>
<b>15:30 - 15:45</b>	<b>Break</b>

15:45 - 17:45

***SESSION-II: PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE EU - TURKEY RELATIONS***

Being a part of Europe and integration with the European institutions have been a long-term policy of development, security and identity for Turkey, deeply affecting modernization experience. Turkey's EU venture is a process that must be viewed with its democratization and modernization, as well. While proceeding in this direction, Turkey has not limited its foreign policy focus to the EU option, simultaneously it has also developed its relations with other neighbors in economical, political and other strategic areas. Sometimes Turkey's increasingly multi-dimensional foreign policy has received criticism for turning away from its EU goals and orienting towards the east. On the other hand, it is also suggested that Turkey's reliance on a one-dimensional policy would lead to a significant loss in social benefits and to a higher opportunity cost. Furthermore, for several reasons the possibility of full EU integration still does not constitute a clear prospect for Turkey. We witness a daily rise in the oppositions to Turkey's membership by some EU countries especially religious or cultural grounds. These negative attitudes have also been carefully watched by domestic actors and, therefore, the Turkish public opinion has become more attracted to nationalist rhetoric. As a result of this, the public support for the EU membership gradually decreases. Even though Turkey does not abandon its EU ideal completely, the fact this process played a role in making Turkey a more democratic society is well recognized. Meanwhile, also related to the effects of economic crisis, the debates started among the EU countries on the need for revitalizing Turkey's membership perspective with a strategic vision. How and through which vision, the relations of Turkey and the EU could be placed again on a more consistent and rational perspective? How could Turkey, with its growing economy, more multi-faceted foreign policies and increasing self-confidence, sustain its loyalty to the EU membership process full of uncertainties? How could the relations of Turkey and the EU be revitalized?

**Keynote Speaker : Stefan Fule** (Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy), **Egemen Bağış** (Minister for EU Affairs and Chief Negotiator)

**Moderator** : Mehmet Barlas

**Discussants** : **Prof. Dr. Fuat Keyman, Prof. Dr. Hilal Elver, Dr. Michalis Michael, Joost Legendjik, Prof. Dr. Mehmet Altan**

Olli Rehn, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu

17:45

***End of the first day sessions***

**DRAFT PROGRAM**

**THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON  
"CHANGING GLOBAL POWER BALANCES AND TURKEY"**

**OCTOBER 7, 2010 (SECOND DAY- THE THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH SESSIONS)**

<b>09:30 - 10:00</b>	<b>OPENING SPEECHES</b>  <b>Prof. Dr. Yasin Aktay</b> (SDE Chairman) Protocol Speeches: <b>Mehmet Ali Şahin</b> (Speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey)
<b>10:00 - 12:00</b>	<b><i>SESSION-III: OIC - ISLAMIC WORLD AND TURKEY</i></b>  The lack of a representation mechanism for the Islamic world in today's international system established after the 2nd World War leaves a serious vacuum in the matters concerning the Muslims. This representation problem made Muslim societies the most disadvantageous masses of the world while it involves serious risks to the world order. Because the representation was not only about using power, it was also about achieving a balance that helps controlling the represented. The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) is an organization which was established as a result of a common reaction to the occupation of Jerusalem by Israel from all Islamic countries despite their political dependence. For a long time, the OIC stayed as a passive and ineffective organization. Recently it began to assume a more active role in global policies and became a new global actor. Can the OIC maintain its active role as a representative body in the new international arena? What role will the OIC play in the future world? What role can the OIC play in a period where "the alliance of civilizations" is discussed as to the rapprochement between the East and the West? In this framework, what could be the role of Turkey in the OIC?  <b>Keynote Speaker : Fahmi Howeidy</b> <b>Moderator : Prof. Dr. Yasin Aktay</b> <b>Discussants : S. Sayyid, Dr. Muhammed Velid Rıdvan, Dr. Mohammad Larijani, Dr. Hasan Abou Taleb, Prof. Dr. Kenan Gürsoy, Mohamed El Fatah El Naciri</b>  Abdulrahman El-Atiye, Prof. Dr. Olivier Roy, Prof. Dr. Nilüfer Göle, Gema Martin Munoz, Jorge Fernando Branco de Sampaio
<b>12:00 - 13:30</b>	<b>Lunch Break</b>

<b>13:30 - 15:30</b>	<p><b><i>SESSION-IV: GLOBAL SECURITY PROBLEMS BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND WAR</i></b></p> <p>The dynamics of globalization continue to increase the dependence of all countries to each other. This interdependence seems to make wars more destructive as they were already destructive before. Keeping the wars away from your home does not guarantee the expected benefits previously envisioned. When a war starts somewhere in the world, it shows its effects rapidly in different places or sometimes actually spread to other places. However, this high risk simultaneously constitutes a barrier against the emergence of war. That is because the liable profits from war would be far greater than any likely losses for most of the world powers. Nevertheless, while the possibilities of having more losses horrify the world against any chances of wars, these fears orient the world to follow more security concerned policies. Despite the shrinking likelihood of major wars, the possibility of implementing major activities through small-scale fighting groups remains, proving that global security contains uncontrollable risks. The new security technologies paradoxically cause the formation of new technology-based hierarchies among the states and the people of the world. This is also one of the other determining factors of the new world order. New hierarchies carry damaging potentials for the future of democracy on both local and international levels. In the aftermath of the global economic crisis, EU countries began to discuss the need for revitalizing Turkey's membership perspective with a strategic vision. Again, through what vision and how can Turkey's relations with the EU be placed again on a healthier and rational perspective?</p> <p><b>Keynote Speaker</b> : Francis Joseph Ricciardone (American Ambassador to Turkey) <b>Moderator</b> : Nüzhet Kandemir (R. Ambassador) <b>Discussants</b> : Prof. Dr. Hasan Köni, Prof. Dr. İlder Turan, Prof. Dr. İhsan Dağı, Dr. Michaela Ulieru, Dr. Thomas Mathew</p> <p>Yasemin Çongar, Taha Akyol, Hüseyin Diriöz, Dr. Ömer Taşpınar</p>
<b>15:30 - 15:45</b>	<b>Break</b>

15:45 - 17:45

***SESSION-V: MAINTAINING DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT CAPTURING INTO CRISIS***

While economic globalization process presents significant opportunities for many developing countries in the way of progress and development, it can also bring about some threats such as the weakening of their sovereignty and making them more vulnerable and sensitive to the global crises. The chain of crises, which started in 1997 in Asia, shaken countries like Russia in 1999, Turkey and Argentina in 2001, and finally beginning from 2008 it turned into a historically global crisis, spreading from the US and the EU as the center of the capitalist system to the whole world. As a result, the faith and trust on the neo-liberal economic model is shaken around the world and we witnessed an increase in the discussions about reshaping capitalism or developing alternative economic paradigms. On the other hand, especially the developing countries like China, Brazil, India and Turkey have been less affected from the global crisis and began to move toward a high-speed growth trend. Therefore, this has caused the world's attention to be converted to these groups of countries. The main question that economists and politicians seek to answer is whether or not the causes of the crisis have emanated from the nature of the liberal economic system or as a result of wrong and irresponsible behavior of market actors? If the problem it lies in actors and institutions rather than in the system itself, then how their structure and behavior could be organized? What are the political preferences, which would provide stability in such a globalized economic management? How can the emerging market economies (including Turkey) provide a model to other countries for a stabilized growth and sustainable development policies? What are the potentials the Turkish economy for sustainable growth and development of in short and medium terms?

**Keynote Speaker : Dr. Erdem Başçı (Deputy Governor) / Dr. M. İbrahim Turhan (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Merkez Bankası Başkan Yardımcısı)**

**Moderator : Prof. Dr. Asaf Savaş Akat / Prof. Dr. Eser Karakaş**

**Discussants : Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yaşar Akgün, Prof. Dr. Vedat Akgiray, Mehmet Nuri Görenoğlu, Şakir Ercan Gül (TMSF), Prof. Dr. Waleck S. Dalpour**

Süleyman Yaşar

17:45

***Final Declaration***