

THE CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM AFTER THE COLD WAR

Hasret ÇOMAK*

Özet

Dünyadaki son gelişmeler ve bu gelişmeler çerçevesinde oluşmakta olan yeni yapı ve davranış kalıpları, Türkiye'nin komşuları ile olan ilişkilerine de yansımaktadır. Bu çerçevede yapılabilecek en genel tespit ve tahmin, Türkiye'nin içinde bulunduğu bazı bölgesel alt sistemlerde giderek etkili olmaya başlamasıdır. Bu durum, Türkiye'nin komşuları ile olan ilişkilerini etkilemekte ve bir başka deyişle, Türkiye'nin komşuları ile olan ilişkilerinde ittifak ya da işbirliği yaklaşımını gittikçe yoğunlaştırmaktadır. Yeni uluslararası sistemde; insan hakları kavramının, devletlerin "egemenlik hakkı" kavramının önüne geçebileceği kıymetlenmektedir. 21. yüzyılda Avrupa güvenlik Politikasının, sınırların korunmasına dayalı "Askeri Savunma" anlayışından "Stratejik Güvenlik" anlayışına yönelebileceği beklenmektedir. Yeni uluslararası sistemin, en önemli görevinin; 21. yüzyılda barışın nasıl korunacağına ilişkin çözümler üretmek olacağı değerlendirilmektedir.

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The International system which has began to take form after 1990, has removed the constricting and restricting stress of the bipolar

* Associate Prof.Dr.

system. The governments, which were partly released from the control of the super powers of the era, have begun to express new expectations. In the new global environment, the old strategic theses supporting the cold war mentality lost their reasoning and credibility, and the development affected not only the super powers but also the otits states and international institutions.

Richard Rosecrance in his study ' *A new Concert of Powers* ' implied the features of the international system taking form after 1990. For the new international system the writer suggested three regulatory mechanisms, which are 'Balance of Power', 'Nuclear Deterrence' and 'A Central Coalition Method'.

Rarely is it possible to handle the structure of the international system in terms of military-strategic, political and economic perspectives. The difficulty can clearly be observed should you tried to place the USA and Japan , Sudan and Hong-Kong in a certain category in international system and classify them according to their influence capabilities. Despite the fact that the USA has a status as 'the most powerful state of the world' remaining unique from 'The Super Powers', it is hard imply that the USA established a hierarchic structure on each level in the international system. If, in the international system, it is possible to talk about hierarchy from the point of military / political view, naturally the USA should be considered number one. Even though titse exist some debates concerning the leadership of the USA, she has still been surviving its status. For the countries, it is possible to talk about a multi centered structure, since economic/technological capabilities and their ability to utilize them are quite different. The USA is a great economical power. Yet, titse are some otitss. Today's international system has a structure witse hierarchic and multi centered forms overlap and function togetits. In fact, practically, it gives us a chance to learn some characteristics of the international system to handle the system separately despite they by and large affect togetits on the states' foreign policies. Once we consider these two forms togetits, it can be inferred that the international system is determined, or at least inspected, under the 'guidance leadership' of the USA.

In the relationships among the states of the new international circumstances, we can observe on one hand; a relative decrease for the importance of the 'ideological factors', but on the otits hand , a relative increase for the importance of the ' geopolitical factors'.

Besides, the importance of the economic / technological components of the power, which forms potential capacity of the state, strengthen its place by the military / political components.

We can suggest that sub-systems are dominant in the new establishing international system. In the bipolar system, especially for the periods when there is a dense polarization in the system, the factors, which determine and effect the whole system, form the most important input of the sub-systems. There is not much possibility for the sub-systems to be autonomic from the whole system. This situation has changed in the new international system. While analyzing the events and the facts of the sub-systems, it is not possible to describe the problems by the USA and the USSR as the systematic base determiner as done previously. While analyzing the events in the Middle East, which we can take in to account as local sub-system, the factors such as ethnic and religious mosaic of the local, the present power structure, which has a self peculiar dynamism, gain more importance. Regions with sub-system characteristics like Balkans, Caucasus, and South Asia are subject to be considered the similar situation. Today it may be speculated that the present power structure with a self peculiar dynamism has a similar structure and relation form mostly like classical power stability model.

It is appreciated that the ethnic and religious motivated activity marked in the last decade in the international system would continue its effect a little more. Besides North America and Europe, Far East/Pacific region has been considered as a new future power point. But in the sense of political movements / administration, in a short while, it is difficult to talk about a serious alternative against pluralist Western democracy and any political thoughts in parallel with Western democracy. The model of socialism, which was the most important emulator, disappeared. This inclination can be thought to get prominent because the prestige of strict administrations have been decreasing.

When it is discussed what kind of opposing developments can there be to these main inclinations, which are estimated to represent the dominant structure and behaviors in the international system, it is inevitable that a reaction against the universalism of organization and administration model in pluralist Western democracy, which is getting prominent, would come out. Especially because of the nature of 'global capitalist economic model', there is a discrimination between 'owner-non-

owner', having no belief to stop this discrimination in future or no suggestion on how to get rid of this discrimination, forms the motivation of the reaction.

If we have look at the future of the international system, we speculate on two different procedures, which seems opposing, would develop together. These two processes are *segregation* and *integration tendencies* in international system. It is appreciated that the existing segregation process, which began with the separation of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, would not only affect the problem of federative structures but also united state structures. At least the states, which were established by the fall of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia Federations, would be the candidates mostly affected by this process. The position of the successors of the Yugoslav Federation is still keeping its importance. It is an excessive optimism to think that the problems would be solved in the near future and they would not come out again. The most important problem facing the international society on this subject is to determine relatively supported criteria on the application of the principle, 'Self-declaration of Fate of the Societies', to which units or not? However it can be estimated that the segregation process in the international system is not likely to continue, and lose its acceleration. Because of the segregation shock caused by the separation of the Soviet Union and Yugoslav Federations, the concerned states should produce some solutions and take precautions.

As a result of subordination phenomena that perceived itself in every field. It is thought that the efforts for integration process would continue. European Union became an organization of fifteen members with the last expansion process.

With the 'Millenium Declaration' published in Helsinki on 10-11 December 1999, the Turkish Republic was accepted as an accessing country for the Union. The inauguration of Turkey's membership route on equal basis without any preconditions with the other states in EU is the reward for influential developments in integration process efforts and primarily Customs Union which lasted for years.

We must take care of the fact that, the integration process and expansion process of EU are both carrying opposite characteristics. The destiny of the union depends on the solutions that would be produced in connection with this dilemma. With this perspective, it would be realistic optimistic to expect that the integration process would develop without

problems. Both some problems among Germany, France, and England and the condensation of nationalism based on ethnic problems in Europe as in the whole world are developments completely against the integration process, by this way it can be observed important fluctuations in the evolution of EU.

The considered analysis must be understood that the general trend is in the way of integration, on the other hand it can be appreciated that these positive developments may strengthen the inclination process and encourage to increase the enterprise on the other regions of the world in time.

In the middle of 1992 the treaty among the USA and Canada and Mexico, *North American Free Trade Agreement*, officially established afterwards in 1994 is a good example for this.

It was thought that the United Nations would be more successful in peace providing and security operations in 1990s. Since the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War the handicaps of 'the USA and the USSR Vetoes', which limited the intervention capability of the organization for the crisis, gradually decreased. Should the Western states come to an agreement for 'providing and keeping the peace and security', the possibility for the UN to intervene the crisis, as it happened during the Gulf Crisis, would expand. After a while, a lot of public institutions and state governing officials claimed that the UN could not perform its duty objectively. It was frequently implied that the UN was not neutral, under the command of major powers. When 'Peace and Security Providing' is an advantage for the major powers, the organization could gain some success, on the contrary leaving all the moral/political qualifications. As a matter of fact this was the same in with the previous Nations Association Statue. As the bipolar system fell, the optimistic belief for the United Nations Organization would be more active and more precise was replaced with the arguments on the organization after 1990.

In the new international system, the threat of a complete nuclear war has been decreased. Yet, it has been observed a high increase with the number of local, especially civil wars, on which any UN intervention debated. This failure has been caused partly by some sociological events and partly by the lack of harmony of the organization. Actually, this lack of harmony remained an inheritance of the previous administration. Though the UN reached a global profile, it

is an organization of war victors. This inference is evident in Security Council decisions.

New changes are required in the origin of the organization parallel to the changes in the international system. It is advocated that it is beneficial to reorganize the security council with a little change in the present status. Another approach is more radical, and very difficult to realize, but is a mechanism that increase the function of the organization in an important quantity. The system which will be brought to the Security Council is a kind of *vote of gravity* system. In such conditions 'Major Powers' which has so much importance for the ability of the organization would not need to draw the problems from real parties out the organization, and would try to solve them by organizational agreement.

To decide gravity in this kind of mechanism is obviously a disputable subject. Similar techniques are tried on and applied for most of the subjects in EU. In all these efforts what to keep in mind is to provide and synchronize a balance for distribution of the rights and authority in the structure of the organization with the distribution of the power in international system.

The recent developments in the world and new structures and new behavior patterns resulting from these developments would certainly have some implications on the relations of Turkey with its neighbors. It is generally estimated that the classical logic of power balance system is progressively being effective in certain regional subsystems where Turkey is also located. For Turkey under these conditions tendencies towards cooperation and interdependence with its neighbors will gradually increase.

Previously, it was rare to follow regional policy for the country which takes role in one part of the bipolar system. In other words in 1950's it was difficult for Turkey to put Middle East Policy out of West and East Competition. But after 1991 the situation progressively changed. The most significant difference is not being independent in international system but existence of free autonomous subsystems. For Turkey it is important to correctly determine the region's internal dynamics and the degrees of autonomy from the general international system and evaluate the structural and behavioral specifications of the general international system.

Turkey has been governing the basic elements of its foreign policy according to the needs of power balance of the international and regional systems, and its aim to take part active role in the regional and worldwide peace. To have the considered system in foreign policy will be of certain beneficial for Turkey and catalyze to have close relationships and cooperation on the basis of political/economic regime reflecting similarity to western world, religious partnership with Islamic countries, and ethno-culturel blood with Middle Asian Republics.

Although Turkey has close relationship with the USA ratits than West European Countries on political/military basis, and on the otits hand carrying out relations with European Community on economic/political basis is a proper approach for essential requirements of international system. So for a Turkey trying to keep up with the international economic integration it is essential not to be out of these kind of integration. Turkey as a candidate for European Union, and a Muslim country taking part in the expansion of EU, shall affect the destiny of the world and this is the historical decision that will interest the whole humanity in 21st century.

Due to its geographical location, Turkey has formatted some policies under the influence of different general vision in the local sub-systems. With the multisided and the power balance logic dominant policies it is very important to protect the rights and the interests of Turkey resulting from the international law.

This effect source being in the 'strategic location' in the previous periods is now in the 'Western kind of political administration model for Islam-Middle Asian Countries.' On the basis of regional system, the logic depending on NATO -Warsaw Pact of old bipolar period has been invalidate. Today a new relations series began to be accepted as classical power balance. For a country on the occasion to follow a successful foreign policy depends on increasing its economic capacity and moreover follow a rationalist alliance policy carries quite a lot importance.

As a result of cumulative changes occurred in the structure of international system ;

It is concluded that the future security settlement will be depending on the economic development and democratization of Russian Federation, and the relations of Russia and China with EU and the USA will play a determinative role.

It is evaluated that the human rights term may precede the states 'sovereignty rights' in the new international system.

Civilian Social Organizations and media will go on to work as a restraint group in international level and will gain more importance .

The instabilities and uncertainties in Balkans, Caucasus, and Middle East are evaluated to effect the local and World peace.

The European Security Policy supporting protecting the borders as 'Military Defense' will be replaced as 'The Strategic Security Policy ' in 21st century.

It is evaluated that the enterprises to transport the petroleum and natural gas of Caucasus to world markets with suitable prices and ways will be keeping their importance.

It is expected to have efforts as an important factor in order to take petroleum resources of Middle East under control.

The most important duty of the new international system is to produce new solutions to protect the peace in the 21st century.

When a new appreciation is made for Turkey in the new formation of international system;

Turkey will have reached 21st century as ;

A country with its geopolitical activity and value increased And gained a world state quality from regional state quality, and will have existed as a major power center to carry out the region and world peace.