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# Counter-Hegemony with No Outlet: A Neo-Gramscian Perspective on the Brexit Vote

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## ABSTRACT

It is tempting when viewing the Brexit referendum and its justifications to lean on identity based analyses for explanations, pointing to a rise in right wing nationalism. However, if we are to look at the economic standing of those who voted no in the Brexit referendum, and moreover, to realize their place in larger flows of neoliberalism, a more complex picture comes into view. Neo-Gramscian theory is uniquely placed on this backdrop in its ability to give us a critical perspective on hegemony, as well as backlash towards it. In the course of this paper, the possibility that Brexit offers us an example of anti-hegemonic backlash against the larger neoliberal project of the EU will be explored. That is to say, in the context of an organic project of neoliberal expansion in which the leftist alternative in the UK has largely come to support further integration into the EU, to what extent can the Brexit vote be seen as counter-hegemony with no outlet?

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## Introduction

Often in academic analyses of Brexit voting patterns, a top-down perspective is used, neglecting the agency of the common people in their voting behavior. On the other hand, even constructivist analyses, which focus on the role of identity in decision making processes, fall short in the amount of attention they pay towards the complexities of international capital and its relation to the dispossessed dispositions seen among many Brexit voters. Therefore, it becomes necessary to combine both a sensitivity for intersubjective construction with an analysis of how that intersubjectivity is part of a larger logic of capitalism. In the Brexit vote, we have a situation in which hegemonic consensus has come into crisis due to economic restructuring, and its legitimacy has therefore been questioned. If we look again from the dual perspectives of the international expansion of capital as well as hegemony, we can begin to re-interpret the backlash seen in the Brexit vote through the lens of counter-hegemony in response to a neoliberal project on the EU level. The purpose of the present study is to reinterpret the Brexit vote through this neo-Gramscian language of hegemony and counter-hegemony. In that sense, the question then becomes to what extent the Brexit vote can be seen to represent counter-hegemonic characteristics in relation to the positionality and choice patterns employed by those who voted against membership in the EU. In the course of this investigation, first, neo-Gramscian perspectives of politics and society will briefly be outlined, then, a brief outline of the UK and the EU in the sense of their incorporation into neoliberal capital will be put forward, as well as the position of left wing politics within this, and then, finally, our attention will be turned to the perspectives of the common people in the UK in terms of their voting behavior

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in the Brexit vote and their positionality in terms of their economic disadvantage in relation to expanding neoliberalism.

## A Foundation in a Neo-Gramscian Perspective

Gramsci saw the state as a social complex well-grounded into civil society, “an entire complex of practical and theoretical activities within which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules” (Gramsci, 1971, quoted in Robinson, 2005, p. 562). Cox explains the global expansion of hegemony as, “an expression of broadly based consent, manifested in the acceptance of ideas and supported by material resources and institutions, which is initially established by social forces occupying a leading role within a state... then projected outwards on a world scale” (referenced in Bieler and Morton, 2004, p. 87). Cox, as well as Bieler and Morton, focus on a vision of hegemony that is manifested in intersubjective meanings and how it shapes reality. This is a reality that makes room for not only “human action but also the institutional, moral and ideological context that shapes thoughts and actions” (Cox quoted in Bieler and Morton, 2004, p. 87). Therefore, hegemony is more of a consensual order. That is, if hegemony is understood as an “opinion-molding activity,” rather than brute force of dominance, then consideration has to turn to how a hegemonic social or world order is based on values and understandings that permeate the nature of that order (Bieler and Morton, 2004, p. 87).

Hegemony is not hegemonic in that it is unchanging, but can be understood in a processual way. In a sense, it is a “hegemonic moment.” A “Hegemonic moment” refers to the moment when interests “go beyond the specific confines of an economic group and can and must become the interests of the subordinate groups...” (Gill, 2000, p. 17). Hegemony is instituted in the “contested and shifting set of ideas” through which a dominant group aims to get the consent of a subordinate group: “what is required is the consent of other groups in order to consolidate their power... the union of these social forces that enable hegemony is called the ‘historic bloc’” (Gibbins, 2020, p. 6). Organic ideas are “organic” in that they “organize human masses, and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc.” (Gramsci, 1971, quoted in Bieler, 2005, p. 518). The conduit between the masses, social forces and ideas is then provided by “organic intellectuals” who represent certain social forces or classes. These intellectuals, “do not simply produce ideas, but they concretize and articulate strategies in complex and often contradictory ways, which is possible because of their class location” (Bieler, 2005, p. 518). The organic intellectuals are then tasked with organizing “the social forces they stem from and to develop a ‘hegemonic project’, which is able to transcend the particular economic-corporate interests of their social group by binding and cohering diverse aspirations, interests and identities into an historical bloc” (Bieler, 2005, p. 518).

Bieler points to a focus on the level of class in analyses of hegemony which is notable in that it suggests the possibility of the transnationalization of national structures in a similar vein to Cox. He goes on to quote Cox, “it becomes increasingly pertinent to think in terms of a global class structure alongside or superimposed upon national class structures” (Cox, 1981, quoted in Bieler, 2005, p. 516). This naturally takes us to the level that, there exists struggle between national and transnational forces of capital and labor like there also exists that of labor versus capital (at the national level) (Bieler, 2005, p. 516). This idea of levels is pertinent in analysis of the EU. There can be European transnational forces, as well as global forces of capital and labor. Furthermore, there can also be a national level: “national capital and labor may oppose neoliberalism, since they depend on state protectionism against international competition. At the European level, European transnational forces may favor strong internal integration...” (Bieler, 2005, p. 516).

Robinson (2005) takes the global view of hegemony one step further, questioning the nation state focus in neo-Gramscian theory altogether. He points rather to a “view of hegemony as a form of social

domination exercised not by states but by social groups and classes operating through states and other institutions” (Robinson, 2005, p. 561). This is a more radical vision of not national and transnational class, or the expansion of a national class interests transnationally, regionally, or globally. This is rather a focus on class in itself as the primary unit of analysis regardless of national or international constrictions. Furthermore, “*transnational* or global approaches focus on how the system of nation-states and national economies, etc., are becoming transcended by transnational social forces and institutions grounded in the global system rather than the interstate system...” (Robinson, 2005, p. 561). That is, it is better to reject the proposition that we are speaking of hegemony of a particular state, or class beholden to a *particularistic* understanding of space such as that of the nation-state. Robinson instead speaks of the hegemony of a particular social force and related means of production. Robinson calls us to “focus on the horizontal integration of classes and social forces, that then operate through webs of national and transnational institutions... transnational capitalists and allied dominant strata integrate horizontally, and in the process move ‘up’ cross-nationally” (Robinson, 2005, p. 562). Bieling and Steinhilber (2000) reference Cox in a similar vein, pointing out that international hegemony is not “merely an order among states. It is an order within a world economy with a dominant mode of production which penetrates into all countries... a complex of international social relationships which connect the social classes of the different countries” (Cox, quoted in Bieling and Steinhilber, 2000). This understanding of transnational hegemony based on consent and organized around a means of production, in our case with a particular neoliberal logic, can lead us to view the EU as a transnational hegemony that is then interwoven with different manifestations of that larger system in and in between the transnational and the national.

## The EU as a Hegemonic Project

How then is the EU a hegemonic project? Hegemonic projects from a neo-Gramscian perspective are not only processes of social restructuring. Hegemonic projects are in fact processes of what Gramsci called *transformismo*. This is explained by Bieling and Steinhilber as “social and economic reform ‘from above’ in order to co-opt large parts of the population by providing allegedly attractive solutions for pressing economic and social problems” (2000, p. 38). To be more specific, hegemony is active. This hegemony has been reinforced at the European level by a small group of economic and political elites (Bieling and Steinhilber, 2000, p. 39). Bieling and Steinhilber further elaborate that the conditioning framework of European integration thus set up is based upon two primary logics that are based on neoliberalism. These are namely, competitive deregulation and competitive austerity (Bieling and Steinhilber, 2000, p. 39). This deregulation is then based on the idea of the common market and the flexibility of goods, services, capital, and this austerity is based on the idea of market discipline by which central banks are obliged to follow certain monetarist policies determined by the EMS and EMU.

The key arguments put in favor of the EMS, as well as the single market and the majority of EU developments revolve around the idea of projecting economic success as a means to secure the general good of the EU. This economic success is then targeted and legitimated based on logics inherent to a neoliberal perspective. Bieling and Steinhilber explain, “the key topic of the national and European discourse of modernization was ‘competitiveness’ which meant in the end a strategic priority to economic integration by means of deregulating national markets. An expression of these four efforts were the famous four liberties, i.e. of capital, commodities, services and workforce, as they are written down in the Single European Act” (2000, p. 42). This was a top-down regulation, that worked well when the economy was in a boom time, but tended to face crisis in times of economic downturn. This is because of the nature of the Single Market being top-down, which was not legitimized by active consensus, but “by the ‘good performance of the task’... legitimized by

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success... and not by democratic debate or even approval..." (2000, p. 43). Again, this tended to work as long as times were good and brought about advantages, but opened wide with general public feelings of distrust and a lack of popular sovereignty if the situation was otherwise. Over time this arrangement has developed into "the belief that the EU membership is unalterable. The free movement of labor and capital are part of the process of globalization, the most recent transformative phase in capitalist growth, and similarly produces a 'logic of no alternative'..." (Gibbins, 2020, p. 7). Bieling and Steinhilber (2000) point out that while most of the EU discourse becomes more neoliberalized, large numbers of people, largely from the working class are becoming less and less willing to accept the consequences of neoliberalism and related restructuring (p. 45).

## The British "Race to the Bottom"

At the same time of neoliberalization at the EU level, there has been a similar phenomenon at the UK level. Jessop (2018) observes measures in the UK from 1979 on, reinforcing "the ongoing pattern of de-industrialization and, where core industries survived, contributed to their balkanization" (p. 1735). He further argues that, "without the economic, political, and social bases for a concerted national economic strategy, Britain's economic fortunes came to depend heavily on the vagaries of finance-dominated accumulation and the wider world market" (Jessop, 2018, p. 1735). These very economic policies have largely benefitted the city of London, and "rentier and producer service interest" that exist in London and the South-East as well as "mobile transnational capital" (Jessop, 2018, p. 1735). Rosamond (2019) similarly observes that Brexit has been a manifestation of larger British political cleavages connected to the neoliberal growth model based on the privatization of Keynesianism and opening the economy of the UK to foreign capital. The central crisis of this growth model was that it only worked when there was increased exposure to UK property owners of international markets, and therefore when the US sub-prime mortgage market crash happened in 2007-2008, both the machinery of this particular system collapsed as well as its support base (Rosamond 2019, p. 411). The Labour Party governments, calling themselves "New Labour" post 1997, became associated with the construction of a "privatized Keynesianism" "and the rolling out of asset-based welfare in the UK" (Rosamond, 2019, p. 411). This Labour policy, came to be seen as "irresponsible over-spending that had produced recurrent budget deficits and unsustainable levels of accumulated public debt" (Rosamond, 2019, p. 411). This means that there was a crisis throwing the hegemonic project into disarray, and then government response to the crisis was done in a way that garnered discontent. Rosamond observes that this culminated in Brexit as "a form of societal backlash that was originally hatched in the underperformance/collapse of the UK's most recent growth model" (Rosamond, 2019, p. 412).

This backlash is understandable if we contextualize it in the politics of support of the EU project. The UK growth model has been undertaken in the context of EU membership and liberalization. Rosamond explains, "...the terms under which the UK entered the European Communities in 1973 combines with the liberalizing thrust of European economic integration from the mid-1980s meant that the British state's 'City-first' statecraft was not only reconcilable with EU membership, but was also likely to augment the City's position as *the* key international financial center" (Rosamond, 2019, p. 412). This is because it stands to be the most benefitted by the opening up of international financial markets. It is also true that although the neoliberal growth model relied on the exposure of UK citizens to global finance it was also based upon a system that generated regional and socio-economic inequalities (Rosamond, 2019, p. 412).

Jessop (2018) also points out that economic shifts have been at the expense of "regions and third-tier cities and towns" in the north and south of the UK where industry has been eroded and manufacturing has experienced losses since the expansion of neoliberalism. In a sense, Jessop

describes uneven development and the regional polarization of wealth. He states, “neoliberalization has promoted the deeper integration of (parts of) British economic space into the circuits of international financial capital and advantaged international profit-producing capital” (Jessop, 2018, p. 1736). Rosamond also points to an “economic geography” for the UK, manifested in Brexit voting. In summary he observes a correlation between pro-Brexit voting and areas “most negatively affected by economic globalization” (namely, the north, the midlands, and the east) with London, a region with 45.1 percent of the UK’s financial output, giving a remain vote of approximately 60 percent (Rosamond, 2019, p. 413). The conclusion for Rosamond (2019) as well as Jessop (2017 and 2018) is that the referendum represents at least in part a revolt against the financialized neoliberal economic model in the UK and, by extension, its embeddedness in the EU.

## The Shifting Views of the Labour Party

For many in the UK, including those in the Labour Party, especially in the 70s, the EEC (predecessor of the EU) was originally seen as a “capitalist club.” Gibbins references numerous voices from British politics of the 70s on the topic of further European integration into the EEC, calling it a “club of relatively privileged nations which want to maintain their positions,” “the largest capitalist club in the world,” and “the treaty of Rome as a Magna Carta for the barons of multinational mega-corporations” (quoted in Gibbins, 2020, p. 6). Tony Benn, a member of the Labour Party, summed up the common view of his party in the 70s in a cabinet meeting from 1975, stating that “in practice, Britain will be governed by a European coalition government that we cannot change, dedicated to a capitalist or market oriented theology” (quoted in Salter, 2018, p. 470). What is more, two months prior to the 1975 referendum, the Labour party voted against membership in the European Communities and 39 of 46 associated labor unions rejected the idea (Salter, 2018, p. 470). Often this past of the Labour party in rejecting further European integration is forgotten. The message of the majority of the Labour Party of the 70s was clear: we should not join a transnational neoliberalist club in Europe.

Gill observes that the left-wing alternative has been assimilated and disarmed by the larger logic of neoliberalism (the hegemonic project). He argues that the current manifestations of socialism in the EU (his article was published in 2000), seem “to have been not the replacement of capitalism, but the civilizing of the capitalist mode of production, in effect conferring it with a *hegemonic* aura... institutional innovations... have been connected to the stabilization and legitimation of capitalism through the use of an expanding sphere of state regulation” (Gill, 2000, p. 18). He also points out that although the leftist alternative in Europe has been largely assimilated, “this is not to say that alternatives to the dominant political orthodoxy do not exist, especially on the right” (Gill, 2000, p. 18). Ironically, the biggest blow to challenging the hegemonic project lies in the politics of the left of center. When Delors added a social dimension to Europe at the Trades Union Congress of 1988, a significant impact was made in “converting core Labour Party supporters and policy influencers to pro-Europeanism” (Gibbins, 2020, p. 6). Thereby, the alternative was disarmed, and the debate no longer was one of neoliberalism versus social solidarity in British politics but one of British neoliberalism versus European neoliberalism. This promotion for some social protection helped ironically to hegemonize the EU as a (neo)liberalizing project. In a moment Delors had moved the European project “from being perceived as an exclusive bourgeoisie project aiding the interests of capital... into a champion of workers’ rights” (Gibbins, 2020, p. 7).



## The Lack of an Outlet

Fundamental social change only becomes possible in what is called “organic crisis” in a neo-Gramscian vocabulary, which is when the system faces structural (objective) and legitimation (hegemony/subjective) crises (Robinson, 2005, p. 572). In the 1990s and, arguably, into the 2000s there existed the dual problematics of structural crisis and social polarization leading up to an “organic crisis” in 2016. Robinson (2005) takes a look at how counter-hegemonic resistance has been manifested in his work. He observes that “the far right has been able to capitalize... on the insecurities of working and middle classes in the face of rapidly changing circumstances to mobilize a reactionary bloc” drawing “in particular on the insecurities of those sectors formerly privileged within national social structures of accumulation” that are now threatened by globalization (Robinson, 2005, p. 571). Zizek (2016) observes something similar in “the rise of rightwing nationalist populism in western Europe, which is now the strongest political force advocating the protection of working class interests, and simultaneously the strongest political force able to give rise to proper political passions.” What is more concerning for Zizek in the case of Brexit is the lack of a viable internationalist alternative on the left in that the internationalist thrust has been reincorporated into the neoliberal project, whereas alternatives have been absorbed into nationalism on both left and right. This presents for Zizek (2016) a problematic situation in which the only alternatives to the neoliberal project lie in the “rediscovery of nationalism.”

Jessop (2018, p. 1736) observes the weakened ties between the power bloc and the working class arising from decline in areas that lack the capacity to challenge the hegemony of neoliberalism, namely “heavy industry, retail capital, and small and medium enterprises.” He makes the point that, “the recent legitimacy crisis results from the failure of successive neoliberal projects, pursued under Conservative, New Labour, and coalition governments alike, to deliver sustainable nationwide prosperity. The representational crisis is evident in a growing disconnection between the natural governing parties in Westminster, party members, and their voters” (Jessop, 2018, p. 1736). This results in the disaffection of the Brexit vote and opens the door for populism on both the right and the left. He concludes, “the legitimacy and representational crises were exacerbated by the loss of control over public opinion... over continued EU membership... there is a wider organic crisis in the social order” (Jessop, 2018, p. 1736-1737). This organic crisis revealed itself in debates over national and regional identities, North-South differences, splits between the intelligentsia and the common people, and splits between age groups among others.

The reality, as previously stated, is that the referendum was never only about membership in the EU for the majority of those who voted on it. Many of those who were voting saw rather the choice between neoliberalism or not (Jessop, 2017, p. 137). Regardless of this perception, “a choice for entry or exit would not affect the overall dominance of neoliberalism—only its specific form and mediations. A remain vote would have consolidated an authoritarian neoliberal Conservative regime committed to enduring austerity...” (Jessop, 2017, p. 137). Jessop however points out that the crisis symptoms were not rooted in the EU as it is, but rather in its form. He explains, “they were rooted in its neoliberal form, the crises of the Eurozone crisis-management, and the long-run failure to address crucial domestic issues that undermined economic and extra-economic competitiveness” (Jessop, 2017, p. 138). What is more concerning is that following the rejection of hegemony in the form of the Brexit vote, reincorporation immediately followed. Gramsci observed that, “the traditional ruling class, which has numerous trained cadres, changes men and programs and, with greater speed than is achieved by the subordinate classes, reabsorbs the control that was slipping from its grasp. Perhaps it may make sacrifices... but it retains power, reinforces it for the time being and uses it to crush its adversary” (1971, quoted in Jessop, 2017, p. 138). In the case of the Brexit vote, there has been a

likewise recovery of the power bloc to re-establish hegemony into a kind of British neoliberal hegemony in the place of the previous more EU-oriented one.

## General Disconnect

Andreouli and Nicholson (2018) interviewed focus groups of UK citizens on the topic of Brexit in the months preceding the Brexit vote. They cite that the leave vote found support particularly among “more disadvantaged working classes and the less educated, older and ‘whiter’ voters...” (Goodwin and Heath, 2016; Swales, 2016 quoted in Andreouli and Nicholson, 2018, p. 2). They further explain that this view suggests that leave voters were the “so-called ‘left behind’, or ‘losers of globalization’, who have been particularly hit by the effects of the 2008 financial crisis and by subsequent austerity policies” (Andreouli and Nicholson, 2018, p. 2). Swales (2016) further found that there was no significant difference between “left-wing” and “right-wing” orientation among leave voters (cited in Andreouli and Nicholson, 2018, p. 2). We can look at their focus groups for more insight as to the reasoning voters had underlying their choices.

The first observation made by Andreouli and Nicholson was that their participants saw politicians as generally untrustworthy regardless of the political orientation of the respondent. Those intending to vote leave “expressed mistrust towards politicians making specific reference to austerity policies and National Health Service (NHS) cuts, but also more generally, by arguing against what they saw as a corrupt political establishment” (Andreouli and Nicholson, 2000, p. 19).

One female leave voter explained:

I’m just so annoyed with the politicians. And specifically, this campaign to stay in, and just the stuff that they say. I think do you think we’re stupid?... if they came and said, ‘right so we’re in the EU and this is what the EU is put into our country this year or in general’... why don’t they do that? Why, if they’ve got all these facts and figures, why aren’t they?... I think well if you’re not telling me and all you’re trying to do is just scaremonger continually, then I don’t trust you. (Andreouli and Nicholson, 2018, p. 19)

Overall a certain “anti-politics” was observed among the leave voters, with many being outright antagonistic to the current political system *as a whole*. This was paired with a general sense that politicians were trying to *manipulate* voters into remaining. However, although this was stronger among the leave voters, remain and undecided voters professed a distrust of the political establishment as well, often explaining their choice as an act of pragmatism rather than real support.

Andreouli and Nicholson also observed that many of the participants made a separation between the economy as being a place of common sense and reason, and politics being a place of bias and manipulation. While many remain voters explained their choice as an act of economic pragmatism, making some kind of cost-benefit analysis, many leave voters explained their choice as an act of rebellion from globalist economic control.

One male undecided voter explained:

The way I feel the media has portrayed it along the lines of, if you are intelligent and sophisticated you will vote remain; if you’re a bit stupid and uneducated you’ll vote to leave... One media listed all these people. Look at these brilliant academics. We’ve got this banker, this investment banker, we’ve got this politician... (Andreouli and Nicholson, 2018, p. 23)

The importance of class difference in the psychology of the debate is clearly represented in this quotation. All of the major parties in the UK other than the UK Independence Party predominantly supported staying in the EU (Andreouli and Nicholson, 2000, p. 2). This was observed by many as having the “appropriate” result being dictated to them by a ruling class that had already become suspect due to widespread economic crisis. A general dissatisfaction, distrust of the authorities, and concern about the economy, underlined the justifications of voters of all three groups (leave, remain, and undecided).

Salter (2018) observes an overwhelming division between intellectuals and the larger society as roughly 9 percent of academics supported Brexit compared to a 52 percent of general population (p.

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468). He also observes that “in common with all the major national and international institutions of government, industry, finance and the media, universities had campaigned vigorously for remaining in the EU. Rarely can European elites have been so unified on a single issue and rarely can university intellectuals have been so uncritical of the unquestioning adherence by such elites to the status quo” (Salter, 2018, p. 468). It seems that academics played their part in concert with the elite in promoting the existing neoliberal hegemony in the form of the current EU arrangement. We can here use the Gramscian idea of intellectuals playing a central role in the promotion or curtailing of hegemony. This is somewhat related to the position intellectuals have independent of class interests, in that they have an established position by virtue of their degree or supposed expertise. Salter explains, “if successfully recruited by a particular hegemony, this notional independence enables traditional intellectuals to act as ‘experts in legitimation’ of its power” (Salter, 2018, p. 468). They are then tasked with “the function of developing and sustaining the mental images, technologies and organizations which bind together the members of a class and of a historic bloc into a common identity” (Cox, 1983 quoted in Salter, 2018, p. 468). This is, in the EU situation, a transnational historic bloc tied to a particular transnational order supporting the global pressure for a more integrated neoliberal Europe.

It is ironic that leftist parties, as well as left leaning intellectuals did not address the problematic fact that, “all the major investment banks and transnational corporations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the OECD, the CBJ, the Bank of England, Lloyds and the European Round Table of industrialists... unanimously supported remain” (Salter, 2018, p. 471). The same party that had voted two to one against joining a European organization described as a capitalist club in the 70s, declared support for remaining in it 218 to 10 in 2016 (Salter, 2018, p. 471). This shows the astonishing power of the hegemonic project to incorporate the intellectual class. And in such a situation in which voters are presented with all the mainstream parties supporting the neoliberal project, what are they to do? In what direction should the counter-hegemonic backlash turn? Salter (2018) poses another interesting question along the same line of thought, “why British academics who... are predominately on the left of the political spectrum, were prepared to give their support and legitimation to an EU project with an explicit neoliberal agenda, achieved through established elite networks, serviced by a centralized and unaccountable technocracy and largely disdainful of democracy” (p. 469-470). This brings us back to the idea of *transformismo* or the strategy by which potentially dangerous parts of the population are assimilated into the system of legitimation. This assimilation was largely part and parcel of the idea of social Europe as promoted by Delors and explained by Gibbins (2020) and Gill (2000) among others. The common people of the UK were then left with a desire for counter-hegemony and a situation of organic crisis, but nowhere to channel their general disillusionment. Brexit offered a chance for these people to finally voice their discontent, but proved ephemeral without the possibility of a substantial alternative, the leadership of the intellectual class, or a viable outlet.

## Conclusion

In the end we have a phenomenon in which the people of the UK are put into a situation in which their economy has been hollowed out by transnational neoliberalist forces. In such a situation, the EU is seen as a far away, organ of the ruling class, and an organ without the consent of the public of the UK. Organic crisis has torn apart the legitimation of the hegemonic project, and called political legitimacy into question. When asked to respond to the British public on the Brexit result from the perspective of an intellectual from the EU, Slavoj Žižek stated, “Europe is now caught in a vicious cycle, oscillating between the false opposites of surrender to global capitalism and surrender to anti-immigrant populism – which politics has a chance of enabling us to step out of this mad dance?” (Žižek, 2016). The choice in the UK to vote for Brexit can be seen as a vehicle for the working class to

voice their desire for a counter-hegemonic push, regardless of the repercussions of that vote in reality. This is because of a widespread lack of a significant challenge remaining among the left, as the majority of the leftist political establishment has been incorporated into the larger European neoliberal project. In such a situation the only outlet left for the working class to manifest its frustration lies in the populist right-wing that largely supported Brexit in the referendum. I posit in this paper that this support is not representative of a larger far right thrust in the political consciousness of the working class in the UK, but rather part of this larger rejection to the neoliberal system itself, as well as the establishment that is seen to represent it. After years of being “told what to do” by the political establishment and facing a technocratic EU without significant consensus mechanisms for the majority of the population, and finally being presented with a way to voice their disapproval (the Brexit vote) the working class has now voiced their larger desire for counter-hegemony. However, this push was quickly reabsorbed by the neoliberal establishment in the UK, and the revolutionary potential was thereby neutralized. In other words, one neoliberalism has been replaced with another.

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# Internationalization of Neo-Nazism and Social Media: Psychosocial, Sociopolitical and Security Inquiry

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## ABSTRACT

This research analyses the internationalization paradigm of extremism and neo-Nazism, affecting related global events within the historical, psychosocial, sociopolitical, security, and globalized media framework; problematizing a gap between peace, violence, democratic legislation, social awareness, political agendas, participation, and hyperpersonal communication theories. The radicalization process can be initiated or encouraged by sociopolitical or sociopsychological circumstances that directly or indirectly affect the individual. There is no detailed profile of a person attentive to commit terrorism, various positions, and judgments. The capacity and participation in the sociopolitical process are questioned. The impoverishment of public life and the public sphere creates a critical potential for demagogic and ideological extremist manipulation. Democratic accountability and transparency could be submerged by far-right spin specialists who have more scope to manage information. Such an occurrence coincides with the mass society theories. Hyperpersonal communication initiated securitization, highlighting the internationalization of neo-Nazism and neo-Fascism (i.e., Norwegian-Breivik and New Zealand-Tarrant). It is undeniably essential that a democratic, legal state has a monopoly on violence. The lack of decision-makers in the political sphere who would: establish a different direction in the constitution of the community, understanding that managing the relevant weaponry and cognate laws is a regional, transnational, and trans-party issue, and the actual field of their political legitimacy; a failure for diverse global societies.

## KEYWORDS

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## Introduction

Violent extremism and radicalization leading to terrorism and transnational challenges are not limited to nationality, ethnicity affiliation, religion, ideology, or gender. Moreover, these unpredictable and evolving intimidations, lack of sociopolitical awareness, and inefficient state policies make it difficult to prevent and counter them. Social media has become a preferred method for right-wing extremists to spread their calls for violence and antagonistic rhetoric. Young people inadvertently become global right-wing medians within the socio-psychological forms of deceived communications. Sociologists and psychologists believe that specific characteristics characterize the personality of terrorists, but no one has yet determined a unique personality profile, i.e., listed the characteristics that guarantee that the person who possesses them will commit terrorist acts.

Furthermore, the functioning of democracy cannot explain only the analysis of political institutions; it is necessary to analyze the “micro” level social actors, citizens, and their attitudes and

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orientations towards politics and political institutions. Policy-oriented citizen activities can be of greater or lesser intensity, require more or less time and resources, be individual or collective, and have more or less success. A key component in achieving a refined response to neo-Nazism and neo-fascism ensures adequate social awareness and representation of all sociopolitical actors and individuals within the security sector, especially when defining policies and programs and operational roles in law enforcement. A characteristic of the post-modern world is the lack of security and the mixing and merging of different styles and genres. Besides, various media and communication theories must be criticized in the post-modern world because they view people as passive recipients of information. There were no independent media in Nazism. All mass media were under the strict control of the regime. Their task was not to objectively inform the population but instead to spread the ruling ideology and indoctrinate it. Thus, there is no risk from Stalinism in the twenty-first century but a variant of Nazism and Fascism.

This research analyses the internationalization paradigm of extremism and neo-Nazism, affecting related global events within the historical, psychosocial, sociopolitical, and security frameworks. It further explores media and social media in the globalized world and problematizes a gap between peace, violence, democratic legislation, social awareness, political agendas and participation, and hyperpersonal communication theories aiming to conceptualize security challenges and normative solutions. The study includes an in-depth literature review within the analytical and critical analysis methods.

## Findings and Discussion

The world is marked by new waves of violent extremism, radicalism, and terrorism behind which there are religious, ethnic, and political reasons, and the ideologies of these groups oppose the democratic and liberal values of tolerance and multiculturalism. Radicalization is a dynamic process during which a person is brought into a state to accept violence, especially terrorists, as a possible and justified action of individuals and groups, i.e., uncompromising achievement of their goals. Violence is a phenomenon present in different epochs of development of human society, a constant of social relations; although it is immanent to man, we also meet it in the animal world. It can be defined as using coercive means and methods against someone against his will and rights or physical force against objects and material means.

The key reasons individuals and groups choose this type of violence are identified as the causes of terrorism. Since there is no generally accepted definition of terrorism, and the world powers have defined terrorism according to their preferences and current interests, in terms of causes, we remain of the opinion that as much as there is a definition of terrorism, there are different classifications of causes of terrorism: internal and external. Nevertheless, terrorism is a sociological construct, and as a phenomenon, it involves the use of violence to achieve political goals while causing fear among the target audience and the general public. One of the most exposed types of terrorism in the last few years is undoubtedly "lone wolf" terrorism. It is essential to point out that "lone wolf" refers to terrorists not part of any broader terrorist organization or cell. However, the term is used to distinguish between terrorist activities carried out by an individual actor and terrorist activities carried out by terrorist organizations. This phenomenon dates back to the nineteenth century and was just then a vital instrument of revolutionary activity.

For Europe and the world, by legal omissions, extreme right-wing organizations are recruited in the countries where they exist and what kind of content they share through social networks. Factual information about their activities online, from which terrorists like Brentton Tarrant, Breivik, and others learn, allows proactive action against terrorist intentions, not just action. On July 22, 2011, Norwegian Anders Behring Breivik (he translated his name into English as Andrew Berwick in his

manifesto) detonated a bomb and launched a killing spree in Oslo, Norway killing 77 people wounding many more. It was the worst terrorist attack in modern Norwegian history and one of the worst in modern European history (Rayner et al., 2011). The bombing of government buildings in Oslo resulted in eight deaths, while a mass shooting at the Workers' Youth League of the Labor Party on Utøya Island resulted in the killing of 69 people, mostly teenagers, and the wounding of at least 96 others. Breivik's primary concern and Hitler's were the alleged "rapid extinction of Nordic genotypes." He cited data showing as an example the prevalence of blue eyes among Euro-Americans living in the US: 45.74 percent of those born between 1899 and 1905 compared to 33.8 percent of those born between 1936 and 1951. Blue eyes have become increasingly rare among American children, with only one in six to 16.6 percent, accounting for 49.8 million of the 300 million (22.4 percent of Euro-Americans) in the entire US population with blue eyes. Breivik's concern about intermarriage existed because of its eugenic implications: "A century ago, 80 percent of people married within their ethnic community. Blue eyes are routinely passed on, especially among people of Western and Northern European descent. About half of Americans born at the turn of the twentieth century had blue eyes, according to a 2002 study by Loyola University in Chicago. By the middle of the century, that number had dropped to a third. Today, only 1 in 6 Americans has blue eyes" (Silver, 1997).

His first political experiences concerned right-wing parties that had solid anti-immigrant platforms. As he failed to make significant progress and be recognized in political parties and circles, he turned to online extremist forums to communicate with various radicals, extremists, and like-minded people. It is where his immersion in the virtual world and social isolation from the external social environment began. The most significant role in developing ideas and creating his ideology in Breivik was played by the Internet and various available extremist literature and platforms on which he exchanged his views and ideas with others. Lonely wolves with radical right-wing motives usually stand out on such platforms because they are people who find pleasure in portraying their aggression - for example, through various virtual discussions of terrorism - and see it as an effective means of expressing their problems and desires (Hartleb, 2020). Over time, Breivik's beliefs became more radical, and his desire for action grew, but he no longer found sufficient support in the forums. The feeling of rejection reappears, but this time it was that feeling that made him go all the way and take matters into his own hands. He then began writing his manifesto, planning and preparing for the attack, with the Internet once again serving as his primary tool.

In New Zealand, Brenton Harrison Tarrant announced his mass killing over social media and filmed it live on the Internet. He shared a 74-page online manifesto peppered with sarcastic jokes about popular culture, repeating well-known internet memes and striving to mint new ones. He explained in a "Q&A" format, as though in an interview, with asides to imagine the reactions. "I am sure the journalists will love that," he wrote, after answering "yes," to his question, "Were/are you a fascist?" "Terrorism is the propaganda of the deed, and the terrorist is always as interested in his audience as his victim," paraphrasing the nineteenth-century Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin. Social media makes this vector much more powerful. We become host to the virus, and we accelerate its spread. According to his father's obituary in *The Daily Examiner of Grafton*, the suspect's parents were divorced early in his childhood. Tarrant's mother was not mentioned in the obituary, suggest an ordinary white man from "a working-class, low-income family," Tarrant wrote in his manifesto. "I had a normal childhood, without any significant issues." "I had little interest in education during my schooling, barely achieving a passing grade. I did not attend University as I had no great interest in anything offered in the Universities to study." His manifesto alludes to visits to Poland, North Korea, Ukraine, Iceland, and Argentina. References throughout his manifesto indicate that he was deeply immersed in white nationalist internet forums. He also appears to have developed a detailed

interest in American politics. To make his case for the effectiveness of memes, he pointed to a candidate in the 2016 Republican presidential primary he found boring: "Jeb Bush inspires no one."

"Are you a supporter of Donald Trump?" Tarrant asked himself in the manifesto. "As a symbol of renewed white identity and purpose? Sure. As a policymaker and leader? Dear God, no." He wrote that, in some ways, his attack was explicitly aimed at an American audience. "I chose firearms for the effect it would have on social discourse. The extra media coverage they would provide and affect it could have on the politics of the US and thereby the political situation of the world." He hoped "to create conflict between the two ideologies within the US on the ownership of firearms in order to further the social, cultural, political and racial divide." Thus ensuring the death of the "melting pot" pipe dream.

Sociologists and psychologists believe that specific characteristics characterize the personality of terrorists, but no one has yet determined a unique personality profile, i.e., listed the characteristics that guarantee that the person who possesses them will commit terrorist acts. Human nature is not a place where one can find answers to the emergence of neo-Nazism, neo-Fascism, and terrorism. However, it is undoubtedly unavoidable in cooperation with other social and economic problems, poverty, and alienation of certain social groups and strata (Aechtner, 2016). In the group of objective social factors that drive subjective, that is, radical attitudes and understanding of terrorism as a legitimate and only means, we can also classify several recognized by international institutions, namely: prolonged unresolved conflicts, lack of the rule of law, violation of human rights, national and religious discrimination, political exclusion, socioeconomic marginalization and lack of good governance. Feelings of victimization, injustice, frustration, humiliation, and revolt can affect the development of negative feelings and insecurity about identity and belonging, which are reflected in the individual's reaction to society. Social interactions, interpersonal relationships, and exposure to ideas and messages that legitimize terrorism, in conjunction with psychological and cognitive factors, lead the individual to terrorist radicalization (OSCE, 2014). Adolescents and young people in their early twenties are considered the most vulnerable category for mobilizing and embarking on the path of radicalization and violent extremism, but that does not necessarily mean that they will all accept neo-Nazi and neo-Fascist ideologies as a legitimate means and end up on the tracks of terrorist acts. Every criminal behavior is caused by a combination of two groups of factors: personal traits of an individual and external (primarily social) factors, where their action does not have the same force in all crimes, because, in some, it is dominated by the individual, in others external factors, while in others it is united, the action of individual and external factors. Violence is most often reacted to with violence, which can be one of the potential causes of radicalization in certain societies.

As for Breivik's psychological condition, from the analysis of his actions, it could be concluded that he is a rational person because otherwise, he would not be able to carry out an enterprise of such catastrophic proportions. In addition, 1,500 pages of his manifesto also show his particular intellectual abilities. However, a subsequent police psychological assessment concluded that Breivik had developed a mental disorder of paranoid schizophrenia during his lifetime that changed him and turned him into today's person. They deduced this from Anders' misconceptions, according to which he believed it was up to him to determine who should live and who should die (Pantucci, 2011). It is believed that Breivik started showing signs of certain psychological disorders in 2006 when he moved in with his mother and became socially isolated. His mother told the court that in 2011 when he was still living with her, he started wearing an antiseptic mask around the house, refused to eat the food she prepared for him and kept calling the family doctor and accusing her of infecting him with some disease (Pantucci, 2011). Also, according to Pantucci's analysis, Breivik showed a high level of narcissism, as can be seen from several examples. The first example is the plastic surgery of the nose to which he underwent to, in his opinion, look more like the Aryan race. Then, through texts in the manifesto, he repeatedly mentions himself in the context of his "good appearance and charm," by



which he can very easily win girls over. Breivik's interview with himself presented in the manifesto, with the help of which he is rehearsing for potential future interviews, which he hopes will follow after the attack, is another piece of evidence for this claim.

The functioning of democracy cannot explain only the analysis of political institutions; it is necessary to analyze the "micro" level social actors, citizens, and their attitudes and orientations towards politics and political institutions. Policy-oriented citizen activities can be of greater or lesser intensity, require more or less time and resources, be individual or collective, and have more or less success. Fox (2013), in detail, describes the different criteria for the conceptualization of political participation. Is political participation active or passive, whether it must be a matter of visible behavior or political attitudes and values as well "Latent" dimensions of the political party participation? Does political participation refer to individual behavior or group engagement? Must it be an instrumental activity and have clearly defined goals and outcomes? Either symbolic activities without clearly defined requirements or goals, so where do they count? The criterion can also be the legality of the action, motivation, outcome, and the goal of the action (Fox, 2013). Digital technologies further complicate the criteria for defining participation. At the same time, global democracy can also be seen as a substitute for the short-lived concept of the "new world order". The threat to democracy comes precisely from the sphere of the legitimacy of the democratic choice of a populist authoritarian regime (leader), which, based on this "democratic electoral legitimacy," is authorized to make further political and economic changes without any public oversight. The populist regime (leader) derives from that "democratic electoral legitimacy," the legitimacy right to abolish any possibility of public criticism that usually qualifies as political resistance of the opposition.

Alternatively, as hostile provocations of the "fifth column" or as a conspiracy of national or religious minorities or migrant groups, which creates a climate of fear, mistrust, and repression, new perspectives open up for authoritarian regimes whose hands all political power is concentrated. However, Western European societies' history can also be read as a sequence of dominant lines of conflict, starting from the contradictions of Catholicism and Protestantism, the periphery and the center, the agrarian economy and industry. When the lines of conflict lose clarity, the old antagonisms do not disappear completely. They still exist and are reflected in party systems (Hadžić, 2020). Pim Fortuyn was a Dutch politician, academic, sociologist, and Pim Fortuyn List's political party. In 2001, he appeared on the political scene in the Netherlands, intending to become the new prime minister. His political rise took place in a turbulent and polarized climate. He made various bold statements about Islam, a multicultural society, immigration policy, asylum policy, and his political opponents. For example, he wanted to limit the number of immigrants in the country, arguing for a Cold War against Islam because Islam posed a severe threat to Dutch society - he considered mosques to be "leading organizations in which martyrs are raised" and Islam a "retarded culture" (Van Buuren, 2013). His statement also circulated in the media, claiming that the entire environmental policy in the Netherlands no longer makes sense and that he is tired of their environmental movement (Posluszna, 2015).

According to the pessimistic view of the reality and future of audience democracy, the quality and ability to overcome conflict and solve problems will decline in absolute terms and compared to the worst performance of party democracy. Pessimists point to a state collapse scenario that repeats the history of fragile bourgeois governments in Germany and Italy since 1918. and the history of overburdened progressive governments in the West since the oil crisis of the 1970s. According to this view, the state will crash for several reasons: (1) stagnation and failure of public policies as a result of inadequate managerial skills of campaign politicians; (2) demands of poorly informed citizens for immediate satisfaction by transparent policymakers; (3) excessive influence of media owners and journalists on the agenda and success of parties, parliaments; (4) obsessions of political leaders and managers in the public sector with daily political support and short-term public interests; (5)

unnecessary continuation or introduction of wrong communication designs, programs, and projects of the state (Dahl, 2006). According to this view, examples of failures are domestic terrorism encouraged by immigrants, the declining competitiveness of European capitalism, the unsustainability of the pension system, and the occupation of Iraq. Nonetheless, Western audience democracies thrive in societies that continue to lead or are at least satisfactory in the capacity of the state (subsystems of taxation and aid to the poor), the moral integrity of officials, the peaceful resolution of conflicts, and legislative reforms, which is expressed through economic growth, competitiveness, creativity, human development, economic freedoms, and happiness.

The Nazis in Germany under Hitler largely solved the unemployment problem and stabilized the German mark, resulting in mass support for the regime. That is, National Socialism thus gained "passive tolerance of the masses." Social security was his only truth-based propaganda slogan (Neumann, 2012). The masses were gained by propaganda. The natural structure of society has been replaced by an abstract "people's community" that "conceals the depersonalization of human relations" and the isolation of man from man. In the categories of modern social psychology, it can be said that National Socialism intended to create a uniform sadomasochistic character. Alternatively, the type of man determined by his isolation and insignificance is driven by this fact into a collective body where he acquires a share in power and celebrates the entity he is a part of (Neumann, 2012). The most effective means of Nazi propaganda was radio. The German population was allowed to listen exclusively to German radio stations. Listening to other stations, such as the British BBC, was severely punished. After the Nazis came to power, they fostered the myth of a leader (Führer) who supposedly embodied the historical mission of the German people, and therefore, the party and the people must unconditionally follow. The Führer "comes out" of the people and is in a "close relationship" with them. The leader is at the center of the movement; he is irreplaceable. In his person, he unites the fourfold function of the head of state, the head of the administrative apparatus, the legislator, and the supreme judge. He also has the constitutional power and is the army commander (Prelot, 2002). Italian Fascism (1922-1943) is also a regime in which the leader (Duce) is at the system's center. On the continuum of political regimes, limited by the poles of "ideal democracy" and "complete totalitarianism," National Socialists ranks "farthest at the totalitarian end." In Italy, it remained through the power centers (the king, the army that remained loyal to the king, the church) that were "never completely subordinated" to the fascist regime.

The Nazis advocate the establishment of a community. Community is understood as a race, a unity that is guaranteed by "blood and soil." The people, on the other hand, are understood as a "natural-organic" unity and wholeness. It exists before any differentiation of society into classes, interest groups. On the other hand, the Communists advocate establishing such a community with no oppression and exploitation. Of course, a classless society that seeks to establish itself, at least at the level of ideology, re-actualizes the "ancient" myth of the "golden age" (Bruneteau, 2010). Over time, after the period, the so-called. The dictatorships of the proletariat will be overcome by the foremost oppressive institution - the state, which the association of free producers will replace, at the level of ideology, the equality of community members in the so-called post-revolutionary period except those who are members of the exploitative bourgeois class.

In a study by the International Research Center for Combating Terrorism (ICCT) in The Hague, the causes of radicalization that can lead to terrorism are on three levels. The first is the individual's level, which includes an identity crisis, feelings of alienation, marginalization, discrimination, stigmatization, and rejection in (often) combined with anger and revenge. The second level represents the wider radicalized community that supports terrorism, or it can even be a group that operates in secret and is a link ("missing") on the way to a terrorist organization. It most often happens within a social group exposed to difficult living conditions, which can be a fertile ground for radicalization. National, ethnic or religious groups that are a minority in a particular state are vulnerable. The third

or macro level refers to the role of government and society in the country and abroad, the radical attitudes of public figures and politicians, especially those who come from abroad. In addition, the lack of opportunities for a decent socioeconomic status can lead to mobilization and radicalization, which can eventually manifest itself through terrorist acts (Schmidt, 2013). The first-level approach is still dominant in research into the radicalization process.

Austria has already taken steps to detect extremist movements and recently opened an investigation against the extreme right-wing Identity Movement led by Martin Sellner, which was also linked to Christchurch's terrorist attack. After the terrorist attack on two mosques and the deaths of dozens of innocent people, New Zealand's state and society realized that the culture of death threatened their "multiculturalism," and with determination, they tackled the challenges. In addition to strengthening the inclusive cultural pattern through education, media, and other platforms, the country, immediately after the March tragedy, began passing a law banning the possession of military weapons, which was adopted in the New Zealand Parliament. In Germany, a law that will force social networks to delete posts containing hate speech and fake news came into force in 2018. Under it, if it is clear hate speech, the penalty for not removing the content is up to 50 million euros. At the same time, the sites have 24 hours after being notified that the content is illegal to take action. Twitter has started adhering to this law, so the Alternative for Germany (AfD) MP Beatrix Storch, whose account was banned at noon, was deleted. Before the law went into effect, Facebook banned 10,000 profiles in Germany in August for spreading fake news and misinformation (DW, 2018).

### *Media and social media in the globalized world*

The rise of the media and cultural industries, as well as the information society, coincided with, in Barnett's words, an "all-pervading feeling of declining cultural, educational and political standards" or "dumbing down" (Barnett, 1998). There were no independent media in Nazism. All mass media were under the strict control of the regime. Their task was not to inform the population objectively but to spread the ruling ideology and indoctrinate the population. Thus, there is no risk from Stalinism in the twenty-first century but a variant of Nazism and Fascism. The crisis of modern societies creates fertile ground for the establishment of such regimes. Various techniques have proven effective in spreading ideologies, and transferring the work of PR professionals to influencers has proved expedient as it has been shown that, due to the human voice and home atmosphere, consumers do not always question the credibility and sincerity of these sources. Media and social networks have penetrated various sociopolitical spheres and made possible the spread of ideological constructs, including misinformation, virtual abuse, false identification, goal setting, and hybrid warfare. Moreover, we also lack detailed empirical data about the online lives of modern terrorists.

There are two inclinations. First, Neo-Nazis are increasingly hiding their right-wing extremist messages behind the facade of pop culture. Second, at the same time, they avoid inappropriate slogans and instead play the card of trendy presentations with colorful colors and well-known positive characters. Thus, for example, the plush figure of Cookie Monster from Sesame Street is used to spread right-wing slogans. Elsewhere in the network, a plush figure "Deportomedo" (AbschiebBär) is used to distribute neo-Nazi content. Alternatively, so the character of Micky Mouse with the SS corpse head became a cult neo-Nazi figure through numerous sharing and "liking" online. With the help of deceived communications, young people inadvertently become right-wing medians globally. At first glance, the web links do not seem to lead to something unusual because (i.e., the Facebook page of a young man as a Youtube video is the title of a recent Hollywood movie). However, behind the announcement of the film "Pirates of the Caribbean 5" extends something completely different, instead of Hollywood - incitement. The neo-Nazi group "Immortals" thus spreads its inflammatory messages. Moreover, the user often discovers the right-wing extremist



background of the message too late. Usually, this status already has “likes” at that time and is shared further (Fuchs and Martinovic, 2014).

Giddens (2009) attempts to simplify the ideas of the French philosopher Jean Baudrillard and says that there was a time when it was possible to separate the natural world and its events from the media-represented world. He explains that Baudrillard’s theory speaks of the demolition of that boundary because media representation has become part of that hyperrealistic world and can no longer be viewed in isolation from it. Various media and communication theories must be criticized in the post-modern world because they view people as passive recipients of information. The process of determining globalization of media is influenced by the understanding and infrastructure (information and communication technology) on which the network is based (Boyd and Ellison, 2007) and thus build mass communication that uses the mass media. The new media have joined the traditional media, and their most essential characteristics are data processing in digital form, multimedia, prompt interactivity, hyper-textuality, and the creation of an increasingly virtual world. Today, social networks are increasingly entering that system. The popularity of networks is growing, and usage habits are changing dynamically (hours spent on communication and information exchange), with an increasing focus on photography and less on texts and creativity. The choice of networks is expanding (YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest, Tumblr, LinkedIn) and the use of applications such as Messenger, WhatsApp, Skype, Viber, Snapchat.

The example given by Pantucci (2011), which demonstrates the high level of Breivik’s self-obsession, are the photographs, Breivik, himself published at the end of his manifesto, which present him to the general public and the world. The case of the Norwegian far-right terrorist Anders Behring Breivik offers unique insights into the online activities of a terrorist who used the Internet and social media in almost every thinkable way. Not only did Breivik compile his 1516-pages long compendium based exclusively on Internet sources. Before the attacks, he was also an active discussant on many mainstream and extremist Internet forums and a highly dedicated online gaming enthusiast. Breivik’s online posts indicate that his critical views on Islam and socialism were established long before counterjihad blogs were created. It means that these blogs may have played a less decisive role in Breivik’s early radicalization than assumed by many. Later on, however, these blogs strengthened Breivik’s radical thinking, although they come across as far less radical than his ideological statements after July 22 (Ravndal, 2013). Tarrant opened his video of his killing by reciting the slogan of the preteen and adolescent fans of a wildly popular YouTube channel devoted mainly to humor and video games (although also sometimes touched by accusations of anti-Semitism or anti-Muslim bigotry): “Remember, lads, subscribe to PewDiePie.” “Were you taught violence and extremism by video games, music, literature, cinema?” Tarrant asked himself, answering with sarcasm: “Yes. Spyro the Dragon 3 taught me ethnonationalism. Fortnite trained me to be a killer and to floss on the corpses of my enemies.” “Paint, write, sing, dance, recite poetry. Hell, even meme,” Tarrant wrote. “Memes have done more for the ethnonationalism movement than any manifesto.” He later recommended “edgy humor and memes” and appealing “to the present’s anger and black comedic nature.” By his own account, he was radicalized during one-month travels in Europe in spring 2017. Tarrant is not the first killer to take a cue from social media or relish its reaction. In 2015, a gunman in Roanoke, Va., sought to stream a video of his killing of two local television journalists. A gunman attacking an Orlando, Florida nightclub paused between shots to post on his own Facebook page the following year. Mass murderers often seek to innovate to outdo their predecessors, including through the exploitation of the media. Tarrant appears to have broken new ground in his self-conscious efforts to surf the waves of internet fandom (Kirkpatrick, 2019).

Social media has enabled interaction and more precise information, and personal communication itself could cause human frivolity during presidential elections and other situations. Terrorism as a spectacle suppressed other spectacles after 9/11. Current “negative destruction” has

been a defining feature of capitalist modernity from the very beginning. Life itself has become like a movie. Despite the “information blizzard,” the number of sources of information is decreasing due to media consolidation and rigid corporate control. In the late 1960s, the emphasis was on “postmaterialist” values and civil rights. The concepts of individualism are becoming more complex about movements for gender, racial and ethnic emancipation. Concerns about the planet’s fate are growing, and global media are consolidating interest in global civil society and citizenship. The phase of antagonism begins in the late 1990s. The key actors are World Trade Organization, USA, Kyoto Protocol, global media, anti-globalization movements and demonstrations, fundamentalist movements, regional conflicts and genocides, terrorism, wars in which Western powers participate but are not fought in their territories. This period is characterized by: globalization, capitalism, fundamentalism, nationalism, multiplied identities, cosmopolitanism, anti-globalization, human rights. Given that there is no detailed information about the media and communication from the past, was globalization before 1875, Rantanen (2004) asked. It is the argument that is most often made against globalization.

Even the classic questions about the relationship between the media and society, the social role of the media, and the like are always re-actualized after establishing new political, economic, social, and cultural contexts and power relations. At the same time, the so-called transitional historical epochs are exciting historical moments that provide an opportunity to gain insight into the paradigmatic changes that have occurred in the models, functioning, role, and operation of media institutions in the broader social context. The historical moment, which is still often labeled post-socialist, thus marking only the first stage in the transition from a centralist, state-party regulated economy to a deregulated market-economic capitalist structure of society, has inevitable consequences in the context of media institutions. Moreover, pluralism and diversity of media content, the concentration of ownership in the domain of media, media legislation and regulations, and the image and opportunities of media audiences, mentioned transitional, sociopolitical and economic reorganization brings one background, but a key, side of this model. It is a complex heterogeneous but recognizable form of transforming society into a market, a citizen into a consumer, a public into a private, an information-educational into a commercial. Considering the arguments of certain media theorists, such as Baudrillard, technology, i.e., the medium, is not entirely neutral towards the user because its structure more or less directs its behavior. Thus, according to Castells, information and communication technology development created an environment for a new communication phenomenon called mass self-communication. Massive includes a potentially global audience, while the term “self-communication” means self-generated, self-disseminated, and self-selected content (Castells, 2015). Today, social media is one of the main factors in a person’s everyday life, both private and professional. Social platforms influence interpersonal interaction at the individual and public levels.

Furthermore, digital technologies and social media further complicate the criteria for defining political participation. Is it online that digital participation is a legitimate and separate form of political action, or will it intertwine with other forms of participation and not be viewed as a separate form? We can problematize whether intentional abstinence from voting should be included in the repertoire of political participation since dissatisfaction is thus expressed political system.

The influence of social media is also present on a more comprehensive social level, which affects the increasingly strong identification of online and offline environments, which gives them both technological and social character. Blogs were created in the late 1990s, and social networks have been around since 1995. The latter shows that social media is not a new phenomenon in technological terms. However, their relatively newfound popularity is mainly due to the growing investment of corporate capital and the recognition of the role and influence of social media as marketing platforms (Fuchs, 2013). Features of social media (networking, participation, constant and continuous self-

communication, and interaction, user-generated content, broad emotional experience, and experience) are today integrated into many different platforms and traditional media to make them more sociable and thus more attractive to both end-users and those across the spectrum where social media marketing opportunities create added value to the overall business. Although large companies are significant investors in social media, their interest is based on user data rather than the public and open character of the web. From the perspective of traditional liberalism, entertainment on social media is problematic because it is not a continuation of rational-critical debate or the flow of information between the government and those governed, except in a dishonest way. Liberal commentators are, as Curran points out, responded to this dilemma in three ways: (1) some criticized the growth of media entertainment as a deplorable departure from the critical democratic purpose and function of the media; (2) others ignored the existence of entertainment; (3) the third answer was the discussion of media entertainment as a particular category that is not related to the political role of the media, defining the liberal position that entertainment is a form that maximizes people's satisfaction (Curran, 1991). However, the Radicals believe that entertainment should be seen as consumer satisfaction and enable better self-expression in relationships.

The media strongly influence social behaviors, the formation, and transmission of values, the shaping of lifestyles, attitudes, and identities. The almost unlimited availability of media content through numerous social networks and new platforms makes the media ubiquitous in everyday life. It justifies critical reviews of specific media content in which violent behavior, materialism, prejudices, stereotypes are transmitted as desirable values. Young people use the media to identify adolescent culture, learn how to deal with certain life circumstances, and build their own identities. Therefore, the ability to critically evaluate media messages is one of the critical skills for developing attitudes among young people in today's media-mediated world. Physiological reactions are rapid pulse and breathing. Such arousal temporarily increases the possibility of aggressive thoughts, feelings, and behavioral scenarios, increasing the likelihood that a person will react aggressively. Also, exposure to media violence alone will not turn someone into a violent person should not be left out, but other factors are required.

## Conclusion

The main challenge in preventing radicalization and the emergence of violent extremism is understanding the causes of their emergence, i.e., the drivers of radical and even extremist behavior. There is no detailed profile of a person attentive to committing extreme violence. Instead, people convert to terrorism individually, with various positions and judgments. The radicalization process can be initiated or encouraged by sociopolitical or socio-psychological circumstances that directly or indirectly affect the individual. Individuals join radicalized groups, and the reasons why such groups were formed are complex, different, and, above all, of a local character. Although more and more information is available, public incomprehension is growing, while sensationalist, vulgar, nationalist, and manipulative narratives could be incited. It poses a threat to global democracy. The capacity and participation in the sociopolitical process are questioned. The impoverishment of public life and the public sphere creates a critical potential for demagogic and ideological extremist manipulation.

A society-wide approach is needed to prevent and counteract extremism. It reflects an understanding that efforts in the fight against terrorism and violent extremism can no longer be the responsibility of security actors alone. For practical goals, a cooperative and inclusive approach to prevention is needed to oppose radicalism, including other government bodies such as civil society actors. It also means that trust must be improved and communication between security actors and communities. Democratic accountability and transparency could be submerged by far-right spin specialists who have more scope to manage information. Such an occurrence coincides with the mass

society theories. Hyperpersonal communication initiated securitization, highlighting the internationalization of neo-Nazism and neo-Fascism (i.e., Norwegian-Breivik and New Zealand-Tarrant). It is undeniably essential that a democratic, legal state has a monopoly on violence. A monopoly on violence by such a state is the only monopoly that can be argued. Thus, with the fulfillment of other conditions, a peaceful society can be created. Extremism and violence is crucial obstacle to a better life for the civic masses. The lack of decision-makers in the political sphere who would: establish a different direction in the constitution of the community, understanding that managing the relevant weaponry and cognate laws is a regional, transnational, and trans-party issue, and the actual field of their political legitimacy; a failure for diverse global societies.

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The author reported no potential conflict of interest.

## Notes on Contributor

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# Tarımda Genetiği Değiştirilmiş Organizmalar Sorunsalları ve Türkiye'nin Durumu

## *The Problematics of Genetically Modified Organisms in Agriculture and the Case of Turkey*

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### ÖZ

Genetik bilimindeki gelişmelerin tarım sektörüne yansımaları, tohumların genetik yapılarının değiştirilmesi suretiyle tarım ürünlerinin veriminin hektar başına artırılmaya çalışılması veya zorlu çevre şartlarına karşı dirençlerinin desteklenmesi şeklinde ortaya çıkmıştır. Genetiğinde değişiklikler yapılmış bu organizmalara Genetiği Değiştirilmiş Organizmalar (GDO) denir. Bu çalışmada temel olarak; GDO'lu tohumların kullanımının tarımda ürün verimini artırma konusunda başarılı olup olmadığı, GDO'lu tarım faaliyetlerinin gelecekte sürekli artan dünya nüfusunu beslemek için gerekli ve yeterli olup olmadığı, GDO'lu tarım ürünlerinin gelecekte küresel gıda güvenliği ve açlık sorunlarına çözüm olabilir olmayacağı, GDO'lu tohumların ve tarım ürünlerinin çevre üzerindeki potansiyel etkilerinin neler olduğu, Türkiye'nin GDO'lu tarım konusundaki durumu gibi sorulara cevap aranmaya çalışılmıştır. Çalışmanın sonucunda, GDO'lu tarımın gelecek açısından zaruri olmayabileceği kanaatine varılmıştır.

### ABSTRACT

Reflection of advances in genetic science in the agricultural sector has emerged as modification of the genetic structure of agricultural seeds in order to increase their yield per hectare or boost their resistance against harsh environmental conditions. Those organisms are called Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs). This study aimed to find answers to questions such as: Does the use of genetically engineered seeds in agriculture raise the yield of agricultural products? If so, is this rise in yield sufficient to feed the increasing human population on earth? Can GMOs be the solution to global food security and global hunger problems in future? What are the probable and potential effects of GMOs on the environment? What is the contemporary situation of Turkey against genetically engineered agriculture? It was concluded that genetically engineered agriculture might not be indispensable in future.

### ANAHTAR SÖZCÜKLER

genetiği değiştirilmiş organizmalar  
tarımda gdo  
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## Giriş

Sanayi devrimi sonrası dünya nüfusunun sürekli artış trendi izlemesi, dönemin iktisadi düşünürlerini gıda kısıtları ve nüfus arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemeye yönlendirmiştir. Thomas Malthus (1798, ss, 4-5, 8), eserinde insan nüfusunun sürekli arttığına, bu artışın geometrik olarak

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gerçekleştiğine fakat yiyeceklerin sadece aritmetik olarak artabildiğine dikkat çekmiş ve nihai olarak tarihin belirli bir noktasında gıda üretiminin insan nüfusunu beslemeye yetersiz olacağını ifade etmiştir. Yeşil Devrim sonrası tarımda makinalaşma teknolojinin tarım ürünlerindeki verim artışında ciddi sıçramalar yaratıp, Malthus'un aritmetik artış zorunluluğu tezini askıya alsa da (Engdahl, 2007, s. 75), GDO'lu tarım savunucularının ileri sürdüğü temel iddia, artan insan nüfusunu bir aşamadan sonra beslemenin mümkün olamayacağı için insanlığın gelecekte GDO'lu tohumlara muhtaç olacağıdır.

Genetiği değiştirilmiş organizmalar: Laboratuvar şartlarında genetik zincirinde -doğada kendiliğinden polenleşme veya tozlaşma yoluyla oluşması mümkün olmayan- değişiklikler gerçekleştirmek suretiyle oluşturulan yeni organizmalar şeklinde tanımlanabilir. GDO'lu tarım ve GDO'lu gıdalar hakkında çoklu-disiplin yaklaşımıyla gerçekleştirilen çalışmaların gerekliliği bağlamında üretilmiş olan bu araştırma, genetiği değiştirilmiş organizmaların bitkisel tarım alanındaki kullanımlarını kapsamaktadır. Çalışmanın birinci bölümü giriş bölümüdür. Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde GDO'lu tarımın çevre açısından barındırdığı riskler ele alınacaktır. Üçüncü bölümde GDO'lu tarım ürünlerinin dünya açlık sorununa çözüm olup olamayacağı tartışılacaktır. Dördüncü bölümde genetiği değiştirilmiş tarım ürünlerinin Türkiye'deki durumlarına değinilecek ve beşinci bölümde GDO'lu tarım ürünleri konvansiyonel eşdeğerleriyle verimlilik açısından karşılaştırılacaktır.

## Biyogüvenlik Kavramı ve GDO'lu Tarım Ürünlerinin Barındırdığı Çevresel Riskler

GDO'lu tarımda doğada kendiliğinden asla ortaya çık(a)mayacak olan bir genetik değişim veya dönüşüm, insanlar tarafından çok kısa bir zaman zarfında -suni olarak- laboratuvar ortamlarında kurgulanıp gerçekleştirilmektedir (Pollan, 2001, ss. 257-258). Canlılık üzerinde yapılan bu genetik değişimler, canlılığın var olduğu günden bugüne değin hiç gerçekleşmemiş süreçler ortaya çıkardığı için bilim camiasında özellikle GDO'lu tarım ürünlerinin insan sağlığına ve çevreye yönelik olumsuz etkileri olabileceği yönünde tartışmalar sürmektedir.

Önceleri her gen parçasının organizmada sadece kendine ait görevi yerine getirdiği düşünülürken, genetik bilimi geliştikçe bir gen parçasının kendine has işlevleri yanında diğer gen parçalarıyla kolektif olarak organizmada bir başka işlevi de yerine getirebiliyor olabileceği fikri ortaya atılmış ve bu fikir zamanla geçerlilik kazanmaya başlamıştır. Bu görüşe göre, bir organizmadan bir başka organizmaya aktarılan gen parçaları ister istemez birçok istenmeyen etki yaratma potansiyeline sahiptir, zira aktarılan gen parçalarının hedef DNA'daki diğer gen parçalarıyla kolektif olarak nasıl bir ilişkiye gireceği bilinmemektedir (Ho, 1999, ss. 148-150). Biyogüvenlik kavramı bu bağlamda genetik manipülasyon yöntemleri gibi biyoteknolojik yöntemlerin kullanımının insan ve doğa açısından güvenli şekilde gerçekleştirilmesini ifade etmektedir.

### *Biyçeşitlilik-Monokültür*

"Monokültür, genetik olarak farklılık göstermeyen bitkilerin kullanılması ile yapılan bir tarım faaliyeti olup, yüksek verim hedeflenmektedir" (Bayraç vd., 2014, s. 48). Fakat monokültürün barındırdığı riskler tarım sektörü ve çiftçiler açısından büyük sorunlar yaratabilme potansiyeline sahiptir, zira tamamı aynı genetik yapıya sahip ekinlerin belirli bir kötü koşul karşısında tamamının hızlı bir şekilde yok olabilme riski mevcuttur (Bayraç vd., 2014, s. 48).

Monokültür tarım faaliyetlerinin sonucu olarak özellikle 1900'lü yıllardan günümüze kadar geçen son yüz yıl içinde tarımsal ürün çeşitlerinin yaklaşık %75'inin yok olduğu düşünülmektedir (Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 1995, s. 66). GDO'lu tohumlar da küresel olarak en geniş

anlamda piyasaya sürülen monokültür tohumlardır. Söz konusu GDO'lu monokültür tohumların tüm dünyada kullanılmasının önerildiği düşünüldüğünde, söz konusu tohumlar tüm dünyada yerel biyoçeşitliliği tehdit edecek bir yapı arz etmektedir. Kısıtlı çeşit tarım ürünleri ile beslenmek zorunda kalan yoksul ülkelerde, monokültür olan GDO'lu tarım ürünlerinin herhangi bir kötü koşul karşısında yok olması riski, söz konusu ülkelerde ciddi kıtlıkların ortaya çıkma ihtimalini doğurmaktadır.

### **Genetik Bulaşma ve Gen Kaçışı**

GDO'lu tohumlar açısından temel tartışma konularından birisi de gen transferi yoluyla söz konusu GDO'lu bitkinin yabani olan akrabalarına, GDO'lu tarım ürününün -DNA'sına sonradan eklenmiş olan- direnç genlerinin polenleşme yoluyla taşınabilmesi ve ortaya süper güçlü yabani bitki cinslerinin çıkabilmesi ihtimalidir (Falkner, 2007, s. 4). Bu duruma "İstenmeyen Genetik Akış" denir. Bu durum tüm doğanın içinden çıkılmayacak bir karmaşaya doğru sürüklenme riskini içinde barındırmaktadır.

Gen kaçışına yönelik yapılan bir araştırmada, bir araziye herbisitlere karşı dayanıklılık geni içeren GDO'lu kanola bitkisi ekilmiş ve yakınına da kanolanın yabani yakın akrabası olan Brassica Campestris bitkisi ekilmiştir. Birisi GDO'lu olan bu iki akraba bitki, bir süre sonra tozlaşma yöntemiyle bir melez bitki ortaya çıkarmıştır ve bu yeni ortaya çıkan melez türün ikinci kuşağında herbisitlere dayanıklı olanların oranı %42'yi bulmuştur. Ticari amaçla üretilmeyen GDO'lu patatesler üzerinde yapılan bir başka araştırmada GDO'lu patatesten konvansiyonel yöntemlerle üretilmiş patates cinslerine gen kaçışının 1100 metre gibi bir mesafede bile mümkün olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır (Rifkin, 1998, ss. 88-89). Bu araştırmalar GDO'lu bitkilerden diğer bitkilere gen kaçışı olabileceğini göstermektedir.

## **GDO'lu Tarım Ürünleri: Gıda Güvenliği ve Gıda Güvencesi**

Gıda Güvenliği (Food Safety), kavram olarak bir kişinin ulaşabildiği veya tüketebildiği gıdaların kendisinin sağlıklı yaşamasını sağlaması veya sağlığını bozmaması durumunu ifade etmektedir (Pinstrup-Andersen ve Watson, 2011, s. 89). Gıda Güvencesi, Dünya Gıda Güvencesi Roma Deklarasyonu kapsamında: "Tüm insanların her zaman -aktif ve sağlıklı bir hayat yaşayabilmesi için gerekli- beslenme ihtiyaçlarını ve gıda tercihlerini karşılayan yeterli, güvenli ve besleyici gıdaya fiziksel ve ekonomik erişime sahip olduğu zaman Gıda Güvencesi sağlanmış demektir" şeklinde tanımlanmıştır (Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 1996).

GDO destekçileri açısından bakıldığında sürekli artan dünya nüfusunun gıda güvenliği ile gıda güvencesinin sağlanabilmesinin ve dünyadaki açlık sorununun çözülebilmemesinin yegâne yolu GDO'lu tarım yapmaktır. Zira dünyadaki tarım arazileri tükenmiştir ve gelecekte artan dünya nüfusunu beslemenin yöntemi mevcut arazilerde verimi artırmaktır. Fakat geleceğe yönelik tahminler farklı bir tablo ortaya koymaktadır. 2010-2050 yılları arasında dünya nüfusunun tarım ürünlerine olan talebinin yıllık %1.1 oranında artması beklenmektedir. 1970-2010 yılları arası bu talep yıllık bazda %2.2 oranında artmaktaydı. Bu değişimin temel sebepleri olarak dünya nüfusunun artış hızındaki azalma ve insanların beslenme alışkanlıklarındaki değişiklik gösterilmektedir (Global Perspective Studies Unit: Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 2012, s. 3). Dünyadaki gıda güvencesinin geleceğe ait temel sorunu geçmişe oranla daha düşük bir oranda büyüyen gelecek gereksinimlerinin ortaya çıkacak üretim kapasitesiyle karşılanabilip karşılanamayacağı sorunudur.

Uluslararası Uygulamalı Sistem Analizi Enstitüsü (IIASA-International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis) ve Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü'nün (FAO-Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) gerçekleştirmiş olduğu, Küresel Zirai Ekolojik Bölgeler (Global Agro-ecological Zones) araştırmasında, dünyada yaklaşık 1.4 milyar hektar arazinin tarıma açılmaya uygun



olduğu sonucu ortaya çıkmış ve 2050 yılına kadar ekilen arazilerin dünya gıda güvencesini sağlamak açısından 70 milyon hektar daha artırılmasının yeterli olduğu öngörülmüştür (*Global Perspective Studies Unit: Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü*, 2012, ss. 10-11). Fakat belirtilmesi gerekir ki dünya gıda güvencesi sorunu tek başına tarıma açılacak araziler sorunundan daha geniş kapsamlı bir sorundur. Dünya gıda güvencesi sorunu temel olarak; dünya açlık sorunu, dünya yoksulluk sorunu, dünya gıda israfı sorunu ve dünya gıda dağılımı eşitsizliği sorunu gibi sorunların toplamından oluşmaktadır.

### *Dünya Açlık Sorunu*

2015 yılı verilerine göre dünyada 800 milyon insan açlık sorunu çekmektedir ve en fakir nüfus gıdaya yaklaşık bütçesinin %50 veya %70'ini harcamaktadır (Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü & IFAD-WFP, 2015, s. 4). Yeşil Devrim'in ve sonrasındaki biyoteknolojik gelişmelerin dünya açlık sorununu çözmemesindeki temel neden açlık sorununu çözmeye yönelik yaklaşımların sadece tahıl, soya fasulyesi, mısır gibi kısıtlı sayıda ürünün dünyadaki verimliliğini teknoloji bazlı yöntemlerle artırmaya yönelmesidir. Oysa yapılması gereken açlığın yaygın olduğu bölgelerdeki çevreyi, doğayı, insanların kültürel yapısını, geleneksel tarım yöntemlerini ve çeşitlerini, sulama imkanlarını, yabancı tarım ürünü çeşitlerini kendi özellerinde ele alıp her bölge için ayrı ayrı çözümler üretmek olmalıdır. Fakat indirgemeci bir yaklaşımla açlık sorununu sadece tohum verimini artırmak çerçevesinde çözmeye çalışan yaklaşımlar söz konusu sorunu çözemediği gibi arkasında doğaya yapmış olduğu tahribatı da miras olarak bırakmıştır (Halweil ve Nierenberg, 2011, s. 7).

Belirli bir bölgedeki açlık sorununu çözmek için mucize fikirler gibi gösterilen GDO'lu tohumlar, temelde bu sorunun kapsamını basite indirgeyen yaklaşımlar olarak kalmaktadır. Zira bir bölgede çiftçilerin tohumlar ile diğer üretim girdilerini hangi şartlarda satın aldığı, yeteri miktarda işgücüne ve ekipmana sahip olup olmadığı, elde ettikleri tarım ürünlerini zamanında satabileceği pazarların var olup olmadığı, fiyatların şeffaflığı ve nihai olarak bu sattıkları tarım ürünlerinden elde ettikleri gelirin diğer tüm ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya yetip yetmeyeceği gibi sorunlar çözülmedikçe, sadece birim hektar başına verimi artırmakla dünya açlık sorununa çare bulunması mümkün görünmemektedir (Fromartz, 2011, s. 144).

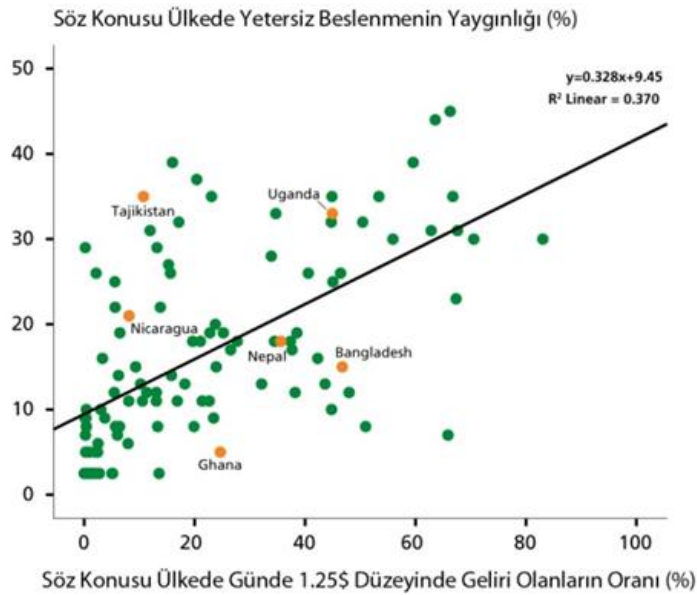
Zambiya'da 2010 yılında ekili arazi %20, darı hasadı %22 ve toplanan mısır miktarı da bu verilere oranla ciddi miktarda artış göstermiştir. Aşırı üretim sonucu tarım ürünlerinin fiyatlarında aşırı düşüşler meydana gelmiştir (Fromartz, 2011, s. 147). 2010 yılında ortaya çıkan verim artışı sonucu ise şöyle bir tablo ortaya çıkmıştır: Çiftçiler ellerine geçen üretim fazlası ekinleri bölgedeki tüccarlara satmak üzere pazara çıkardıklarında ekin fazlalığından ötürü ekinlerin fiyatında ciddi düşüşler meydana gelmiştir ve neredeyse çiftçiler, hasat bu kadar bol değilken elde ettikleri gelirden bile daha az gelir elde etmişlerdir. Üretim fazlası ekinler -depolama imkanları olmadığı için- büyük oranda bozulmuş ve çiftçilere daha fazla besin maddesi sağlama özelliğini kaybetmiştir. Ayrıca bölgede halkın direkt olarak dış pazarlara gıdayı satabilecek satış kanallarına sahip olmaması sonucu, bu üretim fazlası gıda bölge dışına da satılamamıştır. Çiftçiler üretim fazlası hasat yüzünden daha da gıda yoksunu bir noktaya sürüklenmiştir, zira çiftçilerin sattığı ürünler önceki yıllardakinden daha az getiri sağladığı için çiftçilerin diğer gıdalara erişim imkanları da kısıtlanmıştır. Nihai olarak üretim fazlası gıda halkın ve yönetimin elinde çözülmeye muhtaç bir sorun olarak kalmıştır (Fromartz, 2011, ss. 145-147).

Yukarıdaki örnekte de görüldüğü üzere tek başına hasatı artırmak herhangi bir bölge veya ülke açısından tüm sorunların çözümü anlamına gelmemektedir. Dolayısıyla GDO'lu tohumların direkt olarak dünya yoksulluk ve açlık sorununu çözeceğini iddia etmek, soruna indirgemeci ve yüzeysel bir şekilde yaklaşmaktan başka bir sonuç doğurmayacaktır.

### Dünya Yoksulluk Sorunu ve Yoksulluk-Yetersiz Beslenme İlişkisi

Yoksulluk en basit anlamıyla: Bireylerin günlük temel ihtiyaçları olan yiyecek, içecek, giyecek ve barınma ihtiyaçlarını karşılayamadıkları gelir düzeyini ifade eder. BM 1999'da "Açlık ve yetersiz beslenme sorununun kökenlerinde gıda eksikliği değil, açlık çeken ve yetersiz beslenen nüfusun büyük bölümünün yoksulluktan ve diğer çeşitli sebeplerden ötürü gıdaya erişiminin mümkün olmaması yatmaktadır" (Spieldoch, 2011, s. 180) şeklinde bir açıklamada bulunmuştur.

Gıda güvencesinden yoksun yetersiz beslenen insanlar ile günlük geçim düzeyi 1.25 USD'nin altında olan insanların seçilmiş bazı ülkeler bazında dağılımındaki ilişki aşağıda Şekil 1'de gösterilmektedir. Bu bağlamda söz konusu yoksul ülkelerdeki toplumların gıda güvencesi ve açlık sorunu, bu toplumdaki gelir düzeyi düşük (1.25 USD) olan bireylerin karşılaştığı bir sorun olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu ülkelerdeki temel sorun yeterince gıda olmaması veya gıdaya erişim sorunu değildir. Bu açıdan söz konusu ülkelerde GDO'lu tarım ürünleri gelecekte üretilse dahi, bu ülkelerdeki düşük gelirli halk kesimi GDO'lu tarım ürünlerini alabilecek gelir düzeyine de sahip olmayacaktır.



**Şekil 1.** Yetersiz Beslenme ve Yoksulluk İlişkisinin Ülkeler Üzerinde Gösterimi (Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 2013, s. 27).

Dolayısıyla yetersiz beslenme, açlık ve yoksulluk sorununun çözülebilmesi için söz konusu bölgelerdeki tarımsal faaliyetler –sadece tohum verimliliğini artırma çabasının ötesinde- altyapı, tarım ürünlerini saklama ve işleme tesisleri, teknolojik tarım aletleri vb. her açıdan desteklenmelidir.

### Dünya Gıda Dağılımı Eşitsizliği

Dünyadaki gıda güvencesi yoksunluğu ve açlık açısından öne çıkan bir diğer paradigma ise dünyada üretilen gıdaların dağılımındaki eşitsizlik sorunudur. Dünya nüfusunun %30'unu oluşturan gelişmiş ülkeler dünyada üretilen gıdanın yaklaşık olarak %70'ini tüketmektedir (Oğuz ve Bayramoğlu, 2014, s. 35).

2005-2007 yıllarına gelindiğinde dünya nüfusu kişi başı ortalama kalori tüketim miktarı 2.770 kalori (kişi başı/ günlük) seviyelerine kadar yükselmiştir. Bu kalori miktarı ortalama olarak bir insanın günlük kalori ihtiyacını karşılamak için yeterli düzeydedir. Buradan dünyamızda nüfusu besleyebilecek miktarda gıda üretilbildiği sonucuna varılabilse de gerçekte gıda tüm dünya insanlarına eşit bir şekilde dağılmamaktadır. Dünyada değişik ülkelerde yaşayan yaklaşık 2.5 milyar

insan 2.500 kalori (kişibaşı/günlük) seviyesinde gıda tüketebilirken, bir diğer 0.5 milyar insan 2.000 kalori (kişibaşı/günlük) seviyesinin bile altında gıda tüketebilmekte ve 1.9 milyar insan ise 3.000 kalori (kişibaşı/günlük) seviyesinin üstünde gıda tüketmektedir (Global Perspective Studies Unit: Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 2012, s. 1). Ho (1999, s. 139), söz konusu eşitsizliği: "Gıda kıtlığı, aynı nüfus fazlalığı gibi, sanayileşmiş Kuzey ve Üçüncü Dünya arasındaki eşitsiz güç ilişkileri sebebiyle ortaya çıkmaktadır. Kuzey'deki nüfus aşırı gıda tüketimi sebebiyle; obeziteden, kalp hastalıklarından ve diyabetten sıkıntı çekerken, Güney'deki nüfus açlık ve kıtlık sonucu ölmektedir" şeklinde dile getirmiştir.

### *Dünya Gıda İsrafı Sorunu*

Dünyadaki gıda güvencesi sorunundaki -özellikle yetersiz beslenmenin veya açlığın yaygın olduğu bölgelerde daha yoğun olmak üzere- önemli paradigmalardan birisi de üretilen gıdaların tüketim evresine kadar saklanamayıp israf edilmesi sorunudur. Gıda israfının sebepleri gelişmekte olan ve az gelişmiş ülkelerde saklama ile taşıma koşullarındaki yetersizlikler iken, gelişmiş ülkelerde de gıda israfları ciddi boyuttadır. Fakat gelişmiş ülkelerdeki gıda israfları genellikle satış aşamasında veya tüketim aşamasında tüketiciler tarafından gerçekleştirilmektedir. Gelişmiş ülkelerde yıllık gıda israfı yaklaşık olarak 220 milyon ton civarındadır. Bu miktar Sahra-Altı Afrika'nın bir yılda üretebildiği gıda miktarı (230 milyon ton) ile neredeyse eşittir (Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü vd., 2011, s. 5).

Yapılan tahminler, gelir durumu düşük olan ülkelerde yaklaşık yıllık olarak ortalama hasat sonrası ürün kaybının %15 olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu da toplamda 150 milyon ton tahıl anlamına gelmektedir. Bu miktar, gelişmekte olan dünyada açlık ile karşı karşıya kalan insanları doyurmak için ihtiyaç olduğunu ileri sürdüğü gıdanın yaklaşık altı katıdır (Stuart, 2011, s. 101).

### *Genetiği Değiştirilmiş Organizmalar ve Fikri Mülkiyet Hakları Tartışması*

Zirai tarım ilaçlarının kullanılmaya başlandığı ilk dönemlerde tek çeşit zirai ilaç (pestisit) kullanımı, zirai zararlı organizmaları veya yabancı otları tarım ürünlerinden uzak tutmak açısından yeterli olabiliyordu. Fakat zamanla zirai zararlı organizmaların söz konusu pestisitlere karşı bağışıklık geliştirmesi üzerine, bu zararlı organizmalarla mücadele etmek amacıyla firmalar yeni pestisitler üretmek zorunda kalmıştır. Günümüzde gelinen noktada bu süreç bazı tarım ürünlerinin zirai zararlı organizmalardan korunabilmesi için 5-6 çeşit zirai ilaç kullanılması zorunluluğunu doğurmuştur. Söz konusu pestisitler uzun süredir kullanılıyor olmalarından ötürü birçoğunun fikri mülkiyet hakkı veya patent süreleri dolmuştur. Bu açıdan patenti alınabilecek yeni bir zirai ilaç üretilmesi oldukça zorlaşmıştır. Bunun yerine firmalar zirai zararlı organizmalarla mücadele etmek için bu zararlılara karşı dayanıklı GDO'lu tohumlar üretilip bu tohumların patentlerini almayı daha düşük maliyetle sağlayabileceklerini düşünmektedir. Bundan ötürü söz konusu firmalar yeni pestisitler üretmek yerine GDO'lu tohumlar üretme yöntemini seçmiştir, zira GDO'lu tohum üreten firmalar ile pestisitleri üreten firmalar aynı firmalardır (Clapp, 2007, ss. 41-42).

Canlı organizmalara ait fikri mülkiyet haklarının %90'ı küresel çok uluslu şirketlerin elinde bulunmaktadır (Thomson, 2013, s. 70). Tahmin edilebileceği üzere az gelişmiş ülkelerin ve gelişmekte olan ülkelerin büyük bir kısmı laboratuvar ortamında genetik olarak değiştirilmiş veya dönüştürülmüş tohum üretebilme teknolojilerine sahip değildir. Dolayısıyla bu ülkeler GDO'lu tohumları -oligopol bir piyasa olan- sayısı dünya çapında on taneyi geçmeyen GDO'lu tohum üreticisi firmalardan temin etmek zorunda kalmaktadır. Bu nedenle GDO bağlamında gelişmekte olan ülkeler ve az gelişmiş ülkeler açısından bazı çekinceler ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu çekinceler: söz konusu ülkelerin teknolojik gelişim açısından gelişmiş ülkelere yetişmelerinin çok zor olması, fikri mülkiyet hakları ile çok iyi korunmuş olan söz konusu genetik mühendislik teknolojilerini satın

almanın yüksek maliyetli olması ve bu teknolojilerin sürekli yeniden satın alma gerektirmesi olarak sıralanabilir (Kazgan, 2002, s. 198). Bu açıdan az gelişmiş ülkelerde ve kimi gelişmekte olan ülkelerde yetişmiş insan gücü yoksunluğu veya gerekli teknolojik alt yapının eksikliği sonucu söz konusu ülkeler ihtiyaçları olan teknolojiyi transfer etmek mecburiyetinde kalmaktadır. Fakat bu durum az gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkelerin, gelişmiş ülkelere muhtaç hale gelmesine sebep olmakta, kimi zaman az gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkelerin siyasi bağımsızlıkları bu nedenle tehdit altında kalmaktadır (Şahin, 2021, s. 156). Tarım üzerinden oluşturulan bu ekonomik bağımlılık paradigması özellikle az gelişmiş ülkeler tarafından, gelişmiş ülkelerin kendi hammaddelerini, yerel kaynaklarını ve pazarlarını daha fazla suistimal edebilmek amacıyla inşa ettikleri yeni bir sistem olarak algılanmaktadır.

### *Türkiye’de GDO’lu Tarım Ürünleri ve İthal Edilen Tarım Ürünlerinin GDO İçerme Riski*

Türkiye’de 2003 yılında uygulamaya konan Biyogüvenlik Kanunu’nun ikinci bölümü Madde 5’te Türkiye sınırları içerisinde GDO’lu bitki veya hayvan üretimi yasaklanmıştır. Ayrıca bir başka yasaklanan konu ise Türkiye’ye –Kurul kararı dahilinde- ithal edilmiş olan GDO’lu ürünlerin amacı dışında kullanılmasıdır (Resmi Gazete 27533, 2010). Bu bağlamda sadece hayvan yemi olarak ithal edilen GDO’lu tarım ürünlerinin herhangi başka bir alanda kullanılması da biyogüvenlik kanunu ile yasaklanmıştır. Günümüzde Türkiye’ye ithal edilen bazı tarım ürünlerinin GDO’lu ürün içerme riskleri ve hayvan yemi olarak ithal edilen kimi GDO’lu tarım ürünlerinin varlığının yaratabileceği riskler aşağıda incelenecektir.

Türkiye’nin en yüksek meblağda tarım ürünü ithal ettiği ülkeler ve söz konusu tarım ürünlerinin GDO içerme riskleri bu başlıkta ele alınacaktır. Söz konusu ürünlerden olan buğday ve mahlût (durum buğdayı hariç) ithalatı, yıllar bazında değişiyor olmakla birlikte en fazla Rusya Federasyonu’ndan gerçekleştirilmektedir. Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK) verilerine göre, 2018 yılı itibarıyla buğday ve mahlût ithalatının %85’i Rusya Federasyonu’ndan gerçekleştirilmiştir (TÜİK, 2019a).

Türkiye’nin yüksek miktarda ithal ettiği bir diğer tarım ürünü ise pamuktur. 2018 yılında gerçekleşen pamuk ithalatı; ABD’den, Brezilya’dan, Yunanistan’dan, Azerbaycan’dan ve Türkmenistan’dan gerçekleştirilmiştir. Söz konusu 4 ülkeden gerçekleştirilmiş olan ithalat toplam pamuk ithalatının %82’lik kısmını oluşturmaktadır (TÜİK, 2019c).

Türkiye’nin yüksek miktarda ithal ettiği bir başka tarım ürünü ise bahsedildiği üzere soya fasulyesidir. Soya fasulyesi özellikle hayvancılıkta yem açısından ciddi önem arz eden bir tarım ürünüdür. Soya fasulyesi Türkiye’de oldukça az miktarda üretilmekte ve gerekli olan soya fasulyesinin hemen hemen tamamı ithal edilmektedir. Türkiye’nin soya fasulyesi ithalatının en çok yapıldığı ülkeler 2018 yılında; Ukrayna, ABD, Paraguay ve Brezilya olarak ortaya çıkmıştır (TÜİK, 2019d).

Son olarak Türkiye’nin en çok ithal ettiği bir diğer ürün olan mısır incelenecektir. Mısır Türkiye’nin ithal ettiği ve az ürettiği tarım ürünleri arasındadır. Mısır ithalatı yıllar bazında değişiklik göstermekle birlikte büyük oranda Rusya Federasyonu’ndan ithal edilmektedir. 2017 yılında mısır ithalatı; Rusya Federasyonu’ndan, Sırbistan’dan, Romanya’dan, Ukrayna’dan ve Macaristan’dan gerçekleştirilmiştir. Söz konusu 5 ülkeden gerçekleştirilen mısır ithalatı 2017 yılında yapılan toplam mısır ithalatının %90’ını kapsamaktadır (TÜİK, 2019b).

Türkiye’nin tarım ürünleri ithalatının büyük kısmını kapsayan ürünlerin; buğday ve mahlût, pamuk, soya fasulyesi ve mısır olduğuna yukarıda değinilmiştir. İthal tarım ürünlerinin menşeleri açısından GDO ihtiva edip etmeme durumları ise aşağıda incelenmektedir.

Dünyada ticarete konu olan GDO’lu tarım ürünleri; mısır, yonca, soya fasulyesi, kanola ve pamuk olarak sıralanabilir. Bunun yanında çok az miktarda bazı GDO’lu tropikal meyveler lokal olarak üretilmektedir (ISAAA, 2017, s. 88). Bu bağlamda ilk olarak belirtilmesi gerekir ki buğday ve



mahlûnun ticari amaçlı üretilmiş GDO'lu bir türü mevcut değildir. Dolayısıyla Türkiye'ye ithal edilen buğdayda herhangi bir GDO riski bulunmamaktadır. Fakat Hybrid (melezleştirilmiş) olan buğday türleri ülkemizde dezenformatik olarak GDO'lu şeklinde isimlendirilmektedir.

İkinci olarak pamuk incelendiğinde, pamuğun büyük oranda ABD'den ithal edildiği görünmektedir ve ABD ile birlikte Brezilya, Azerbaycan, Yunanistan ve Türkmenistan'dan da pamuk ithalatı gerçekleştirilmektedir. ABD'de üretilen pamuğun %96'sı GDO'lu pamuktur (ISAAA, 2017, s. 9). Brezilya'da ise GDO'lu bazı tarım ürünleri üretilmekle birlikte GDO'lu pamuk üretimi yapılmamaktadır (ISAAA, 2017, s. 16). Azerbaycan, Yunanistan ve Türkmenistan'da da GDO'lu tarım üretimi yapılmamaktadır. Bu bağlamda Türkiye'nin ithal ettiği pamuğun bir kısmı GDO'lu pamuktur denilebilir.

Üçüncü olarak soya fasulyesi ithalatı GDO açısından incelendiğinde ise Türkiye'nin soya fasulyesini en çok ithal ettiği ülkeler; ABD, Ukrayna, Paraguay ve Brezilya olarak tespit edilmiştir. Söz konusu ülkelerden Ukrayna'da GDO'lu tarım yapılmamaktadır. ABD'de yetiştirilen soya fasulyesinin %94'ünün, Paraguay'da yetiştirilen soya fasulyesinin %96'sının ve Brezilya'da yetiştirilen soya fasulyesinin %97'sinin (ISAAA, 2017, ss. 9, 16, 35) GDO'lu soya fasulyesi olduğu düşünüldüğünde, Türkiye'nin soya fasulyesi ithalatının GDO'lu soya fasulyesi ihtiva ediyor olduğu görünmektedir.

Nihai olarak mısır ithalatı GDO açısından incelendiğinde ise Türkiye'nin mısırı en çok ithal ettiği ülkeler; Rusya Federasyonu, Sırbistan, Romanya, Macaristan ve Ukrayna olarak belirtilmiştir. Söz konusu ülkelerde GDO'lu mısır yetiştirildiğine yönelik her hangi bir veri bulunmamaktadır. Bu açıdan Türkiye'nin ithal ettiği mısırın içinde GDO'lu mısır mevcut değildir denilebilir, fakat Türkiye'nin bir miktar GDO'lu mısır ithal ettiği bilinmektedir (ISAAA, 2017, s. 109). O halde Türkiye'nin mısır ithal ettiği tüm ülkeler daha geniş kapsamlı olarak ele alınmalıdır. Türkiye'nin mısır ithal ettiği tüm ülkeler; İspanya, Macaristan, Romanya, Bulgaristan, Ukrayna, Moldova, Rusya Federasyonu, Bosna-Hersek, Sırbistan, Arjantin, ABD, Irak ve Ürdün (TÜİK, 2019b) olarak sıralanabilir.

Söz konusu ülkelerden GDO'lu mısır tarımı yapılan; İspanya'da yetiştirilen mısırın %30-35'i (Brookes, 2019, ss. 91-92), Arjantin'de yetiştirilen mısırın %97'si ve ABD'de yetiştirilen mısırın %93'ü GDO'ludur (ISAAA, 2017, ss. 9, 22). Türkiye'nin mısır ithalatı gerçekleştirdiği diğer hiçbir ülke GDO'lu mısır yetiştiriciliği yapmamaktadır. Bu bağlamda Türkiye'nin ithal ettiği GDO'lu mısırlar bu üç ülkeden ithal edilmektedir. Fakat belirtilmesi gerekir ki İspanya, ABD ve Arjantin'den ithal edilen mısır toplam mısır ithalatının sadece %0.5'ini oluşturmaktadır (TÜİK, 2019b), bu açıdan Türkiye'de ciddi bir GDO'lu mısır tehdidinin var olduğundan söz etmek mümkün değildir.

Türkiye'nin yaptığı tarım ürünleri ithalatları açısından GDO ihtivası yüksek olan ve gıda olarak kullanılacak (pamuk yoğunlukla sadece tekstil endüstrisinde kullanıldığı için) tek tarım ürünü soya fasulyesi gibi görünmektedir. Bu bağlamda Türkiye'de -GDO'lu tarım ürünleri açısından- sadece, ithal edilen GDO'lu soya fasulyesinin hayvansal yem haricinde, (yasak olmasına rağmen) insan gıdası üretim zincirine isteyerek veya istemeden dâhil olup olmadığı konusunda bir risk mevcuttur denilebilir.

## GDO'lu ve Konvansiyonel Tarım Ürünlerinin Gelecek Trendleri

Bu bölümde GDO'lu ve konvansiyonel tarım ürünlerindeki verim artışının karşılaştırılması ile gelecekte dünya nüfusundaki artış sonucu gıda güvencesinin sağlanabilip, sağlanamayacağı üzerinde durulacaktır.

### *Dünya Nüfusunun ve Konvansiyonel Tarım Ürünlerinin Gelecek Trendleri*

Son 20 yılda dünya nüfusu %45 artarken kişi başı düşen gıdanın da düşmek bir yana %15 artması sonucu Malthus'çu kuram şimdilik geçerliliğini yitirmiş gibi gözükmektedir (Pinstrup-Andersen ve Watson, 2011, s. 90), zira teknolojik gelişmeler tarım ürünleri üretiminde artarak artma etkisi yaratabilmektedir. Gelecek açısından beklenen trendler ise aşağıda açıklanmaktadır.

1970 yılında 3.7 milyar olan dünya nüfusu, 2010 yılına gelindiğinde 6.9 milyara yükselmiştir. Birleşmiş Milletler tahminlerine göre 2050 dünya nüfusu 9.15 milyar kişi olacak, 2075 yılında maksimum düzeyi olan 9.43 milyar kişiye ulaşacak ve sonrasında dünya nüfusu azalmaya başlayacaktır (Global Perspective Studies Unit: Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 2012, s. 1). 1970-2010 yılları arası 40 senelik zaman diliminde dünya nüfus artış hızı %86.5 olarak ortaya çıkarken, 2010-2050 yılları arasındaki nüfus artış hızı beklentisi %32.6 düzeyindedir. Dünya nüfus artış hızında önceki 40 yıllık periyoda oranla, gelecek 40 yıllık periyotta ciddi anlamda bir azalma ortaya çıkması beklenmektedir (Global Perspective Studies Unit: Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 2012, s. 19).

Aynı tahmini destekler şekilde Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 2050 kestirimlerine göre, gelecek bir kaç on yılda gıdaya olan talebin artış hızı da düşme eğilimine girecektir. Bunun sebebi ise küresel anlamda insanların gelirlerinin artması sonucu dünya nüfusunun artış hızında ortaya çıkacak azalma olarak gösterilmektedir. Nüfusun sürekli artmıyor olması tarım ürünlerinin üretimi üzerindeki baskıyı azaltacaktır (Global Perspective Studies Unit: Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 2012, ss. 1, 19).

Tahılların verimi için dünya ortalaması; 1965: 1.44 ton/hektar, 1980: 2.4 ton/hektar, 2007: 3.4 ton/hektar olarak gerçekleşmiştir (Global Perspective Studies Unit: Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 2012, ss. 13-14). Tahıl veriminde her 20 yılda yaklaşık ton/hektar verimi bir puanlık lineer bir artış sergilemektedir. Gelecek 40 yılda da tahıllar açısından önceki yılların lineer artış eğiliminin devam ettiği varsayılacak olursa, 2050 yılında tahıl veriminin 5.4 ton/hektar olarak gerçekleşmesi beklenmektedir. Bu bağlamda 2050 yılında tahıl üretimi 3.8 milyar ton olarak ortaya çıkacaktır. 2050'ye yönelik olarak tahmin edilen dünya tahıl talebi ise 3.2 milyar tondur (Global Perspective Studies Unit: Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 2012, s. 15). Bu bağlamda temel tarım ürünleri açısından -üretimde ciddi kayıplar doğuracak bir etken ortaya çıkmadıkça- herhangi yeni bir arazi tarıma açılmaksızın bile 2050 yılına kadar dünya talebini karşılamak olasıdır. Fakat en kötü senaryoda bile -3. bölümde de değinildiği üzere- bir miktar araziye tarıma açmak dünya gıda güvencesini teminat altına almak için yeterli olabilecektir.

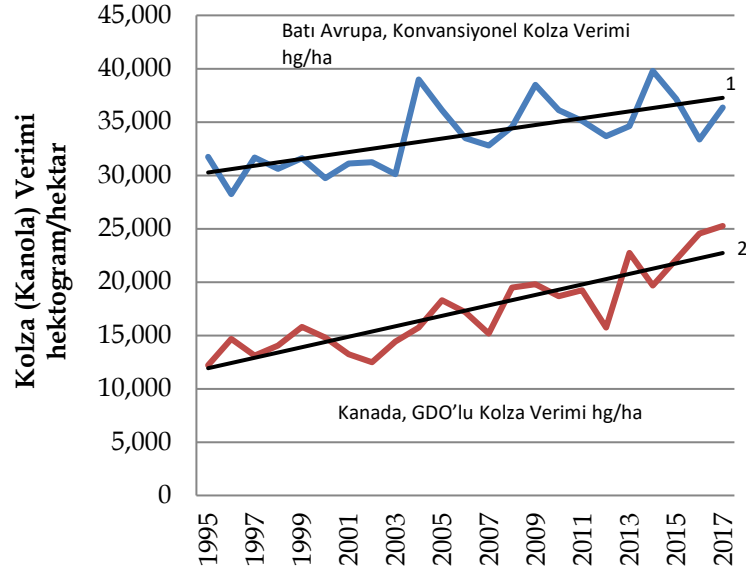
### *GDO'lu Tarım Ürünlerinin Konvansiyonel Muadilleriyle Verimlilik Açısından Karşılaştırılması*

Kısa vadede bir miktar verim artışı sağlayan ve zirai tarım ilaçlarının bazılarının kullanımını azaltmasından ötürü çiftçilerin gelirlerinde bir miktar yükselme sağlayan GDO'lu tarım ürünlerinin uzun vadede sergilediği performans Şekil 2, Şekil 3, Şekil 4 ve Şekil 5'te detaylı olarak incelenecektir<sup>1</sup>.

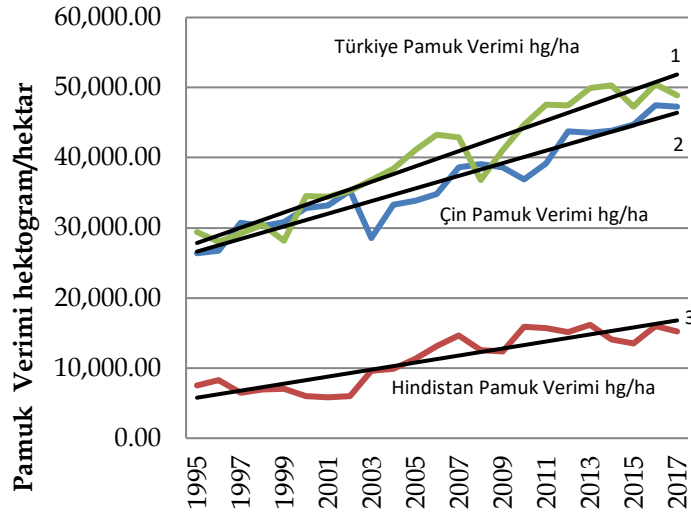
Şekil 2'de Batı Avrupa'da tarımsal açıdan faal ülkelerdeki (Fransa, Almanya, Belçika, İsviçre, Hollanda, Avusturya ve Lüksemburg) konvansiyonel kolza (kanola) üretimi ile Kanada'daki GDO'lu kolza üretiminin birim hektar başına verimleri karşılaştırılmıştır. Değerlendirme açısından Batı Avrupa'daki söz konusu ülkelerin ürettiği kolzanın birim hektar başına verimlerinin ortalaması alınmıştır. Şekil 2'de görüldüğü üzere Batı Avrupa'daki konvansiyonel yöntemlerle üretilen kolzanın birim hektar başına verimi, Kanada'da üretilen GDO'lu kolzanın birim hektar başına veriminden daha yüksektir. Şekil 2'de ayrıca 1995-2017 yılları baz alınmak üzere konvansiyonel kolzanın ve

<sup>1</sup> Buradaki araştırma yöntemi Russell ve Hakim'den (2016) esinlenerek gerçekleştirilmekle birlikte veri toplama, şekil çizimleri ve analizler tamamen özgündür.

GDO'lu kolzanın trend çizgileri de belirlenmiştir. 1 numaralı trend çizgisi Batı Avrupa'da üretilen konvansiyonel kolzanın trend çizgisiyken, 2 numaralı trend çizgisi ise Kanada'da üretilen GDO'lu kolzanın trend çizgisidir. 1 ve 2 numaralı trend çizgileri analiz edildiğinde görülebileceği üzere Batı Avrupa'da üretilen konvansiyonel kolzanın birim hektar başına verimi, söz konusu yıllar itibarıyla artış göstermiştir. Aynı şekilde Kanada'da üretilmiş olan GDO'lu kolzanın verimi de yıllar bazında (yaklaşık aynı ivmelenme düzeyinde) artış göstermiştir. Bir diğer ifadeyle GDO'lu kolza ve konvansiyonel kolza arasında verim artışı yönünden ciddi bir fark ortaya çıkmamıştır.



**Şekil 2.** Batı Avrupa'daki Konvansiyonel Kolza Üretimi ile Kanada'daki GDO'lu Kolza Üretiminin Verim Açısından Karşılaştırılması (Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 2019d).



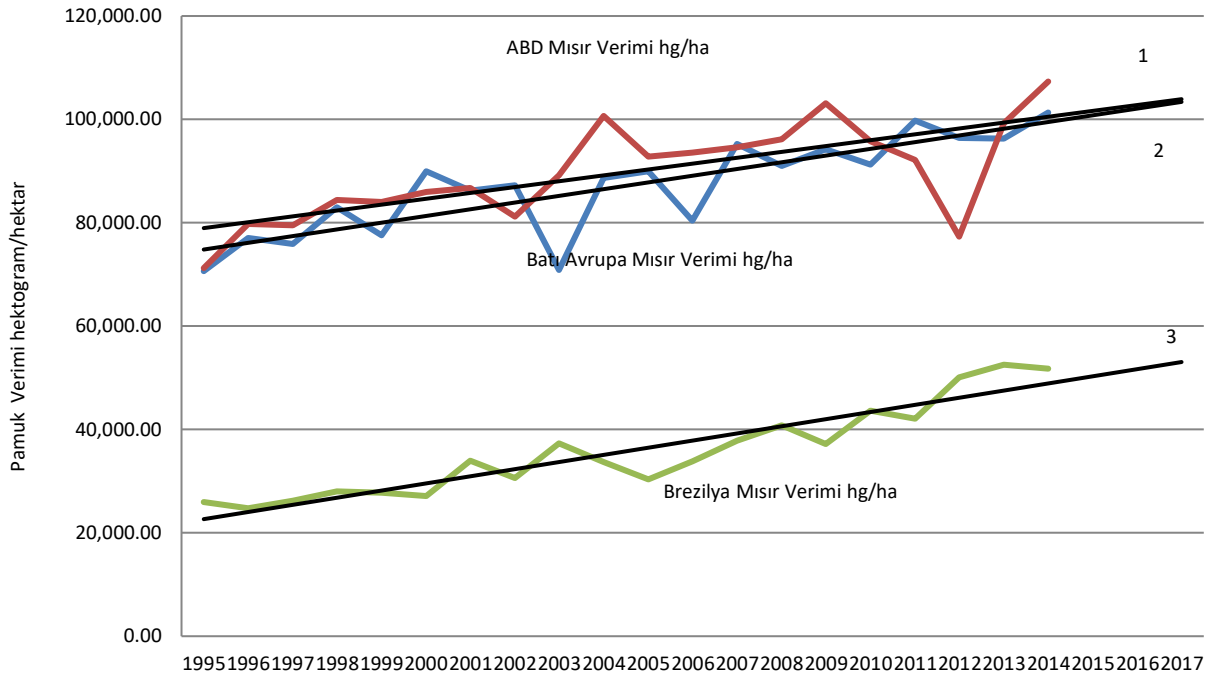
**Şekil 3.** Türkiye'deki Konvansiyonel Pamuk Üretimi ile Hindistan'daki ve Çin'deki GDO'lu Pamuk Üretiminin Verim Açısından Karşılaştırılması (Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 2019a).

Şekil 3'te Türkiye'deki konvansiyonel pamuk üretimi ile Hindistan'daki ve Çin'deki GDO'lu pamuk üretiminin birim hektar başına verimleri karşılaştırılmaktadır. Şekil 3'te görüldüğü üzere Türkiye'deki konvansiyonel yöntemlerle üretilen pamuğun birim hektar başına verimi, Çin'de ve Hindistan'da üretilen GDO'lu pamuğun birim hektar başına veriminden daha yüksektir. Şekil 3'te ayrıca 1995-2017 yılları baz alınmak üzere konvansiyonel pamuğun ve GDO'lu pamuğun -Türkiye, Çin ve Hindistan açısından- trend çizgileri de belirlenmiştir. 1 numaralı trend çizgisi Türkiye'de

üretilen konvansiyonel pamuğun trend çizgisiyken, 2 ve 3 numaralı trend çizgileri de sırasıyla Çin ve Hindistan'da üretilen GDO'lu pamuğun trend çizgileridir. Görülebileceği üzere Türkiye'de üretilen konvansiyonel pamuğun birim hektar başına verimi söz konusu yıllar itibarıyla artış göstermiştir.

Aynı şekilde Çin ve Hindistan'da üretilmiş GDO'lu pamuğun da verimi yıllar bazında artış göstermiştir. 1 numaralı eğilim çizgisinin eğimi 2 ve 3 numaralı eğilim çizgilerinin eğimlerinden daha diktir, dolayısıyla konvansiyonel pamuğun verim artışındaki ivme GDO'lu pamuğun verim artışındaki ivmeden daha yüksek gerçekleşmiştir.

Şekil 4'te ise Batı Avrupa'daki mısır üretimi ile ABD'deki ve Brezilya'daki mısır üretimlerinin hektar başına verimleri karşılaştırılmaktadır. Şekil 4'te görüldüğü üzere başlangıçta ABD'de üretilen GDO'lu mısırın birim hektar başına verimi, Batı Avrupa'da üretilen konvansiyonel mısırın ve Brezilya'da üretilen GDO'lu mısırın birim hektar başına veriminden daha yüksektir. Fakat 2017 yılına gelindiğinde Batı Avrupa'da üretilen konvansiyonel mısırın birim hektar başına verimi ABD'deki GDO'lu mısırın birim hektar başına verimiyle aynı düzeye gelmiştir.



**Şekil 4.** Batı Avrupa'daki Konvansiyonel Mısır Üretimi ile ABD'deki ve Brezilya'daki GDO'lu Mısır Üretimlerinin Verim Açısından Karşılaştırılması (Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 2019b).

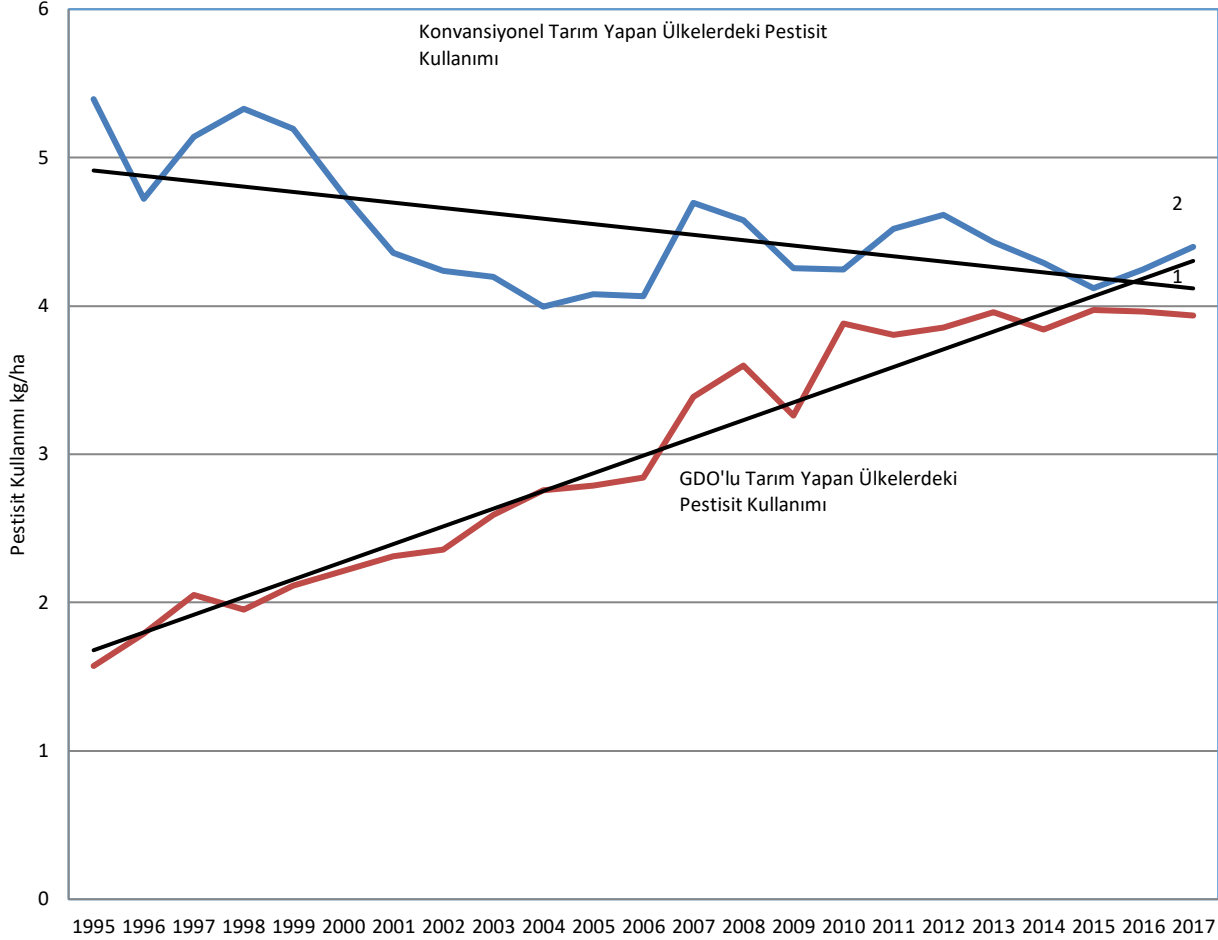
Şekil 4'te ayrıca 1995-2017 yılları baz alınmak üzere konvansiyonel mısır ve GDO'lu mısırın - ABD, Batı Avrupa ve Brezilya açısından- trend çizgileri de belirlenmiştir. 1 numaralı trend çizgisi ABD'de üretilen konvansiyonel mısır trend çizgisiyken, 2 ve 3 numaralı trend çizgileri de sırasıyla Batı Avrupa ve Brezilya'da üretilen GDO'lu mısırın trend çizgileridir. 2 numaralı trend çizgisinin eğimi 1 numaralı trend çizgisinin eğimine göre daha diktir. Bu bağlamda konvansiyonel mısırın verim artışındaki ivmenin GDO'lu mısırın verim artışındaki ivmeden daha yüksek olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bir diğer ifadeyle GDO'lu mısırın söz konusu yıllar açısından verim artışı konvansiyonel mısırın verim artışının altında kalmaktadır.

Nihai olarak Şekil 5'te ise konvansiyonel tarım yapan ülkelerdeki pestisit kullanımı ile GDO'lu tarım yapan ülkelerdeki pestisit kullanımı (kg/hektar) karşılaştırılmaktadır. GDO'lu tarımın temel vaatlerinden birisinin pestisit kullanımında azalma ortaya çıkacağı olduğu düşünüldüğünde, ortaya çıkan tablo söz konusu vadin gerçekçi olmadığını yansıtmaktadır. Şekil 5'te konvansiyonel tarım



## Kağıt & Aslan

yapan ülkelerin pestisit kullanımı 1 numaralı eğilim çizgisi ile GDO'lu tarım yapan ülkelerin pestisit kullanımı ise 2 numaralı eğilim çizgisi ile gösterilmiştir. Görüldüğü üzere konvansiyonel yöntemlerle tarım yapan ülkelerdeki pestisit kullanımı birim hektar başına ilk yıllarda GDO'lu tarım yapan ülkelerdeki pestisit kullanımından daha yüksek olsa bile zamanla konvansiyonel tarım yapan söz konusu ülkelerin pro-aktif tarım politikaları izlemeleri sonucu pestisit kullanımında ciddi anlamda azalma ortaya çıkmıştır.



**Şekil 5.** Konvansiyonel Tarım Yapan ve GDO'lu Tarım Yapan Ülkelerin Pestisit Kullanımı Açısından Karşılaştırılması (Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü, 2019c).

GDO'lu tarım yapan ülkelerdeki pestisit kullanımında da yıllar içinde (insektisit+herbisit) artış ortaya çıkmıştır. Planlı ve pro-aktif tarım politikaları uygulayan, tarımsal verimliliği artırmak için (GDO'lu tohumlar ile tarım yapmak gibi) toptancı politikalar yerine, özele inerek sorunu yerelde çözmeye çalışan, konvansiyonel tarım faaliyeti yürüten ülkeler 2015-2016 yıllarında pestisit kullanımı açısından GDO'lu tarım yapan ülkelere daha başarılı olmuştur.

## Sonuç

Malthus, tarım ürünlerindeki artışın aritmetik fakat insan nüfusundaki artışın geometrik olduğunu ileri sürmüştür, insanlığın çok uzak olmayan bir gelecekte -tarım arazilerinin kısıtlılığı sonucu- mutlaka açlık ile karşı karşıya geleceğini iddia etmiştir. Tarımın biyoteknolojik yöntemler kullanılarak GDO içerikli tohumlarla gerçekleştirilmesi gerektiğini ileri sürenlerin de temel motivasyonu Malthus'un nüfus teorisiyle benzerdir.

GDO'lu tarım yöntemini savunanların söz konusu tarım faaliyetlerinden beklentileri; birim hektar başına araziden daha fazla verim almak, ilaçlamanın azalması, maliyetlerde düşüş ortaya

çıkması gibi beklentilerdir. Fakat gerçekleştirmeler beklentilerden farklı olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. GDO'lu tarım faaliyetleri ölçek ekonomilerine ulaşabilmek açısından çok geniş arazilerde ifa edilmek zorunluluğu taşımaktadır. Çiftçiler biyoteknoloji şirketleri ile GDO'lu tarım faaliyeti gerçekleştirebilmek amacıyla gerekli olan GDO'lu tohum ve zirai ilaçları satın alabilmek için yüksek maliyetli anlaşmaların altına imza atmak zorunda kalmaktadır. Zira GDO'lu tarım ürünlerinin tamamının fikri mülkiyet hakları –sayısı 10'u geçmeyen- çok uluslu küresel şirketlerin elindedir. GDO tarımı yürüten çiftçilerin söz konusu finansal maliyetleri karşılayabilmek ve kâra geçebilmek için çok geniş arazilerde tarım faaliyeti yürütmesi gerekmektedir. Bu durum küçük çiftçilerin arazilerini tarım işletmelerine satarak piyasadan çekilmesine ve tarımın büyük işletmeler tarafından gerçekleştirilen endüstriyel bir faaliyete dönüşmesine sebep olmaktadır. Dolayısıyla ortaya çıkan fazladan verim artışı veya düşen maliyetlerin çok küçük bir kısmı tüketiciye fayda olarak geri dönmektedir. GDO'lu tarım faaliyetlerinden sağlanan faydanın hemen hemen tamamı büyük ölçekli tarım işletmelerine ve biyoteknoloji şirketlerine aktarılmaktadır. Ayrıca belirtilmesi gerekir ki GDO'lu tohumların konvansiyonel benzerlerinden daha verimli olduğu mutlak değildir. Yapılan araştırmalarda pamuk, kolza, mısır gibi –GDO'ya konu olmuş- ürünlerden konvansiyonel tarım faaliyetleri yürütülerek elde edilen verimin, GDO'lu tarım faaliyetleri yürütülerek elde edilen verim ile hemen hemen aynı düzeyde olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Tarım alanında ortaya çıkan teknolojik gelişmeler konvansiyonel tarım faaliyetlerinin verimini de zamanla artırmaktadır.

GDO'lu tohumların pestisit ve herbisit kullanımına konvansiyonel benzerlerine nazaran daha az ihtiyaç duyduğu da gerçeği yansıtmamaktadır. İlk başlarda bazı zirai ilaçların kullanımı GDO'lu tohum ekimi sonrası düşmüş olsa da zamanla toplam zirai ilaç kullanımı GDO'lu tohumlarda oldukça artmış fakat pro-aktif konvansiyonel tarım yapan ülkelerde zirai ilaç kullanımı zamanla azalmış ve GDO'lu tarımda kullanılan zirai ilaçlardan daha düşük seviyeye gerilemiştir.

GDO'lu tarım ürünlerinin insan ve çevre açısından içerdiği potansiyel riskler de birçok tartışmayı beraberinde getirmektedir. GDO'lu tohumlar öncelikle monokültür tohumlardır ve monokültür tohumlarla tarım ifa etmek, ortaya çıkan her kötü koşulda tüm tarım ürünlerinin yok olması anlamına gelebilmektedir. GDO'lu tohumlar açısından bir diğer risk, gen kaçışı yoluyla GDO'lu tarım ürünlerinden diğer bitkilere gen transferi olması ve doğada içinden çıkılmaz bir karmaşanın ortaya çıkması riskidir. Yapılan araştırmalar gen kaçışının mümkün olduğunu göstermiştir. Ayrıca dikkat çekilmesi gereken bir başka konu dünya açlık sorununun –GDO destekçilerinin iddia ettiği üzere- yetersiz tarım ürünü üretiminden kaynaklanmamasıdır. Dünya açlık ve yetersiz beslenme sorununun temelinde dünya yoksulluk sorunu yatmaktadır. Yetersiz beslenen dünya nüfusunun yapılan araştırmalar bağlamında ciddi yoksulluk çeken bölgelerde yoğunlaştığı gözlenmiştir. Söz konusu bölgelerde yetersiz beslenen halkın temel sorunu gıdaya ulaşabilecek maddi imkânlarının bulunmamasıdır. Dünya açlık sorununun sebeplerinden diğer ikisi ise dünya gıda israfı ve gıda dağılımı eşitsizliği sorunudur. Küresel gıda israfı tüm dünyadaki yetersiz beslenmeyi fazlasıyla karşılayabilecek miktardadır. Ayrıca dünyadaki belirli miktarda nüfus, gerektiğinden fazla gıda tükettiği için diyabet ve obezite gibi hastalıklarla mücadele ederken, diğer bir kesim nüfus günlük gerekli miktar kaloriyi tüketemedikleri için yetersiz beslenme ile yüzleşmektedir.

Nihai olarak da denilebilir ki, nüfusun artma hızının da geometrik artışa konu olması, kendisinin potansiyel yapısıyla ilgilidir ve mutlak değildir. Dünya nüfus artış hızının azalacağı, günümüzde bilinmektedir. Dünya nüfusunun gelecek yıllarda en üst düzeye ulaştığı noktada bile temel tarım ürünlerindeki verim artışı –teknolojik gelişmeler sayesinde- geçmişteki hızıyla devam ettiği takdirde veya en kötü ihtimalle dünyadaki tarım arazilerinden çok kısıtlı bir miktar tarım arazisi daha tarıma açıldığı takdirde tüm dünyayı besleyebilecek kadar tarım ürünü üretilmesi mümkün görünmektedir. Bunun yanında; dünyadaki gıda israfı sorunu, yoksulluk sorunu, gıda paylaşımı sorunu gibi sorunlarda da ilerleme kaydedilirse, gıda kıtlığı sorununun ortaya çıkması için bir sebep

bulunmamaktadır. Bu bağlamda -biyoteknolojinin diğer alanlardaki çalışmalarına ve uygulamalarına ön yargı geliştirmeksizin söylenebilir ki- GDO'lu tarım, barındırdığı tüm riskler de hesaba katıldığı takdirde insanlık için gelecek açısından GDO'lu tohumların kullanılmadığı konvansiyonel tarım yöntemlerinden daha fazlasını vadetme-mektedir.

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## Author Contributions

Yusuf Kağıt produced this article from his continuing PhD dissertation work under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Nurdan Aslan at Marmara University.

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# Analysing the Global Fight Against Climate Change and the Turkish Context

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## ABSTRACT

After the Industrial Revolution that took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe, increases in the machinery used, population and the need for energy have boosted the reliance on fossil fuels and the release of greenhouse gases. As a result of this, global temperatures, which had been in balance with the natural greenhouse effect, have increased, and the problem of climate change emerged. The search for a solution to this across boundaries phenomenon started to attract international attention in the 1970s. Since parochial actions cannot prevent climate change, the main arguments have concentrated on the fact that a solution is possible not through local or regional efforts but global ones, and each country's contribution in proportion to its capabilities is necessary. Recent research has shown that if no solution is found, the temperatures will continue to increase even more, resulting in a severe threat to the living on earth. This article examined the factors that bring about climate change as a global problem, the symptoms and efforts related to this, and Turkey's stance within this global effort.

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greenhouse effect  
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international conventions

## Introduction

Climate is one of the essential elements making life on earth possible. The Industrial Revolution, which started in the eighteenth century, is regarded as a milestone in the future of earth. The Anthropocene, the era when the human being has had his most significant influence on earth, thus started (Crutzen, 2016). One of the most striking results of this influence is global climate change that threatens the living on earth, food production and water resources. Possible effects of global climate change such as desiccation, rising sea levels, and extreme weather conditions negatively influence the lives of millions of people. In this respect, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), as the United Nations (UN) body for assessing the science related to climate change, prepared a report in 2001 and emphasised that the main reason for global climate change is human activity. According to the report, human activity increases global warming due to its effect on the natural temperature and inflicts irreversible damage on the planet. Since global climate change affects a vast population, it will significantly impact many fields such as economy, politics and social structure. This undesirable situation also strengthens the expectations for implementing precautions against global climate change (Jones and Mann, 2004; Wigley 2005; Anderson, 2010; Mertz et al., 2009; Anshori, 2020).

The increases in the number of research studies and in the data obtained have made understanding and fighting climate change easier. To begin with, the studies on the effects of climate

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change concerning specific countries as well as on its general effects and efforts to prevent it provide some insight to the issue.

To illustrate, Baba (2010), in his research, examines the effects of climate change on Sri Lanka, which is an island country in Southern Asia. He suggests that global climate change has not only environmental but also economic, medical and social effects. In addition, he mentions the reaction of Sri Lanka to the reduction and adaptation of greenhouse gases.

Measey's (2010) study concentrates on the reasons for Indonesia's high-level greenhouse gas emission, which is the third biggest greenhouse gas producer in the world. The study shows that climate change is a threat to Indonesia with increasing temperature, excessive precipitation, rising sea levels and damaging food production. It also includes detailed information about the impacts of climate change on the economy, poor people, health system, and Indonesia's biological and environmental ecosystem.

Çakmak et al. (2017) include the role of Turkey in the efforts to combat climate change. Within the framework of the Paris Agreement, expectations and the current situation regarding Turkey's adaptation to the process of reducing greenhouse gas emissions and combating climate change are evaluated. The study by Eraktan et al. (2010) also tries to reveal Turkey's position, duties and responsibilities within the scope of the Kyoto Protocol, which was signed in 1997 and entered into force in 2005.

In Cao's (2003) study, it is revealed that various types of greenhouse gases, primarily carbon dioxide, are discharged due to the use of fossil fuels and these greenhouse gases are claimed to be the possible cause of climate change in the country. The paper provides the emerging economies with a vision about energy pricing, encouragement for energy efficiency and the use of renewable energy sources.

Mendelssohn et al. (2006) deal with the impacts of global change on wealthy and emerging countries. Two scales, namely the impact per person and the impact per gross domestic product, are used in the paper. The study shows that the classification of climate change following per capita income has a significant impact in terms of distribution in the countries. The paper suggests that the majority of resources in emerging countries would be damaged by global climate change.

Konuralp (2020) points out the negative impact of growth strategies adopted by neoliberal politics on the environment. He stresses the increasing intensity of carbon dioxide since 1958, and the difficulty humanity will have in stopping this intensity if this increase continues. As a result, it is emphasised that carbon dioxide concentration would endanger the living organisms on earth, which is one of the main arguments related to the prevention of climate change, unless serious policies aimed at preventing climate change are adopted or if the threat posed by ambition for growth is overlooked.

A major contradiction of neoliberalism is also becoming more visible in the context of climate change. Anti-social state policies function as a method of eroding national sovereignty by neoliberalism, which is the doctrine of the global elite to replace the embedded liberalism of the post-war period in which the nation-state assumed a more effective and interventionist role against the market failures. Those policies leave public services to market actors and philanthropic activities. However, in the fight against a globally devastating market failure such as climate change, there is no alternative but to assume the leading role of the states (Gürçam et al., 2021; Gürçam and Konuralp, 2021; Konuralp, 2021; Konuralp and Bicer, 2021). This theoretical approach will be used throughout this study to clarify the state's role in combating a global failure of the market mechanism.

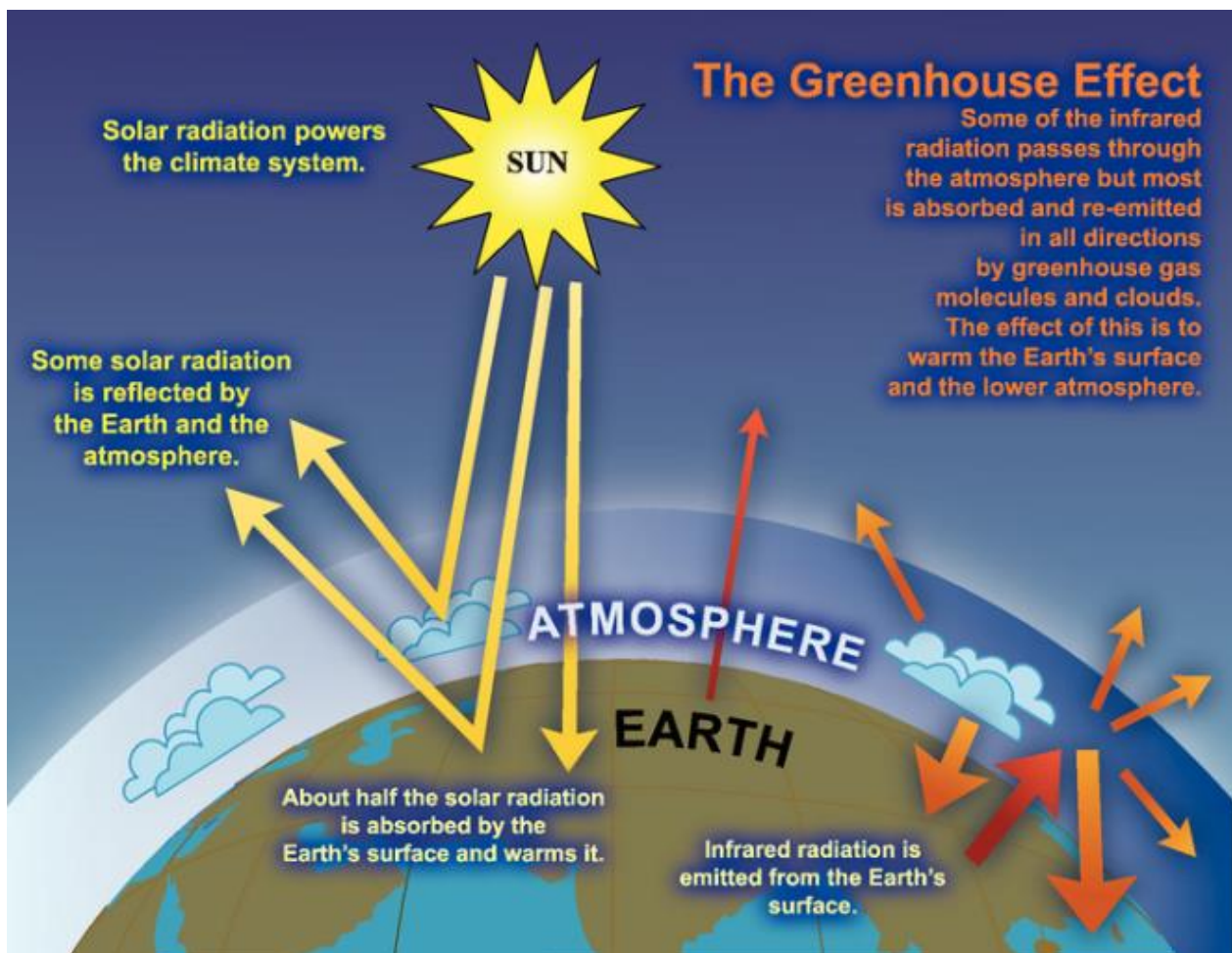
Drawing on this insight provided by recent literature on climate change, this study is also based on the information in the sixth evaluation report of the IPCC published in 2021 within the scopes of factors that cause global climate change, evidence on it and its possible effects, course of global efforts to combat it. In addition, the study analyses the Turkish state's position about the international

agreements to fight against climate change and the possible symptoms and consequences of global climate change on Turkey.

## Global Climate Change

A certain amount of the shortwave radiation coming from the sun is absorbed by the earth, whereas some are absorbed by the greenhouse gases which constitute the troposphere. Some are also reflected by both the atmosphere and the earth's surface without being absorbed.

The radiation absorbed in the earth's surface and the atmosphere is scattered and recirculated around the world via the atmosphere and the oceans, and it is reflected as longwave radiation. The longwave radiation re-emitted by the earth's surface is absorbed by the atmosphere and re-emitted to regions with relatively less sunlight through oceanic and atmospheric circulation. As seen in Figure 1, gases in the atmosphere are permeable to the sunray, whereas they are less permeable to the longwave radiation re-emitted by the earth's surface. This natural process, which makes the heating of the earth possible and provides a certain balance, is called the greenhouse effect (Ni et al., 2013; Charlson and Wigley, 1994; Lindzen, 1990).



**Figure 1.** Greenhouse Effect

Source: IPCC (2007a)

Naturally emerging greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide, coal gas, nitric oxide and halogenated compounds absorb the infrared radiation coming from the sun and maintain it in the atmosphere. The naturally emerging greenhouse effect makes life on earth possible through heating the surface of the earth. If it had not been for the natural greenhouse effect, the world's average temperature would have been below 0°C (IPCC, 2007b; Stępniewska and Kuźniar, 2013). In natural

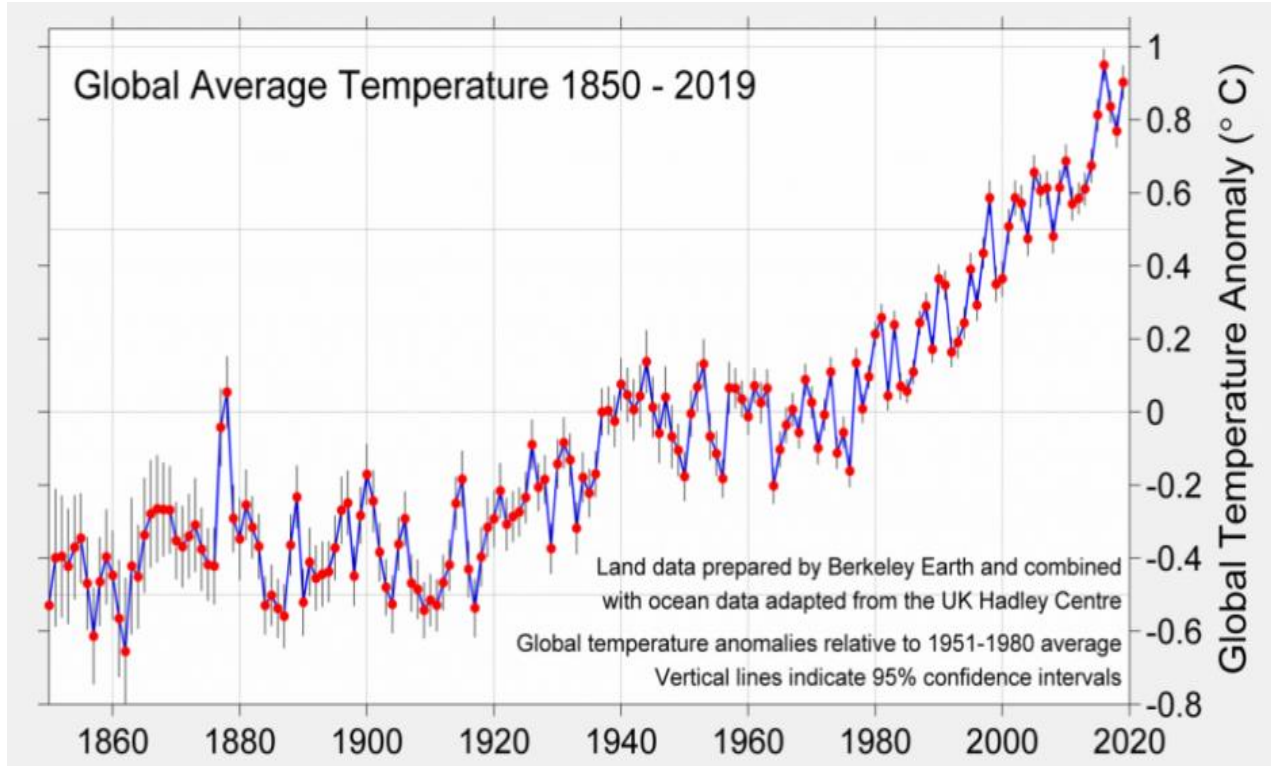


conditions, there is a balance between the shortwave solar radiation affecting the earth's surface and the atmosphere and the longwave solar radiation reflected by the earth's surface. However, a factor (intensity of greenhouse gases) could distort both the climate system and this balance, in other words, the natural flow of energy between the atmosphere, earth or oceans (Kweku et al., 2017).

The global climate has also changed since the world's beginning 4.6 billion years ago (Türkeş, 2013). Nevertheless, the main agenda today is man-made climate change since there is an apparent link between the societal phase of humanity has reached and the increase in the use of fossil fuels and lands following industrialisation between the years 1750 and 1914 (Hansen et al., 1981). The main reason for the changes in human life and global climate change has been technological advancements. The increase in the greenhouse gases in the atmosphere observed after the Industrial Revolution continues. The intensity of gases in the atmosphere, led by this increase, has been causing a significant increase in the temperature since the Industrial Revolution (IPCC, 2001; Solomon et al., 2007; Türkeş, 2008, 2012).

According to Solomon et al. (2007), recent studies suggest an increase in global temperature levels and that this linear increase reached up to 0.74 °C in 100 years, covering the years between 1906 and 2005. In addition, among the years whose average global climate rates were observed and recorded between 1990 and 2000, 1998 was the warmest year (Türkeş, 2003, 2008).

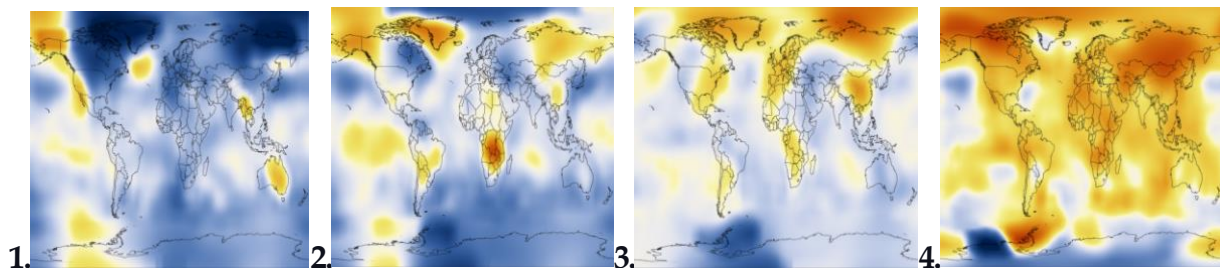
Scientists obtain evidence from their studies on old glaciers that the intensity of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere has been rapidly increasing since the 1750s. In the last hundred years, the coal gas accumulated in the atmosphere has increased 50%, whereas carbon dioxide 31% and nitric oxide 16%, respectively (El-Fadel et al., 2003). As can be seen in Figure 2, the earth has been warming continuously since 1860. Also, the 30-year period covering the years between 1960 and 1990 was hotter than the previous average 1200-year period, and the temperature increase has reached the highest levels since 1960.



**Figure 2.** Annual Temperature Anomaly  
Source: Berkeley Earth (2020)

Global temperature levels have increased, as also reflected in observations by NASA. Figure 3 shows abnormal global temperatures from 1885 to 1889, 1925 to 1929, 1945 to 1949, and 1995 to 1999, respectively. The intensity of carbon dioxide observed in the atmosphere before industrialisation had been 280 ppm while it was determined as 379 ppm in 2005. The rate of carbon dioxide determined exceeded the natural limits between 180 and 300 ppm. Moreover, whereas the rate of increase in carbon dioxide in the atmosphere between 1960 and 2005 had been 1.4 ppm, it became 1.9 ppm between 1995 and 2005. Similarly, coal gas, a significant factor in global warming and climate change, had been 715 ppb before the Industrial Revolution, while it was determined as 1774 ppb in the 1990s. The intensity rate of another greenhouse gas, nitrogen monoxide, increased from 270 ppb to 319 ppb in 2005 (IPCC, 2007b).

The most apparent effect of the greenhouse gases accumulating in the atmosphere is the increase in the temperature of the earth's surface and atmosphere. In the last century, global temperature increased at a rate of 0.6°C while it increased at a rate of 0.8°C compared to the period before the Industrial Revolution. This global increase in the temperature is suggested to be between 1.8°C and 7.1°C (Justus and Fletcher, 2003). If this increase is between 2.0°C and 2.5°C, it will have irreversible effects on human beings (Stern and Antholis, 2008). The EU, for this reason, aims to maintain the increase in global temperature below a level of 2.0°C in proportion to the period before the Industrial Revolution, stating that problems resulting from the increase in global temperature should be urgently prevented (Tol, 2007).



**Figure 3.** Average Temperature Anomalies

1. From 1885 to 1889,
2. From 1925 to 1929,
3. From 1945 to 1949,
4. From 1995 to 1999

Source: NASA (2010)

As observed by NASA, the temperature conditions of the earth are different at certain time intervals (Figure 3). Likewise, the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) in 1988 prepared and evaluated scientific data on climate change. In addition, the evidence supporting human-induced climate change has been put forward in the IPCC reports since 1992. The major findings on global climate change stated in the IPCC (1992, 1995, 2001, 2007c, 2014, and 2021) reports are as follows:

- (1) Global temperatures continue to rise and the warmest levels from 1850 have been encountered in the last 30 years.
- (2) With the melting of glaciers because of increasing global temperatures, the sea levels have started to rise rapidly since the second half of the twentieth century.
- (3) In the last 800 years, the accumulation of gases such as carbon dioxide, methane and nitric monoxide in the atmosphere has reached up to such a level that has not been witnessed before.
- (4) The precipitation in the eastern parts of North and South America, the northern parts of Europe and the northern and central parts of Asia has increased while it decreased in the



northern parts of Africa and the Mediterranean and the southern parts of Africa and Asia, and areas affected by global drought have increased since 1970.

- (5) Due to the absorption of the carbon emerging from fossil fuels by the oceans at a level of 30%, there has been acidification in the seas.

The Sixth Evaluation Report of the IPCC published in 2021 states that the increase in global temperatures between 2010 and 2019 was more than 1°C compared to the 1850-1900 period. The IPCC, which includes four different scenarios regarding temperature increases (1.5°C, 2°C, 3°C and 4°C), attributes the leading cause of increases in temperature to human-induced greenhouse gases and lists the possible effects in case of possible scenarios (Table 1).

**Table 1.** The IPCC Scenarios on Temperature Increases

1. Scenario	If global temperatures increase by 1.5°C on average, approximately 3 billion people will continue to live under high temperatures until 2070, and people living in North Africa, the Middle East, South America, South Asia and Australia will be affected by high temperatures. The current 20% loss in food production will continue to increase in the following periods. Rising sea levels will cause greater damage to coastal cities, and more than 350 million people living in cities will face water scarcity caused by drought. The world economy will experience an average of 10% depreciation until 2050.
2. Scenario	If global temperatures increase by 2°C on average, approximately 37% of people will be affected by heat waves once every five years. With global temperatures causing drought, approximately 410 million people living in cities will have problems with water supply. Considering today's conditions, 180 million more people will have to face hunger. Floods will affect more than 300 million people, especially with the rise in sea levels. The global Gross Domestic Product (GDP) will fall by 11%.
3. Scenario	If global temperatures increase by 3°C on average, approximately 96 thousand people in Europe will lose their lives due to heat and humidity. There will be an average of 5% to 20% shrinkage in agricultural areas. The rise in sea levels will cause 35% to 50% soil loss in cities. The global Gross Domestic Product will shrink by 18%.
4. Scenario	If global temperatures increase by 4°C on average, approximately 1.5 billion people will die due to heat and humidity. Agricultural lands will shrink between 10% and 30%. The rise in sea levels will cause more damage to coastal cities. The number of people who have problems with the water supply will increase even more. The global economic income average will cause a 23% loss due to temperatures alone. Adaptation to the conditions that would exist in the world would be unlikely.

All these four scenarios, to varying degrees, reveal how great threats the neoliberal growth strategy poses to the living and human life in the world. Therefore, if serious measures are not taken in the international arena, and these are not implemented decisively by the states, it is not difficult to envision the picture of the disaster that awaits the world.

## International Negotiations on Struggle with Global Climate Change

We can analyse the international initiatives on global climate change in four periods. The first period was between 1972 and 1992, when climate change gained a global dimension, and scientific evidence was collected. The second period was between 1992 and 1997, during which various action plans were prepared as a result of the collected data and interviews. The third period was between 1997 and 2007, when the obligations against global climate change and the mechanisms were established to ensure the implementation of these obligations (Ediger, 2008). The fourth period is the post-Kyoto era, in which the obligations given within the framework of the Kyoto Protocol covering 2016 and beyond were stretched, and negotiations were mostly left to the initiative of the states.

In the first period, the environment was put on international agenda in the early 1970s. The UN Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE), which was first organised in Stockholm in 1972, drew attention to environmental degradation and encouraged the international community to take the necessary precautions (UN, 1972; Linnér and Selin, 2013). The WMO held the First Global Climate Conference in 1979 because petroleum crises brought the environmental problems back on the

agenda. However, there were not any significant steps in the global sense until 1987, when the term “sustainable development” was put on the agenda. The concept of “sustainable development” was defined by The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in its “Brundtland Report,” or as it was called “Our Common Future” report, as “meeting the needs of this generation without risking the capability of next generations to meet their needs” (WCED, 1987; Burton, 1987). Establishing efficient structures or institutions to struggle with global climate change ensures that this struggle is coordinated. To that end, the WMO and the United Nations Environment Programme made the establishment of the IPCC possible in 1988. The IPCC aims to research the impacts of global climate change and evaluate the possible precautions based on the scientific, technical and socio-economic data provided (Pachauri, 2004; Bolin, 2007). It focuses on the issues, which were put on the agenda by the countries party to the Conference of Parties (CoP) established within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) framework, as a global appeal (Siebenhüner, 2003).

In the second period, a roadmap for the actions and strategies aimed at struggling with global climate change was determined in The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held on 3–14 June 1992 in Rio de Janeiro. This conference, which was called Earth Summit, also legitimised the concept of sustainable development. It was 20 years after the conference organised in 1972 in Stockholm, the first conference that protected natural sources, prevented environmental pollution and searched for possible solutions to these problems. The UNFCCC, which was a milestone in efforts concerning global climate change, was signed by 189 countries and put into effect on 21 March 1994. The UNFCCC succeeded in ensuring the acceptance of its findings in two fields. These findings were as such (Hens and Nath, 2003; Houghton, 1994; Okada, 2007):

- (1) Climate change and its adverse effects are among the common concerns of humanity.
- (2) Human activity increases the emission of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere at a significant level, and this leads to an increase in the natural greenhouse effect, and consequently, to an additional increase in the temperature, which would have adverse effects on the temperature of the earth’s surface and atmosphere, the natural ecosystem as well as humanity.

Even though the convention was not binding in terms of emissions, it emphasised an urgent need for the parties to maintain their emissions at a certain level in 1990. The obligation of each party was to share its successful practices aimed at decreasing the emissions through submitting its annual emission inventory and national notice. In addition, as shown in Table 2, the convention was divided into two as Annex I (developed countries) and Annex II (developing countries). After this division, the countries included in Annex II were provided by the countries in Annex I with financial and technological support to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The CoP, which became active after the convention as a decision-maker in the struggle with climate change since 1995, organises a conference annually (UNFCCC, 1992).

In the third period, the CoP, which was established with the UNFCCC, organised its third conference in Kyoto, Japan, on 1-12 December 1997. As a consequence of the conference, Kyoto Protocol was accepted and opened for signature. The protocol initiated a new period in terms of struggle with climate change. It put into effect various obligations about reduction of emissions which were binding for the developed countries. To put it more clearly, it included a provision, added to Article 3.1 of the protocol, in which the countries included in Annex I of the UNFCCC are defined as countries in Annex B and ensuring that they would decrease their emission levels between 2008 and 2012 at a level of 5.2% in proportion to the emission level of 1990. Moreover, the protocol ascribed certain reduction levels to certain parties. For example, for the years between 2008 and 2012, the reduction level was set as 8% for the European Union (EU), Bulgaria, Czechia, Estonia, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Monaco, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Switzerland, as 7% for the USA

and as 6% for Canada, Hungary, Japan and Polonia. The protocol not only put forward the levels of reduction but also the types of emissions and their sectors. While it divided the greenhouse gases into six as carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide, hydrofluorocarbons, perfluorocarbons and sulphur hexafluoride, it covered sectors such as energy, industry and agriculture as well as solvents and disposals in the list given in Annex A. It also ensured the establishment of various systems to reduce emissions and defined the carbon market, which was a new field (UN, 1998; Wigley, 1998; IGBP, 1998; Böhringer, 2003; Okada, 2007). Unfortunately, the Kyoto Protocol did not have much success as expected because of the following reasons: It imposed obligations only on 39 of the parties. It did not mention the issues such as adaptation to and cost of the harmful effects of climate change. It maintained the sector-based reduction limit. It did not make sure the acceptance of the protocol by the parliaments of the parties passed at the desired speed. Furthermore, the USA, which has a significant role in the implementation of the protocol and an outstanding share in the emission levels, declared that it would not approve the protocol in the mid-2001 (Grunewald and Martinez, 2016; Arian and Eralp, 2007; Khanna, 2001; Mckibbin and Wilcoxon, 2002; Olmstead and Stavins, 2006). Without the USA, the prerequisite for a minimum of 55 countries and a minimum emission level of 55% came into effect with the inclusion of Russia in the protocol on 15 February 2005. 175 countries approved the protocol through the end of 2007 (Walker et al., 2007; Böhringer and Löschel, 2003; Sunstein, 2007).

**Table 2.** UNFCCC Classification of the Parties as of Today

<b>Annex I Countries (Annex B in Kyoto Protocol)</b>	<b>Annex II Countries</b>	<b>Non-Annex I Countries</b>
These countries are classified as industrialised countries and countries with economies in transition.	These countries are classified as developed nations which pay for costs of developing countries.	These are mostly developing countries. Certain groups of developing countries are recognised by the UNFCC as being especially vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change, including countries with low-lying coastal areas and those prone to desertification and drought. Others (such as countries that rely heavily on income from fossil fuel production and commerce) feel more vulnerable to the potential economic impacts of climate change response measures. The UNFCC emphasises activities that promise to answer the special needs and concerns of these vulnerable countries, such as investment, insurance and technology transfer.
Australia, Austria, Belarus, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, EU, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States of America	<p>Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, EU, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States of America</p> <p>Turkey was deleted from Annex II by an amendment that entered into force 28 June 2002, pursuant to decision 26/CP.7 adopted at CoP7</p>	

*Note:* This table is prepared by the author based on the information provided by the Climate Change Connection (2015) and the UN (1992).

In the post-Kyoto era, the Paris Agreement was adopted at the Twenty-first Conference of the Parties (CoP/21) to establish the plan to combat climate change, which was planned to continue after the end of the Kyoto Protocol in 2020. The agreement entered into force with the approval of 55 countries, which account for 55% of global greenhouse gas emissions. This agreement aims to develop and advance the UNFCCC's articles on sustainable development and poverty eradication. The agreement's primary goal is to keep global temperatures below 2°C and below 1.5°C, if possible, compared to the pre-industrial revolution era. In line with this goal, adaptation to climate change, transition to economic development with low greenhouse gas emissions, and increasing climate resilience are to be ensured. However, while realising these targets, making food production in a way

that will not be damaged was set as another target. In line with these determined objectives, the agreement has adopted the principle of “common but differentiated responsibilities and relative capabilities.” In other words, it states that the countries participating in the agreement should contribute to the agreement in line with their special means. In this direction, the parties are required to submit their “National Contribution Statements,” which include greenhouse gas emission reduction plans every five years, in order to meet the objectives of the agreement such as reduction, adaptation, finance, technology transfer and capacity building (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation, 2021; Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021).

## Turkey within the Framework of Conventions on Struggle with Climate Change

Annex II countries of the UNFCCC are members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). They accept their historical responsibilities regarding the emission of greenhouse gasses and pay for the costs of developing countries. In other words, they are obliged to provide the developing countries with financial and technological support. In the beginning, Turkey was included in both Annexes I and II as one of the OECD’s founding participants. However, Turkey claimed that it had no historical responsibility for climate change due to its late industrialisation compared to the other countries in Annex II, and it cannot be regarded as capable of meeting its obligations. It avoided being a party to the convention for a long time, even if it wanted to take part in the process. Finally, it was excluded from Annex II with Decree no. 26/CP.7, which was accepted in the seventh Conference of Parties (CoP7) held in Marrakesh in 2001. It continues to be listed as an Annex I country with a different status since it is a party to the UNFCC. After that, Turkey ratified the UNFCCC on 24 May 2004. Turkey also avoided signing Kyoto Protocol, which was opened for signature in 1997, for a long time. The special status granted to Turkey in 2001 was recognised by Kyoto Protocol as well, and this protocol was approved by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) in 2009 (Türkes, 2007; Berberoğlu, 2009; Binboğa, 2014).

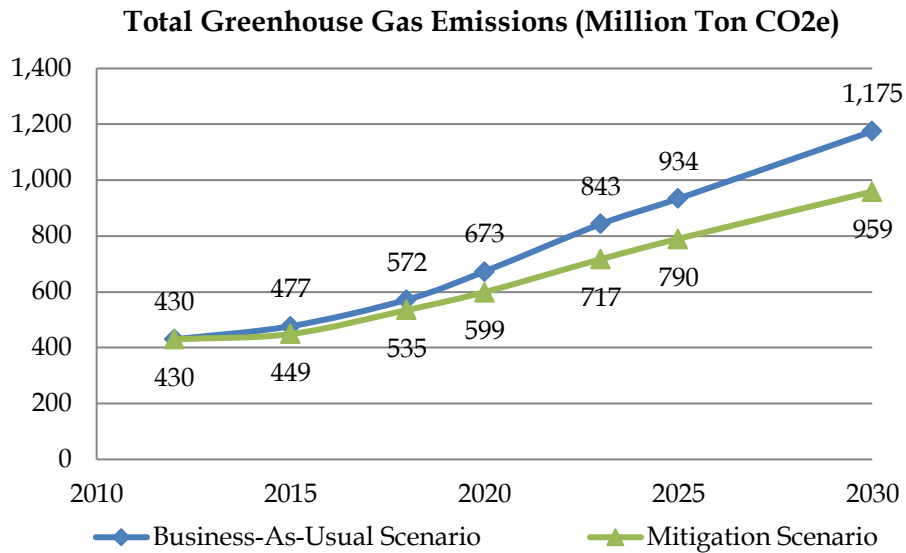
Turkey’s special status continued at the fifteenth of the CoP held in Copenhagen in 2009, and it remained neutral, avoiding any obligation. Although in the Paris Agreement, the annexes of the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol were left and liabilities have been determined by referring to developed and developing countries without any definition, Turkey, being a developed country on paper, refrained from ratifying it. The possibility of not benefiting from the financing opportunities stipulated by the Paris Agreement accounts for this postponement until its approval by the TBMM in October 2021.<sup>1</sup> Also, with CoP decisions no. 19 and 20, the Ad Hoc Working Group on the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action requested the Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC) of all the parties to be submitted without reference to the annexes specified in the UNFCCC. Consequently, Turkey presented its INDC plan within the scope of combating climate change. According to Turkey’s INDC, the country aims to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by up to 21% by 2030 (İHKİB, 2021; Karakaya, 2016, pp. 5-6; UNFCCC, 2013, 2014).

As seen in Figure 4, the international arena urges Turkey to consider business-as-usual and mitigation scenarios to realise the trends that may lead to rapidly increasing greenhouse gas emissions due to making wrong decisions on its priorities.

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<sup>1</sup> Reuters (2021) claimed that after the approval of the Paris accord, an international loan of 3.1 billion euro would be given to Turkey under the leadership of the World Bank, which will encourage the private sector in the field of green energy. For the CoP26 meeting, it was also claimed that Turkey has sent a proposal to UNFCCC Secretariat in Bonn to have its name removed from Annex I.





**Figure 4.** Comparison of business-as-usual and mitigation scenarios in the INDC of Turkey  
*Source:* Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (2021)

In the neoliberal era, the concern for economic growth at all costs has adverse effects on the capacity to produce policies that are sensitive to public health and environmentally friendly. The new mission neoliberalism has imposed on the state has also deprived it of the necessary tools to steer the economy. Therefore, while the state continues to be the most crucial resort for market failures, its fragility against the economy has reached its peak. The case of Turkey presents us with the “inconvenient truth” that developing countries cannot introduce environmental measures to the market without the help of the international arena at the expense of the economic welfare of the people.

## Climate Change and its Possible Impacts on Turkey

Global warming and climate change have varying effects on different regions of the world. While there are changes in the hydrologic cycle in some regions, a rise in sea levels, climate changes, and other significant changes that directly affect human life are expected to occur in other regions (Watson et al., 1996; Türkeş et al., 1999). There may be a number of differences among the effects of global climate change based on the temporal, regional and global aspects. Indeed, there will probably be tornados and storms in some parts of the world, whereas there will be heavy rainfalls, floods, overflows, and desertification resulting from drought in other parts soon (Türkeş, 1994). Turkey is seen among the countries that might be affected by climate change primarily because it has complex and different climatic features. There is a desert zone right in the south of the country, and this zone advances towards the north. Different climatic features in different parts of the country result from its geographical position. The facts that its three sides are surrounded by the seas and it is located in a fragmented topographical region and its average altitude of 1100 m are the most significant factors. Different climatic features of Turkey may cause the country to be affected by global climate change in different levels and varying ways. For example, global climate change will have adverse effects on dry and semi-dry regions such as South-eastern Anatolia, Central Anatolia, Mediterranean and Aegean regions due to the loss of water resources resulting from the increase in the temperature, forest fires, desertification and ecological distortions (Türkeş 1998; Türkeş, 1994; Aksay et al., 2005).

Changes in the temperature in Turkey may be different from changes in global temperature as well. The latest increase in global temperature started in 1980, whereas it started in 1990 in Turkey.



Even though it was later than the world, the increase in the temperature in Turkey started and continued to increase at a higher rate than the global rate (Şen, 2020).

Parallel to the increase in the temperature, Turkey, a part of the Mediterranean Sea and Southern Europe, is also facing a decrease in precipitation. The decrease in the amount of water sources which are vital in terms of food production has a potential to increase its regional differences from the western parts of the Eastern and the South-eastern regions. Along with frequently seen earthquakes, floods and landslips, the financial loss resulting from these natural disasters has put Turkey on the top of the list among the countries of the EU and the Commonwealth of Independent States. Floods and landslips in the country constituted 10% and 25% of the general natural disasters observed in Turkey. The tension about water supplies resulting from decreasing rainfall levels and increasing temperature will probably exacerbate the increasing demands of farmers. It is suggested that the surface water amounts in some basins will be lost at a rate of 20% by 2030 (UNDP, 2020).

In Turkey, which will be one of the countries that will be affected by climate change most, the possible effects of climate change arising from its location are as follows: (1) There may be an increase in the frequency, domain and duration of the forest fires according to the duration and severity of dry and hot periods. (2) A significant part of Turkey might undergo a scorching and dry climate in 2030. (3) There may be changes in its agricultural activities according to regional and seasonal differences. (4) It is highly possible that Turkey will be under the influence of dry and hot climates seen in the Middle East and North Africa due to the expansion of the climate zone in a direction from the equator towards the north. (5) The increase in harmful organisms and diseases might have adverse effects on agricultural production and land ecosystems. (6) There may be an increased need for irrigation and drinking water due to the drought. (7) Problems in reaching clear water resources will bring about various health problems. (8) In parallel with the expansion of dry areas, a possible increase in the duration and severity of hot summers may affect desertification, salinisation and the possibility of erosion. Moreover, soil moisture is envisioned to decrease at a level of 15-25%. (9) The increase in the temperature may increase the need for energy for cooling and air conditioning. (10) There may be changes in the number and severity of windy and sunny days. (11) There may be negative socio-economic impacts on the marine ecosystem and fishing. (12) There may be negative impacts of rising sea levels in coastal touristic areas, in river deltas that host many agricultural activities and in bays and rias. (13) Water levels in the Mediterranean basin are predicted to increase 12-18 cm until 2030, 14-38 cm until 2050, and 35-65 cm until 2100, respectively. (14) The decrease in the capacity to absorb and emit carbon dioxide may weaken natural reservoirs. (15) Decrease in the area and duration of snow and ice covers may trigger snowslides and sudden snow melting. (16) There may be an increase of 2°C in winters and 2-3°C in summers (Türkeş, 1994, 1998; Aksay et al., 2005).

In addition to these possible effects, in the sixth evaluation report of the IPCC published in 2021, the Mediterranean belt, in which Turkey is located, will be among the regions most affected by climate change. The IPCC estimates that the Balkans, the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa, especially Turkey, will reach 40-50% higher than the global annual warming rates. When Turkey is considered separately, it is understood that more difficult conditions await this country in each of the four different scenarios of the IPCC given in Table 1 (Daşcıoğlu, 2021, pp. 2-3; IPCC, 2021).

## Conclusion

The main problem caused by the increasing appetite for economic growth, overproduction, and fossil fuels is the gradual destruction of the world via global warming. The realisation of such a consequence has led the international community to undertake specific measures. Since the second half of the twenty-first century, international negotiations and then conventions have begun to emerge together with the determination of certain strategies at the global level. However, it has been

proved that negotiations and agreements are necessary but insufficient to cope with such a global phenomenon. While the determined emission reduction limits exempt certain countries, countries with intense emissions have not become parties to the agreements. Thus, the fight against climate change has remained far from being a total struggle.

The findings and predictions regarding global climate change, both in the global context and in the context of Turkey, do not seem heart-warming at all. If the states do not induce the market actors to take the necessary measures as soon as possible, humanity's difficulty can be unbearable. Therefore, rather than focusing on more growth and economic ambition, the need for self-sufficiency, nature-friendly lifestyles, ecological cities, residential areas and production facilities should gain prominence. However, the main arguments for the level of development of countries in the neoliberal international system continue to be growth, production, consumption and opening up to world markets. As long as these priorities exist, countries produce more than they need, they need more energy, and thus, greenhouse gas emissions exceed what the world ecosystem can handle.

The picture presented by the case of Turkey in this regard is very striking. This country is one of the first to adopt neoliberal structural adjustment policies in the early 1980s (Şenses, 2016; Yalman, 2010). It draws attention with its reserved stance on the fight against climate change and international conventions on the environment. Turkey, one of the founders of the OECD and a candidate for EU membership, is trying to be a part of the developed world, thus opening up to international markets more easily. On the other hand, this country fears the obligations required by the conventions for developed countries and argues that it is a developing country to receive financial aid. This ambivalent situation of Turkey actually stems from the fact that the neoliberal system has made nation-states more vulnerable to international capital. Developing countries, in particular, have been convinced that the way to increase their welfare is to become more integrated into the international system and thus become more dependent. For these countries, which are conditioned to produce more, the welfare of nature may be secondary.

The only way to end this deadlock is to replace the neoliberal policies prescribed by international organisations, such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and World Trade Organisation, with policies that prioritise society and nature's benefit.

## Disclosure Statement

The author reported no potential conflict of interest.

## Notes on Contributor

*Dr. Selçuk Gürçam* is an Independent researcher on international relations from Turkey. He specifically works on climate change, international organisations and conventions.

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# American-Turkish Relations in the Aftermath of the WWII: The Beginning of American Hegemony Over Turkey

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## ABSTRACT

This article aimed to examine the post-WWII era's international environment and the US's changing attitude towards Turkey in light of Morgenthau's political realist perspective. The US was not eager to have close relations with Turkey during the very early post-war period as it also embraced an isolationist foreign policy. Interestingly enough, the US had a close relationship with the USSR during and after WWII. More specifically, the close relationship between the USSR and the US continued until the US perceived the USSR as more of a foe, a threat to its national interest rather than a difficult friend. After the US realized the Soviet threat to its national interest, it started to have close relations and a partnership with Turkey. Although the US acted with the moral thesis of "democracy advocacy" to legitimize its close ties with Turkey, the relations that had been established in reality emerged with the concern of maximizing the US's national interests. This situation was explained and exemplified by showing the course of the emerging ties. The study concluded that the Turkey-US "strategic partnership", claimed to serve the interests of both states, is actually shaped around the US's national interests.

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## Introduction

As a result of the Second World War (WWII), all parts of the world suffered from mass destruction. Europe was devastated, China was in a civil war, and Latin America was in a fight against poverty and authoritarian regimes. On the other hand, the United States (US) was politically stable and secure and economically the most powerful in the world in the aftermath of WWII. In 1945, the world system of the post-war period was not clear yet. However, it was clear that the United States was about to emerge as an important actor in the new world order. There were peaceful relations and cooperation between the US and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) during the early post-war period. This cooperation that operated during the war and the early post-war period started to collapse at the beginning of 1947. Afterwards, there was a widespread idea in the eyes of the American society that the US was under the threat of the USSR and its Communist ideology. Therefore, the rapidly changing attitude of the American society led to a change of perception and attitude towards the Soviet Union, from positive to negative (Nordlinger, 1995, pp. 49-62).

In the meantime, on February 21, 1947, Britain, which was in a nationwide economic crisis, has informed the US in a note that it would no longer be able to provide military and financial aid to Turkey and Greece and that it would withdraw the military units deployed in Greece (US National Archives and Records Administration, 1947). As a result, the US began to support Turkey after Britain declared that it was unable to help with Turkey's moving forward against the expansionist foreign

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policy of the Soviet Union. The United States decided to implement a containment policy towards the Soviet Union because of the uncompromising attitude of the USSR as follows: not withdrawing from Iran and Poland, its demands on Straits (İstanbul and the Dardanelles), debarring free elections in Eastern Europe. The central target of the policy was to challenge communism. The US perception of Turkey had changed. The United States understood that Turkey was strategically essential for its containment policy and to block a possible attempt by the USSR to set foot on Middle Eastern oils. Under these circumstances, the US declared the Truman Doctrine, which can be accepted as the starting point of the Cold War. As the doctrine argued, the United States was helping Greece and Turkey militarily for both taking them to the Western block and making their militaries stronger as the outpost states of the Western block.

Although a few studies address the history of Turkish-American Relations, they focus on a wide period instead of concentrating on early Turkish-American Relations (Yılmaz, 2015). On the other hand, some studies discuss Turkish-American ties from the post-WWII period to current issues, but these studies try to explain the turning points of the relations (Güvenç & Ozel, 2020). Moreover, there are some studies specifically interested in the role of Turkey for the Truman Doctrine, yet they draw a historical map to understand how the relations started, instead of discussing the relations according to realist perspective (Satterthwaite, 1972). Even though there are some discussions on the American aids in the post-WWII period, these studies not only focus on Turkish-American Relations but also concentrate on American aid policy as a whole (Lüth, 2012).

Alternatively, this article has evaluated the purposes of the Truman Doctrine and the environment in the early aftermath of WWII under the theory of Morgenthau's six principles of political realism. The research fills the gap on the realist theory to explain the "strategic partnership" between the US and Turkey in the literature. Doing that also shows how the US managed to maximize its national interest and make Turkey dependent on the US. This study includes three parts and a conclusion. In the first part, Morgenthau's theory, six principles of realism are laid out extensively and a comprehensive table. (Table 1) In the second part, the international environment in the aftermath of WWII is reviewed to demonstrate how Turkish-American Relations developed gradually. In the third part, the article discusses the causes of the US attitude change towards Turkey in light of Morgenthau's six principles of realism in particular.

## Morgenthau's Six Principles of Realism

Morgenthau has been one of the most famous symbols of realism in international relations literature. He is known as a successor to Thucydides and Machiavelli since he used and improved their ideas. More specifically, Morgenthau's understanding of putting power and interest on the basis of politics was inherited from Machiavelli and Thucydides. Moreover, Morgenthau is the person who made realism a modern discipline with definite borders. In his study entitled *Politics Among Nations the Struggle for Power and Peace* (1978), he classified the main principles of political realism into six categories.

Firstly, he claimed that according to political realism, politicians have to consider the social laws of their influence. Of course, a politician may have opinions different from the society in which he/she resides. But he/she must be extremely careful when putting them into practice. He/she should consider the necessities of his political environment. In other words, a politician who seeks to change society must first understand its standards of judgment. Secondly, a politician must put the interest of the society he/she leads at the top of his/her hierarchy of needs. In international relations, political realism appears as interest, which is also described as power. Interest is about relations between the reasons of actions and the realities of the international conjuncture. According to Morgenthau, politics has a separate set of actions, as does economy, ethics or religion.

**Table 1.** Morgenthau's Six Principles of Political Realism (Morgenthau, 1978).

Principle	Adoption in this article
1. "Political realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature. In order to improve society, it is first necessary to understand the laws by which society lives. The operation of these laws being impervious to our preferences, men will challenge them only at the risk of failure."	In order to understand how Truman legitimized his aid plan to Turkey and Greece in the eyes of his society. He manipulated American society by using their sensibility to security.
2. "The main signpost that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of international politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power. This concept provides the link between reason trying to understand international politics and the facts to be understood. It sets politics as an autonomous sphere of action and understanding apart from other spheres, such as economics (understood in terms of interest defined as wealth), ethics, aesthetics, or religion."	In an attempt to realize why the US' attitude towards Turkey changed positively when it understood the Soviet threat.
3. Realism assumes that its key concept of interest, defined as power, is an objective category that is universally valid, but it does not endow that concept with a meaning that is fixed once and for all. The idea of interest is indeed of the essence of politics and is unaffected by the circumstances of time and place.	It is not about explaining the relations between political actors; it is about explaining political realism. Therefore, it is not used to explain Turkish-American relations in the aftermath of WWII.
4. "Political realism is aware of the moral significance of political action. It is also aware of the ineluctable tension between moral command and the requirements of successful political action. And it is unwilling to gloss over and obliterate that tension and thus to obfuscate both the moral and the political issue by making it appear as though the stark facts of politics were morally more satisfying than they actually are, and the moral law less exacting than it actually is."	The road map is to consider how the US covered its hegemonic power on Turkey with moral values like creating a "democratic bloc".
5. "Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe. As it distinguishes between truth and opinion, it distinguishes between truth and idolatry. All nations are tempted-and few have been able to resist the temptation for long-to clothe their own particular aspirations and actions in the moral purposes of the universe."	It is a must to show how the US defended its interest in the United Nations by using a moral based discourse instead of an interest-based one.
6. "Intellectually, the political realist maintains the autonomy of the political sphere. He thinks in terms of interest defined as power, as the economist thinks in terms of interest defined as wealth; the lawyer, of the conformity of action with legal rules; the moralist, of the conformity of action with moral principles. The economist asks: "How does this policy affect the wealth of society or a segment of it?" The lawyer asks: "Is this policy in accord with the rules of law?" The moralist asks: "Is this policy in accord with moral principles?" And the political realist asks: "How does this policy affect politics and the political institutions?"	Significant to understand the absurdity of moral values in the anarchical international system. Authorities of the state only think to maximize the interest of their states. Therefore, they know that surviving in the international system requires enough qualifications.

Thirdly, considering political reality does not mean changing it. When a politician considers his/her personal opinions, he/she should create harmony between his opinions and the existing



political reality. The most influential tool that can be utilized by him/her is the power of changing the political reality. Interest and power are the core of politics, and the existing conditions of the time and place do not change this situation. In other words, interests may change, but interest-based politics does not. Fourthly, for politicians, morality means the security of the society they are governing, unlike other people. For them, the safety of society is the highest moral value. Therefore, they are able to understand the conflict between moral values and successful decisions in politics.

Fifthly, Morgenthau argues that political realism ignores universal morality. Yet, universal moral norms for all nations are a tool to legitimize their interests. In other words, political realism knows that national interests are more valuable than universal morality due to the anarchical character of the international system. Lastly, according to political realists, the political arena should be considered as an independent field since this field also requires unique virtues like law and economy. The *sine qua non* of this independent field can be described as power and interest.

## The International Environment in the aftermath of the WWII

The US and the USSR were the absolute winners of WWII when European powers were destroyed. The result was a massive gap between these powers and the Europeans. Japan was very close to losing in the Far East, and Britain, which had several colonies, was relatively weakened. Therefore, the US became the hegemonic power in this region as well. In the Far East, the United States had an alliance with China and tried to maintain it.

From the German-Soviet war to Yalta Conference, there was considerable trust in the Anglo-American public opinion towards the USSR. The Red Army was referred to as a hero and a honorable army, and even Stalin was described as Uncle Joe. The reason behind this perception in American society was the legendary defense of the Soviet army against the Nazis. Moreover, the people in the US believed that if the USSR was not involved in the war, the United States could have been in the list of the defeated states. Therefore, it would not have been possible to establish a new world order without the USSR. At that time, there was confidence between the allied powers, the USSR and the US (Feifer, 1999). The expectation of "good relations" between the United States and the Soviet Union was an example of the idealist nature of American foreign policy that saw war as an interruption of the interstate accord. The United States thought that as soon as the war ended, the challenge to obtain power would also end (Hook & Spainer, 2014, pp. 25-26).

There is an accepted view that Turkey and the US have a long-lived alliance. Senior officials of both states have emphasized the common interests of Turkey and the United States since the end of WWII (Kuniholm, 1991). The breaking point of the relations was the expansionist foreign policy implications of the USSR in the post-WWII era. Great powers asked to see Turkey as a part of their alliances during WWII. However, Turkey successfully achieved to avoid entering the war thanks to the policies based on balance followed by its President at the time. As Turkey avoided the destruction of war, it later paid by being excluded from the international system in the aftermath of the war. At that time, the most severe threat for Turkey and the US was the changing foreign policy of the USSR, which implemented a passive foreign policy from the revolution to WWII and pursued an expansionist foreign policy with WWII. The expansionist foreign policy of the USSR included Turkey's territories too. In 1945, the USSR sent a diplomatic note to Turkey and demanded a military base on the Straits. It also had some territorial demands in the eastern region of Turkey, including the cities of Kars and Ardahan. These demands were vocalized in the Yalta Conference. Turkey asked to be supported by Britain, but Britain suffered from mass destruction because of the war. In that conjuncture, Britain was unable to help Turkey. Consequently, Turkey tried to get the support of the US which had become the strongest state of the world after WWII. However, the US had not yet understood the Soviet threat.

Although Britain was unable to help Turkey militarily, it promised to support Turkey against the Soviet threat diplomatically (Satterthwaite, 1972, p. 78). Britain also promised to include the issue in the agenda of the Potsdam Conference. In the conference, the USSR maintained its demands. Britain also asked for a change regarding the status of the Straits but also endorsed the territorial integrity of Turkey. The US believed that the problem must be solved between the USSR and Turkey. Although the US and the USSR agreed on changing the Montreux Convention at the conference, the attitude of the US against the USSR changed. After the Potsdam Conference, there were several turning points for the US in an attempt to comprehend the Soviet threat. Firstly, the USSR and Britain had invaded Iran in WWII. Both countries promised to call their military powers back in 6 months after the war. However, the USSR did not call its troops back. In fact, the USSR started to increase the number of soldiers in Iran. Secondly, in the Yalta Conference, the Soviet Union guaranteed to withdraw from Poland, but it did not. Moreover, it aspired to create a communist alliance in the region. Stalin also promised not to intervene in the free elections in Eastern Europe, though he acted in accordance with his belief that if a state controls a region, it imposes its regime on the region as well (Lefebvre, 2005, p. 35).

This belief overlaps with the sixth principle of the Morgenthau, which emphasizes the absurdity of moral and intellectual values in the political arena (Art & Jervis, 2014, p. 13). From this point of view, this was understandable in terms of the international system, which has an anarchic character. There is a constant conflict between states, and due to this conflict, states cannot trust one another. Therefore, states tried to protect themselves and increase their power in the system just like what the USSR did in Eastern Europe. The US consistently asked to hold free elections in Eastern Europe to create a bloc against the USSR and throw them out from Europe (Hook & Spainer, 2014, pp. 31-32).

The National Liberation Front (EAM), a communist organization, boycotted the elections in March 1946 held in Greece after the war, and the right-wing party won and came to power. After that, the supporters of the monarchy won the referendum on the King's return to the country, and as a consequence, an uprising broke out in the northern region of Greece under the leadership of a communist leader named General Markos. When the leader of Yugoslavia, Tito, sent a force called the National Liberation Front to Markos and helped Albania and Bulgaria, Greece was dragged into civil war. After these actions, the US realized the communist bloc threat, led by the USSR. In other words, the US found out that the USSR posed a fervent threat to its national interests in the region as well. As a result, the US changed its attitude towards the Straits international waters because of the Soviet threat and began supporting Turkish territorial integrity. For example, Turkey, which is in a region where Russian military, economic and political influence could flow to the Middle East, was described as the "stopper on the bottle" in a 1946 study by the American Bureau of Near East and Africa Affairs (Hurrewitz, 1953, p. 92).

## **The Changing Attitude of the United States towards Turkey: Maximizing Its National Interests**

Towards the end of 1945, the attitude of the US on the regime of the Straits changed to the side of Turkey. The reason for the change in the attitude of the US was self-interest. According to Potsdam Conference decisions, the US gave a diplomatic note to Turkey on November 2, 1945. On this note, while the US asked the provisions of the Montreux Convention to be revised in accordance with the conditions of the period, it suggested convening a conference. In this note, the US abandoned the idea of granting the Straits an international status and free passage and defended that the Straits to be under the control of Turkey (The New York Times, 1945). As mentioned in Morgenthau's second principle stated above, the reality has changed in the international arena, and the US's attitude has changed 180 degrees accordingly. In other words, to the extent that the US realized that the USSR's

actions threatened its national interests, it moved away from the Soviet theses and approached Turkey's theses. On August 7, 1946, the Soviets listed their demands from Turkey in five principles:

- (1) The Straits should always be open to the passage of merchant ships of all countries.
- (2) The Straits should always be open to the passage of warships of the Black Sea Powers.
- (3) Passage through the Straits for warships not belonging to the Black Sea Powers shall not be permitted except in cases specially provided for.
- (4) The establishment of a regime of the Straits, as the sole sea passage, leading from the Black Sea and to the Black Sea, should come under the competence of Turkey and other Black Sea powers.
- (5) Turkey and the Soviet Union, as the powers most interested and capable of guaranteeing freedom to commercial navigation and security in the Straits, shall organize joint means of defense of the Straits for the prevention of the utilization of the Straits by other countries for aims hostile to the Black Sea Powers. (Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946)

After these developments, on August 15, US officials held a meeting and stated that the main aim of the Soviets was to obtain control of Turkey. According to the official, if the USSR obtained control of Turkey, it would be impossible to prevent the Soviet army from controlling Greece, the Near, and the Middle East. US officials believed that if the USSR took control of Greece, the Near, and the Middle East, those regions' connections with Western Block would be cut off. (Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946, pp. 840-841). Therefore, as Truman said, the US could lose its authority in the United Nations:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved. One aspect of the present situation, which I present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey. The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation (...) The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. (Truman, 1947)

It is possible to see Morgenthau's two different principles in this speech. First of all, the American people's level of security anxiety is extremely high. As noted above, security concerns were behind the positive view of the American people towards the Soviet Union after the Second World War. Thus, Truman underlined that the security of Turkey and Greece was a must not only for them but also for the USA. He claimed that there was a symbiosis between the security of these countries and the security of the USA. In this case, it can be said that he was able to understand the American people's main concern and tried to direct it to the new threat, as Morgenthau argued in his second principle.

Secondly, his emphasis on the status of the United Nations is remarkable. Three of the permanent members of the United Nations were in Western block. Therefore, the US asked to maintain the status quo to legitimize its policies by using the moral high ground as underlined by Morgenthau in his fifth principle. If the control of Turkey, Greece, the Middle, and the Near East were to be obtained by the USSR, the US could lose its hegemonic power in the United Nations.

As a result, the US gave a diplomatic note to the USSR on August 19, 1946. In this note, the US objected to the fourth and fifth demands of the USSR, concerned by the possibility of losing its connection with Turkey, Greece, the Near and the Middle East, as explained above. Turkey also gave a similar response to the USSR on August 22, upon the reconciliation of the UK and the US to reject these two articles. After this period of collateral diplomatic notes, the USSR gave up on insisting on its demands regarding the regime of the Straits. Although Turkey's sovereignty and freedom were violated in the previous threats by the Soviet Union, the US did not stand by Turkey since it did not feel a threat posed to itself. However, after the USSR began to threaten the US's interests, it assumed

the role of defender of freedom, democracy and sovereignty rights and provided moral legitimacy for its actions to protect its interests, as Morgenthau argued.

Turkey suffered from two main problems in the post-war period. One of them was the decreasing prices of food items and raw materials after the war. The other was that Turkey could not discharge its army because of the Soviet threat. Obviously, this was very costly for Turkey. Turkey also reserved 245-million-dollar into its central bank due to the risk of a possible war with the Soviet Union. Turkey asked to get 300-million-dollar credit from the US at the end of 1945, but it was rejected by the US at this time.

Similarly, Britain declared that they were unable to continue helping Turkey and Greece. At the beginning of 1946, diplomat George Kennan sent a long-written telegraph and explained the main purposes of the USSR's foreign policy. He believed that the foreign policy of the USSR included the effects of both: its revolutionist ideology and tsardom past. He suggested that the foreign policy of the USSR could be stopped only by implementing a counterforce (Lefebvre, 2005, p. 36). Truman thought that if other states got financial help from the USSR, they could behave as if they were an actor within the Soviet bloc. Therefore, the US could lose its authority in the Middle East and suffer from a major economic loss. President Truman tried to persuade the US Congress, and he did. He underlined that helping Turkey and Greece is vital to maintaining the stability of the Middle East. After the Truman Doctrine was enacted as law, The US Congress allocated 400-Million-Dollar for Greece and 100-Million-Dollar for Turkey. The US decided to block and get rid of the threat of the USSR in the region (Güler, 2004, p. 216). Truman gave his well-known speech in the US Congress, attempting to convince the members of Congress:

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed upon free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace, and hence the security of the United States. (Truman, 1947)

In the speech, Soviet expansionism was constantly mentioned, and it was emphasized that Turkey, Greece, and Iran should be prevented from suffering the fate of Eastern Europe. It was the declaration of the containment policy of the US towards the USSR. Therefore, the doctrine was the first step of the long-standing Cold War and creating eastern and western blocs. It meant that a bipolar world had started with the declaration of the doctrine, caused by the ineffectiveness of international organizations and the destruction of Europe, as Morgenthau noted in his Sixth Principle of Realism (Art & Jervis, 2014, p. 13). Truman underscored that American security and freedom depended on Turkish and Greek freedom. Therefore, the US must help these states prosper (Evered, 2010, p. 51). Thus, it is possible to say that this help was not an ideal one but a pragmatic one.

The foreign policies of both Turkey and the US were directed by their presidents in the aftermath of WWII. Turkey had some advisors with leftist tendencies close to its presidents until the USSR threat emerged. Some isolationists of the US were doubtful about Turkey until they understood the need for Turkey in the region as an ally. The Truman Doctrine ended all these discussions and doubts and was a turning point in Turkish-American Relations, as George Harris underlined (Harris, *Turkish-American Relations Since the Truman Doctrine*, 2004, pp. 66-69). The US tried to increase the capabilities and the capacity of the Turkish army with the Truman Doctrine as a precaution against a possible war with the USSR. The USA military advisers believed that Turkey would have an important role in offensive action against the USSR in the Middle East (Leffler, 1985, pp. 816-817). Therefore, it should be pointed out that the doctrine mainly focused on military issues of Turkey and Greece because of the increasing Soviet threat.



The USSR made an effort to create a communist bloc. The US thought that the Soviet Bloc had gained power because of the destructive impact of WWII. Namely, the US needed to help European states rebuild their economies and maintain them within the Western bloc. The US thought that if they helped European states, they would act in alliance with the American bloc instead of the Soviet bloc. Therefore, Marshall – the US Secretary of the State at the time – declared that European states should come together to determine the needs of Europe. As a result, a conference was organized in Paris. Turkey was not included in the economic plan at the end of the conference. Thus, Turkey applied to the US directly to be included in the plan. The US accepted the application in accordance with their national interests because they could not risk losing Turkey. It shows that the subsidies started to be continuous. The projects were leading up to the containment policy of the US towards the USSR. The policy can be summarized as helping the states under threat of the USSR militarily and the states that suffered from civil wars because of the interference in their internal affairs by the USSR. Truman Doctrine was the starting point of this policy (Kissinger, 1994).

The military aspects of the relations played a key role at first; however, eventually, Turkey emerged as an actor that could demonstrate western values to the Middle Eastern states (Harris, 2004, p. 68). The United States tried to increase the capabilities of the Turkish army with the Truman Doctrine because of a possible threat of war with the Soviet Union. The United States military advisers believed that Turkey would have an important role in an offensive action of the USSR in the Middle East (Leffler, 1985, pp. 816-817). In the meantime, it was well-received by the CHP-led Turkish government in the initial stages of the doctrine. The majority of the press also welcomed it. Subsidies were well-received by the government because of several reasons. First of all, it meant that Turkey's solitude which occurred after WWII would end. Secondly, the United States was the largest power in the world, so becoming an ally of the United States would help fight against the Soviet threat. In addition, Turkey experienced the first non-single party election or first democratic election. Results of the election showed that the CHP started to lose its prestige in society. The CHP government tried to be ready for a possible war during WWII, so they invested in the military rather than providing better services. It led to poverty in the majority of society. Subsidies were a chance to rebuild the relations with the society for CHP and recover its dwindling prestige. Turkish officers announced the subsidies with idealist and unrealistic notions. For example, the bureaucrats who determined Turkish Defense Policies portrayed the subsidies as 'complimentary goodness'.

The reality, however, was that Turkey became economically dependent on the US. Of course, it was a long-term plan, but the starting point was the post-WWII period. The high-cost expenditures made by Turkey, which could not deploy its military units due to Soviet threats, continued after the war as well. In addition, the activities of the Soviets on Turkey, Greece, Iran, and China made the US concerned, so the US decided to support Turkey not only diplomatically but also militarily and economically. After WWII, Turkey lost its ability to pay its loans, which were taken under the Lend and Lease Act. On April 5, 1946, the US Ambassador stated that if Turkey paid 4.5 million dollars, all its debts would be erased. Afterwards, an agreement was signed on May 7, and as a result of Turkey's payment, its debts were erased (Ülman, 1961, p. 91).

Turkey's efforts to seek US support to get rid of the solitude that emerged due to the balance policy implemented during the Second World War yielded results. As a part of the West, that is, of the anti-communist bloc, Turkey became a member of the IMF and the World Bank in 1947. Therefore, it can be stated that Turkey had made concessions from its economic independence for its political independence because the US aid that Turkey received in the military field made it dependent on the US in terms of spare parts and material integrity. As a matter of fact, Turkey allocated a cost-share of 143 million dollars from its budget for every 100 million dollars of aid it received. According to Okyar, this is why Turkey had to spend the reserves it had accumulated during the Second World War (Okyar, 1952, p. 341). Therefore, it is possible that the US made Turkey

economically and militarily dependent on itself under the “aid” cover as Morgenthau claimed in his fourth principle. As he argued, states try to maximize their power by using some moral claims in order to be the hegemonic power in the anarchical international system.

Of course, it could not be expected that these military aids given to Turkey would be used in matters that the US objected to. Therefore, in the military aid agreement dated July 12, 1947, the US stipulated that the aid given to Turkey cannot be used for purposes “other than the purposes for which it was given” (Arcayürek, 1987, p. 333). As a result, the US prevented Turkey, which was trying to protect the Turkish population in Cyprus from Greek massacres in the 1960s, by reminding them of this agreement. In addition, the US determined that, with the economic aid it provided, Turkey should address the issues that are of concern to Turkey’s own sovereignty. More clearly, the US imposed conditions on Turkey, such as an emphasis on chromium mining, increasing agricultural production and capacity, and modernizing agricultural tools in the process that started with Marshall aid. To sum up, the role that the US assigned Turkey within the global division of labor was one that would make Turkey meet the agricultural needs of the capitalist bloc instead of developing its industrial and technological production. Therefore, as Morgenthau claimed in his third argument, power is the only tool to change reality and identify concepts.

## Conclusion

Actually, states are pragmatic actors, and they serve their national interests and are acting as selfish actors. At the beginning of the crisis between Turkey and the USSR, the United States was unable to recognize the Soviet Union as a threat to its national interests and did not help Turkey. When it understood that USSR was also a serious threat to the United States’ national interest, it decided to help Turkey to protect its own interests in the region, as stated in one of Morgenthau’s principles of political realism. The United States wanted to fill the gap of Britain in the region because the region is geographically close to the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union was a definite threat to Turkey. The United States needed to contain the Soviet Union by creating a western bloc. The United States knew that Turkey was a must in order to increase its power in the Middle East. Turkey was a must for the United States because Turkey had a border with the USSR and was in an advantageous position to respond to a possible threat to Middle Eastern oils on time, as Morgenthau explained within his vision of political realism. The United States promoted democracy and was seen as the defender of democracy in the world in a capitalist sense. In addition, although there were many democratic principles to justify the doctrine and to convince Congress in accepting the Truman Doctrine, the United States implemented the doctrine to the two undemocratic states, in the beginning, Turkey and Greece, since the strategic importance of these states had stronger importance than their system of government, an action that is in accordance with Morgenthau’s perspective on political realism. Therefore, the doctrine was not a social responsibility project for the United States, as Turkish bureaucrats claimed. It was the process of mutual interest against the Soviet threat that Turkey needed to increase its military power for a potential conflict with the Soviet Union, and the United States could not risk Middle Eastern oils because of its national interests.

Turkey and the United States had a partnership for a long time in accordance with their national interests; however, the partnership sometimes becomes quite close and occasionally becomes questionable. Turkey was under the pressure of the Soviet Union expansionist foreign policy during and in the aftermath of WWII. Therefore, Turkey tried to get the support of the United States. Turkey was not successful in getting support because the United States and the Soviet Union were in a honeymoon phase at that time. The Soviet Union had some demands on the regime of the Straits and in the eastern parts of Turkey. At first, the United States believed that this was a regional crisis. Thus, it should be addressed by the USSR and Turkey. Then, several turning points occurred, showing that

the USSR was a serious threat to the interests of the United States, such as not the USSR's refusal to call its army back from Iran and instead further increasing the number of its soldiers. After these events, the honeymoon phase transformed into a power struggle between the United States and the USSR. The first step was a new challenge called the Cold War, and the application of the Truman Doctrine shows the importance of Turkey in the containment policy of the United States against the USSR.

On the other hand, this article shows that the US was the certain winner militarily and economically in these long-lived relations. As Morgenthau underlined, the main motivation of the states in the international arena is interest. Therefore, in that kind of game, the big player's income will be higher than the smaller one seen in Turkish-American relations. When Turkey's main motivation was to survive and get rid of the Soviet threat, the US' motivation included both surrounding the USSR and making Turkey dependent on the US. This type of relation, of course, creates a continuous asymmetry in favor of the stronger state, the US, as Morgenthau marked.

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## Notes on Contributor

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