

**REFLECTIONS
OF A
TURKISH AMBASSADOR**

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WRITER
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İSTANBUL



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INDEX

GOURMET READING.....

WRITING FOR PLEASURE

(MULKIYE) FAREWELL SPEECH.....

TO THE FOURTEENTH GRADUATION CEREMONY OF THE ISLAMIC INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

TURKISH GHANAIAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS.....

BUILDING BRIDGES GHANA-TURKEY

EMPATHY 29 OCT 2012

TURKEY: BRIDGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST?

GLOBAL COMPETITION

TURKEY AND MIDDLE EASTERN STABILITY: IRAQ, IRAN, ISRAEL AND THE KURDISH QUESTION.....

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION STATE AND STATE NATIONALISM.....

THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS

TO THE ATTN OF HON. CARLOS PEREIRA DE LEMOS

TURKEY IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE AND AUSTRALIA.....

TURKEY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION.....

TURKS OF AUSTRIA.....

TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES STRATEGIC ALLIES?.....

TURKISH AMERICAN RELATIONS.....

MEVLANA & LOVE FOR HUMANITY

86TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

87TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

88TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY (FAREWELL MELBOURNE)

EVOLUTION OF MODERN ISLAMIC UNDERSTANDING IN TURKEY

AT IFTAR DINNER 28 SEPTEMBER 2008.....

AT IFTAR DINNER 21 AUGUST 2009

BROADCAST - RADIO JEDDAH SAUDI ARABIA

FIRST PROGRAM.....

ATTACKS ON ISLAM.....

BOURGEOISIE

CAPITALISM & EXTORTION.....

DIALOGUE AMONG CIVILIZATIONS

DIPLOMACY AN INSTITUTION IN TRANSITION.....

ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE.....

ISLAM AND EDUCATION.....

EUROPEAN UNION.....

GLOBAL ECONOMY

HISTORY

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE WORLD OF ISLAM.....

ISLAM & TERRORISM.....

MANAGEMENT

MEDIA.....

MODERNITY, POSTMODERNITY AND ISLAM

NEO-FEUDALISM.....

SOCIAL SECURITY

SAUDI ARABIA.....

STRATEGY

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

WAR

Biography of Aydın NURHAN

Ambassador of Turkey in Accra, Ghana

Ambassador Nurhan was born in Turkey in 1949, and he is a graduate of the Law School of Ankara University.

Prior to joining foreign service, he worked as a lawyer.

In his diplomatic career, he served as Consul General in Azerbaijan, Austria and Australia. He was the Director General of Science and Technology at the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and also served in Saudi Arabia, Holland, Germany and the United States in his junior years.

In his last posting at the Headquarters, he was the acting Chairman of the Center for Strategic Studies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey. Earlier, he was among the diplomatic core serving in the establishing years of Turkish International Cooperation Agency TICA.

Apart from his diplomatic career, Mr. Nurhan was a media columnist, radio programmer and speaker, and university lecturer with an honorary doctorate. His main field of interest is globalisation.

Some of his lectures were published in the USA, Turkish journals, and his recent article on “Culture of Strategic Studies in Developing Countries” is published in Turkish in an edited book on Strategic Studies.

He was the recipient of “The Social Harmony in the Public Services Award 2010” of the Australian Intercultural Society (AIS)

Ambassador Nurhan is married and has two children.

| *Turkish Daily News*

GOURMET READING

Aydin Nurhan

Thursday, April 20, 2006

Reading is pleasure. Reading for “not understanding” is the utmost pleasure. A bit puzzling, is it not? There are many kinds of reading.

We are forced to read for memorization in school, then in youth we read to gain encyclopedic knowledge to earn power and status over others, on the way to maturity we start reading for understanding, and when we retire and mature, we read to prove nothing to anyone, we read just for the pleasure of reading.

Here, I will humbly give you my own experience in reading: reading intentionally, not to consciously understand what we read.

You may have noticed some people buying fancy books as accessories for their houses or study rooms. Just to pretend and show off. I welcome this behavior because one day these people, their children, or relatives may be interested in these fancy libraries. These people also help our printing industry by buying books.

Another group is the people who read a little bit, but these are unsystematic readers. They buy books of any random kind to their mood. Then we have the specialized readers who concentrate on books for the questions they seek answers for. And you can increase these reader categories to your own choice.

Now...

After this introduction, let us start with the book choice.

We enter the bookstore and choose a book. First, if coffee is sold at the bookstore, we take our coffee. As we sit in a couch and sip our coffee, we start glancing at the cover and inside the cover of the book.

Then we look at the index and the introductory pages, then glance through the contents, and then a further exploration of the pages.

Let's just say we liked the book, bought it and came home.

The most important thing to start with is the proper lighting and sitting style. The body should be comfortable and the eyes not straining. The light should come from the left behind the head. I would recommend retracting lights with a dimmer for the correct angle and power of light.

Then we need a pencil for marking the important ideas as we read on. What I use is an automatic versatile steel pencil, about 10 centimeters in length and half a centimeter in diameter, the ones made for primary school children, with 2B soft lead and 0.5 millimeter tip. These little pencils, when clipped in between pages, also function as page reminders between reading sessions.

So we should mark our book by soft pencil, without pressure, and never with ink. Inking is disrespectful to our friend, the book. Also, for technical purposes, ballpoint pens do not work upwards as we read in bed.

Now let us move into our reading technique.

To repeat, our technique here is reading for pleasure, for gourmet taste. This technique is not good for students and officials, there are other techniques and lessons for them.

Reading for pleasure is, just as gourmets understanding the taste of good food and having a palate, an art.

Not everyone can learn this art. This ability can be gained with time. As we learn this skill, we may lose the intellectual discipline necessary for ordinary daily professions. It may be harmful, especially for professionals who earn their bread by memorizing data.

So perhaps, except for retired intellectuals and artists, others should not read this way. Let us not seduce them with our technique of vanity, reading for "NOT UNDERSTANDING."

By the way, why am I seriously warning the others?

Because in many countries, supervisors, teachers, etc., are not well educated and are not equipped to deal with concepts. Hence they require from students and subordinates memorized raw statistical information and data, not ideas. They do not like inferiors positing their ideas, and when faced with assertive ones, think of them as snobs with no manners.

So students and subordinates, having the genetic makeup of thousands of years of evolution, instinctively shy away from frankly putting forth their ideas; they just list facts to their teachers and superiors. The more memorized facts are presented, the more teachers and superiors become happy, thinking the student or the subordinate has grasped his duty in full. Being skilled in memorization is the key to promotion, especially in underdeveloped societies or primitive business practices.

Yet...

Memorization just saves the moment. After seconds, all forget the shining facts presented. No one cares for lasting concepts and strategic ideas in such a world.

As underdeveloped societies give precedence to memorized data, people become inclined to practice encyclopedic data memorization. Then they repeat this encyclopedic information among friends to show how “highly cultured” they are. But culture is not memorized information. As the saying goes, culture is the sum of forgotten knowledge...Whatever...

In developing societies, both for recognition in society and for promotion in business, competing with computers in loading our brains with data is still a good method, and if you want success in life, do not come to our club of wisdom gourmets. *Aydin Nurhan can be contacted at anurhan@yahoo.com

Gourmet reading (II)

Friday, April 21, 2006

After these lines, with real companions still keeping up with us, let's fill our sails into the realm of reading.

Firstly, choose the field you are mostly interested in. The field of knowledge you love best. Buy the book that answers your curiosity and questions.

Secondly, every book is holy; hold it delicately, with care. Do not fold the book backward and break its binding. Do not lick your fingers and push the

page to the middle. Try to separate pages from top right corner with your index finger. Even if you are not used to it, you may learn it in short time. Here, your will and good intention is what counts.

Do not read the book by your lips, but your eyes. Be active readers. Active reading is by marking important phrases, ideas. So have your little pencil in your hand. Do not underline except in cases of extremely important novel ideas for you. Instead, bracket ideas that you deem important.

If you are reading something of your expertise, you tend to find less novel ideas and tend to mark less. But if you are reading about fields outside your expertise, with lots of new ideas, then you tend to mark everything. There are some writers who do not write anything unnecessary. They do not use unnecessary filling material. Then you want to mark nearly every sentence of these noble brains. Every sentence, every word, of these writers bombard you with novel ideas, force you to contemplate; they exhaust you by forcing your brain in deliberation. You should be an advanced reader for reading these kinds of books, for if not you may get tired and shy away from further reading.

As a literary style, filling material and artistic literature are more dominant with European and Eastern writers, whereas practical American writers tend to lock on to the main theme and put forward their frank ideas in the clearest and shortest style. This is especially so in their academic books.

Returning to our subject, you can put a check mark next to important ideas, a star to more important ones and go up to three stars in sequence of importance. You can use exclamation marks for astonishment and surprise, question marks for phrases you do not understand, or don't agree with, "I" for informative data and "B" for biographical info. These are the marks I developed throughout the years. You can also develop your own method of marking your books, but don't forget not to harm your books.

Now:

Do I ever look back to these marked ideas? Nearly never... Remember? We are reading not to learn. Not consciously.

Our intention in marking is for unconscious concentration and giving precedence to some ideas in our subconscious, learning unconsciously.

Marking is the sign of our full concentration on the book, a sign of finding beautiful flowers of ideas, the excitement of finding answers to long-

asked questions, signs of happiness and surprises. This reading technique is a technique of full concentration, slowly sipping and enjoying ideas.

The marks we put are signs of our active reaction, signs that we are fully aware of what we are reading. Perhaps we forget what we read after several minutes, still yet, they dissolve in our intellectual honey, our culture, in an unconscious way. Even if we seem to fully forget them, years later, listening to similar ideas, our unconscious sends signals warning us as to the relevance and health of the ideas we listen to.

They make us fully skeptical, even against our own ideas. And in time this discipline goes so far as, even in fields of our expertise, if someone tells us we are incorrect, we cannot be sure of our convictions and yearn to go back home to our library to recheck our very own ideas. Though not to come back and argue with the asserting person! Never. That behavior is far from our world. Just to judge our own knowledge and erase our doubt and uncertainty.

And now let us see what happens within our brain as we read on.

Firstly, reading is the best medium for thinking and contemplating as we communicate. We should try to get the message of the author as we read him. We should show utmost honesty and goodwill in trying to understand the author's intentions and feelings. Even if we see him as an enemy, we do not fight with him in our brains because negative feelings would also block our understanding of the following paragraphs, losing valuable ideas in between.

We show utmost restraint and moral discipline in not bending, twisting, distorting his meaning in our brains, because this very behavior bastardizes our own reception of the book. Once we get the idea correctly, then we can be for or against that idea.

Whatever:

At the moment of philosophizing, we close our book and start contemplation. Then we start reading again. We never memorize ideas. Concepts explode in our brains into the tiniest particles. Then our brain kneads these new ideas with its own identity, harmonizes them, and dissolves these new ideas as sugar in water. And these new ideas become us.

Whereas if we get stuck in memorization, we may end up in a double, moreover, multiple identity personality. Memorized patches in our brain stay apart, side by side with each other, conflicting with each other, forcing us not to be integrated with our personality.

For gourmet reading, we must get rid of memorization from our minds. To repeat, gourmet reading is reading irresponsibly. It is reading just for the sake of reading. Not to be responsible to anyone, not to show off to anyone, not to get prizes, not even for self-congratulation. It is living the moment. It is forgetting the world, forgetting all your troubles and other joys. At the moment of finding the answer to a yearned question long asked, or mesmerized by the art of the author, finding the joy as a divine orgasm.

In gourmet reading, the brain is not forced and fatigued for memorization. You just read and pass it. In gourmet reading, you do not need techniques of Quick Reading. Just as eating, there would be no quick, fast, junk reading. You read slowly, taking the joy, marking beautiful ideas, gradually digesting them as they are sent to the mind.

As you read, you start meeting some words and ideas more frequently, and they start catching your attention. First you do not stop, just read and go. But at some point, they stop you and want you to think about them, raise some questions in your mind. At that moment you tend to give more attention to them, and that moment is your moment of specialized interest.

As you get hooked deeper in these new fields, they start to become your fields of curiosity, you start building your own ideas, then even end up in your own convictions and ideologies. Since they are not memorized patches, but evolved through time and scrutiny, they become your own original, genuine ideas; they are part of your chemistry.

Yes, dear friends:

I tried to pass on my own reading experience to you. Every individual is a treasure, a cosmos within himself. One wonders what experiences, what ideas, you may have. Start today.

How to start? You can start by reading just for taste, for fun, without any feeling of responsibility.

Put little remarks, with your tiny pencil, alongside paragraphs as you read. Let's jot sparkles of wisdom that come to your mind as you read. This is the moment of contemplation and the start of crawling into authorship.

And as you finish reading your book, the book is a new creation, with your remarks, notes, stars, checks, exclamation marks, it does not belong to its original author anymore. At that moment, it is also your book, and you share it with the original author.

Do not lend this annotated book to anybody, because it is only one copy, and your own creation. At this point you are a little author, a little thinker... Perhaps you agitated a genius or a giant creator waiting to be awakened in your soul.

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Radio Jeddah
Current Events & The World of Islam

FAREWELL “Writing for Pleasure”

by
Aydm Nurhan
April 2004

My Dear Listeners,

Today is our day for a farewell.

We have been together, on and off the air, since more than a year now.

As it is time to say good-bye, this week I chose a special topic for you.

Today I want to talk to you on “**writing for pleasure**”.

As you may remember, long time ago I had talked to you about **pleasure reading**.

And now I want to tell you about **writing for pleasure**.

In my farewell speech, I thought it would be a good idea to tell you on how one evolves into being a journalist, how journalists contemplate and put their ideas on paper and microphone.

My dear friends,

As you all know, we write for different reasons and occasions.

Most people write because they have to. We can call that **compulsory writing**.

We may have to write to earn our bread, or write as a social duty to family or friends.

And on the other side, we may write for personal pleasure, or psychological relief.

Now, we know many professional writers and artists who create for earning a living. The need for decent living and earning money, does force an artist to produce and be creative. Or else he may get lazy and lose creativity. So money is indeed an incentive in itself for creativity.

Still yet, I believe that art is for people who do not need to earn a living. But even rich artists need stress and incentive.

They also need an internal discipline, and an education process of reflection and contemplation.

We can call this internal discipline **positive stress**.

As both compulsory and pleasure creativity may lead to masterpieces of art, still yet, I think the best art is art for pleasure. In art for money, there are time constraints which restrict the artist from the final touches to his creation. Whereas in leasure, pleasure writing, the artist has all the time he needs to elaborate for reaching perfection.

Now, after this lengthy introduction,

I would like to tell you how a career diplomat has turned into a journalist and a radio programmer, a story especially for our youth, who may one day be interested in pleasure writing.

To start with, let me correct a wrong image of career diplomats among the world community. Many a people portray us diplomats as high society in perpetual vanity. Yet, apart from exceptions, diplomats have decent, quiet family lives, and if they can find time away from endless official receptions they have to attend, they love to be home with their children.

They value their families more than many other professionals, because diplomats are lonely people. Diplomats are like migrating birds. They are lonely birds separated from their villages, hometowns, family and friends.

These lone birds try to make new friends in every now post, then after a few years, again they are on the move. And in time, in a fatalistic spirit, they start accepting and liking loneliness, forced upon them by their very profession.

And this feeling of loneliness also passes on to their children.

And for this very reason, my dear listeners, diplomats find friends in books.

The more they read, the more their minds get loaded, and one day comes, as Rumi has said, “fill up, so you can pour out”, they need to discharge their laments, joys and their knowledge, on white paper. Yet, many of them have to wait for retirement to do so.

But rarely, some diplomats get a chance to take time out from their offices, and if they want, they can use it for reflecting their ideas to the society. And I am one of those few lucky who had that chance.

How did I start writing?

First, I started writing my memoirs. I started putting my happiness, my sorrows, hopes and despairs on white paper. White pages became my friends, my psychiatrist, my confidantes, especially when I felt lonely.

After some time, I started commenting on daily events and my daily personal experiences.

Then I transferred interesting ideas from the books I read, and started commenting on them, not to show them to anyone, but just for my own intellectual exercise.

In this story, I want to emphasize one point for beginners, and that is, I never paid attention to the mistakes I made. I mean I had the absolute freedom to make mistakes. I did not care if my sentences were correct or not. I wrote just as natural as it poured out of my mind.

And I wrote if I wanted, I quit, if I did not feel the need to write.

I was not accountable, I did not have any responsibility to anyone I wrote without restriction of ideas or time.

Yet as time went by, I figured out that I have developed a style, moreover, reading and writing has started correcting my sentences.

And one day, I sent a thesis of mine on Turkish Culture, to one famous Turkish poet/thinker, Attila İlhan. He first published my thesis in his newspaper column, then in his book on Turkish Culture. He also encouraged me to develop my thesis and write a book on it.

See, my friends?

How events develop as you start reading and writing?

Then I wrote a short book on Turkish Culture, and many intellectuals and politicians in Turkey read it.

Then, as I was Deputy Consul General in Chicago, one friend who came to visit us, read by book, and offered me a column in his economical newspaper in Turkey. So I took my first step into journalism, and started sending weekly articles from Chicago under a pseudonym. In this deal, I gained experience, and the newspaper gained money.

And then came the agreement between the Islamic Conference Organization and Jeddah Radio for the OIC Directors to make radio programs, and I grasped the opportunity once again...

This is the story of a radio programmer...

My Dear Friends..

I think you already understood why I took so much of your time telling my story to you.

I wanted to give, especially to our young listeners the phases a writer passes through in his intellectual evolution.

Now, to professional journalism..

In newspaper business, space is restricted, so you are regularly warned on writing short articles. I did not get such warnings, because I do not like to build fancy, long sentences, neither have I the ability to do so.

As our forefathers have said, "put everything necessary, nothing unnecessary", I try to set things in shortest possible manner, and keep out unnecessary rhetoric and details outside my essays.

Whereas in radio speeches, exactly the opposite is expected of you. For instance, in Turkish Section, we were expected to talk for nearly twenty minutes, in English section a bit shorter. As professionals of this business know, a 20 minute radio speech is a 6 to 8 page thesis, a little conference. And for an intellectual to write such a thesis is a responsible and serious duty.

In fact, newspaper journalism and radio broadcasting have both hardships of their own. This also depends on the personality of the journalist. For instance, if you like to write short, substantial, compact ideas, then newspaper columnism would suit you best.

But if you come especially from the culture of literature reading, then you can embellish your speeches with beautiful literature and adjectives, and write pages and pages, just for the sake of its artistic value.

Yes my dear listeners,

As we continue our chat on writing in this farewell speech of mine, let us think of a journalist who has stopped writing for sometime. He uses his time for reading, reflection, and contemplation. And then the fresh new ideas, elaborated over and over and matured in the brain, spill so smooth and natural to the community.

Yet, by time, the originality fades away, new ideas diminish, and the journalist starts forcing his brain to create new ideas just to keep on writing. Now, if he has the intellectual ethic and integrity, the most he can do after bankrupting originality, he goes to archives and encyclopaedias and write informative articles. Yet these articles would be tasteless and without spirit. They do not reflect ideas that were well contemplated and matured, more, turned into a thesis. They are crude ideas, not thought over, not matured, just enforced on paper to get away with business.

Shortly, they are not messages, passionate explosions of the mind that you cannot stop from overflowing to the society.

Theses are intellectual orgasms, unstoppable, we exhale from our spirits unto the community. These ideas explode unto paper in such way that once you exhale them, you feel like a mother who has given birth to a new baby. And it is a bliss.

And this unstoppable passion of the intellectual, after giving fantastic bliss, can create serious problems for himself, as in illegal relation.

And my dear listeners,

Writing for pleasure is this kind of pouring out of passion from the mind of the intellectual.

At this point, I would recall the movie “Amadeus” with seven Oscars which is about the life of composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

In the movie, Mozart undertakes to write an opera with a certain deadline. Time goes by, but there is no preparation, no notes on paper. As deadline approaches, the patrons knock Mozart’s door, and want to see preparations. At that moment, Mozart shows his head with his index finger saying “here”.

Yes, in fact, the notes have been shaping in Mozart's mind, and matured to pour out on paper. A grand opera has formed in the mind of the genius, and after that, writing of the opera takes a short time for him.

With this example, what I want to convey to you is that, an idea or an artistic concept first drops to the mind as a seed, then blossoms, matures, and as the fruit falls from the branch of a tree, falls from the mind unto paper as an article, a poem or picture, or musical notes.

And once delivered, the pain of maternal delivering ends.

These examples are for ideal art, for pleasure.

Yet life is much different than this.

Perhaps hundreds of thousands of people have to write to earn their bread. In many countries, newspaper columnists have a compulsory duty to find a topic for every single day to write about.

In reality, not one brain can create an original idea for every 24 hours. How can a passionate idea, to be spilled into the community build every 24 hours in a mind?

What happens then, is writing for bread, for ordinary artisanship.

This is why, in Western world, many columnists do not write daily columns. The ones who write every day are real top brains. I read them continually, even they cannot be original every day.

Same attitude goes for university professors. If academics do not renew themselves in time, they become monotonous like highschool teachers who teach from the books ordered upon them.

This is why the Western universities have established a good tradition called "Sabbatics" which gives professors time for refreshment.

In this system, a professor can go to another university to live alone, and do research on what he wants, away from daily teaching hurdles. He is given a secretary and uses libraries and resources, contemplates, reflects, refreshes his knowledge, and after a year, is born again with fresh ideas.

Journalism is similar in nature. One reads for long time, produces new ideas, then for a year or two, he presents his ideas to the society, then, when the ideas that sprout from his spirit into the society finish, then he starts acting as a merchant.

At such point, one feels the need to stop writing, start reading, and develop fresh, original ideas.

Yet the life is real, journalists have to earn their living, neither them, nor their papers can afford such luxury. This is perhaps one reason why articles in our papers do not come to a certain clout and originality in international intellectual fora.

Yes, my dear friends,

It is time for me too, to have sabbatics, an intellectual vacation for reflection and contemplation.

I discharged my ideas that had built in my mind through years, shared them with you, always keeping in my mind that I was serving my ummah, I had to say good for my ummah, say good for humanity, for the future of our innocent children.

I do not have any more to say now, It is time to fill again.

As I bid you farewell, let me pay a duty of mine, a duty of gratitude.

The Saudi Arabian Radio entrusted its microphones to a brotherly Turkish Diplomat. My speeches were not censored, and I had full freedom of the topic to choose, full freedom of context to say.

My honourable response was to write with utmost honesty, with the responsibility of a muslim Turkish diplomat, who had taken an oath to work for his ummah, and the mission to strenthen sentiments and solidarity among our brotherly OIC countries.

Last but not least, I thank Mr. Omar, Director General of Jeddah Radio, Ms. Hanan, Head of International Broadcasting Section, her assistant Mrs. Samar Fatany, and our beloved studio engineers for their continual encouragement and support for me.

And above all, I thank you my dear listeners, brothers and sisters for being with us for since some time.

May Allah bless you, and humanity for ever.

Ankara University
Faculty of Political Sciences
Department of International Relations
(MULKIYE)

FAREWELL SPEECH

by

Aydın Nurhan

Ankara, May 22, 2008

My Dear Students,

This is our last lesson in our academic year 2007-2008.

As you would well remember, I taught you that the most effective method of speech was improvisation, and today I am reading from my prepared paper.

The reason is that today I'm a bit emotional, and also, I wanted to leave a written record of what we did last year, together with my farewell sentiments.

As I taught you, reading from paper may not have the warmth of improvisation, but I chose every single word with care, and I want you to give me your ears today.

Firstly, I should begin with expressing my sincere feelings that the best ever job I did in my lifetime, full of love and passion, was teaching you here at Mulkiye.

At almost 60 years of age, what I tried to give you was the life-experience of a career diplomat and a strategist.

Not having the expertise of a professional academic, I hope you would forgive me for the shortcomings of an amateur professor.

We had bright, happy hours together, sometimes you teasing me, sometimes me making jokes, and never any offense.

I was especially lucky to be given the freshmen, the teenage newcomers to college.

It gave me the chance to prepare your flexible minds for the global community.

And I wonder if we did a nice job this year,
we will get the output after at least ten years, if God lets us see it.

My Dear Students,

It was many years after I was graduated from highschool, now I was an experienced diplomat, and one evening my wife and I invited my old American teacher to our home for dinner in Ankara .

At dinner table, I asked him to summarize, in one sentence, what he wanted to give us in highschool.

He said he did not need one sentence. One word was enough. And the word was,

INTEGRITY

Preparing this farewell speech, I remembered my teacher, and also asked myself if I can summarize my philosophy in education.

And what I found was the same word, I was captivated by the philosophy of my teacher.

Knowingly or not, my policy was to raise honest persons, men and women of integrity to life.

That was why
I let you free in exams with open books,
That was why
I let you alone with your conscience in sending your comments
on line, whether they were genuine or not,
That was why
I accepted all your excuses without questioning them.
Because I trusted in you.

I trusted in your youth, innocence and optimism.

And mind you, as an administrator, I apply similar principles to my colleagues, and get the utmost efficiency from them. It works!

Now, the technical aspect of our education.

I was indeed committed to break the closed feudal, dogmatic, memorization mentality of the education system that you came from.

I had to open you to the global village, I had to acquaint you with the diversity of global ideas, then, based on this knowledge, give you the patience and tolerance, first towards your friends, then to the global family of human beings.

To this end,

It took us about a month's trial and error to create our Yahoo group and our method of scanning the media.

Then I scanned journals and strategic periodicals for you every single day, choosing 20-30 pages of articles fit for your education.

I put an introductory commentary on each one of them, and highlighted their important phrases.

To sugarcoat the daily articles, and also to give you a wider choice, I also sent you subjects on youth, health, workouts, education, business life etc.

Through introducing you to the global media, I wanted to familiarize you with diplomatic terms which would enter your subconscious without your awareness.

Beyond teaching you diplomatic terms, and knowing that at the root of Turkey's problems lies the lack of global horizon among our elites, I wanted to prepare you as members of the global family of humanity,

- never ever forgetting that we live in a global village, not isolated, and in constant interaction with the remotest geographies and peoples of the world community, I tried to give you the brain power to locate Turkey's stance within the realities of the global village,

- that we should never get stuck to feudal, local dogmas in dealing with the global family,

- and above all, the toilet education metaphor. ' I forced you to go on line every single morning and read serious columns on newspapers and periodicals.

This is a must. It will be your trend, your lifestyle. Just like bicycle pedaling, you have to do it as long as you live!

- I taught you how to do it, how to choose the relevant articles.

Our main resources being American media, I would say that:

America is the balcony of the world.

When you look at the world from this balcony, everything seems smaller, whereas if you look at the world from Turkey , everything, especially in the West seems greater.

Having gained the practice of looking at the world through American media, you saw that

- every country is an ordinary country, with its good and bad sides, Turkish youth should not feel inferior to any Western ones

- America itself is not so impeccable as in Hollywood movies, it is one of the most problematic countries of the world

- Eurocentric prejudices on Africans and Asian peoples should be broken

Monitoring the media,

- We learned firstly to question the aim of the Headlines.

- We learned to ask “Why this agenda, why now?” How long will this agenda be on headlines?

- Who would benefit from this agenda? Who would be the loser from this agenda?

- We learned not to be carried away with the news as ordinary unquestioning people.

- We got the skill of always turning questions upside down, changing the position of parties, asking the counter questions

- We discussed ideal versus real politik, double standards and ethics in the jungle of foreign policy.

Now,

As against this technique, I could have chosen 50 diplomatic terms in every lesson, and had you memorize them until the next exam.

Perhaps, yes, some words may have stuck to your brains. But most were to vanish the next day, and it was something I hated, and I did not want to do something I hated. I believe that your reading daily articles and writing daily comments on them gave you much more vocabulary. Vocabulary which became your own.

To sum up, the First Semester, our concentration was on writing compositions. With this method, my intention was

- that when you write compositions, you force your brain to find the best words to express your ideas, and it is the best way of improving your vocabulary

- writing forces your brain to think, create, contemplate, hence awakens your curiosity

- writing commentaries every single day builds your intellectual self-confidence to comfortably and frankly express your views on national and international issues

- writing also enhances your capacity to think in English

- for the interested and talented, writing is an efficient means to be future journalists of diplomacy

The Second Term, we also concentrated on speech.

As we speak of Diplomatic English, many a time we disregard the spoken aspect of it. Whereas 21st Century diplomacy is carried more on verbal communication and public diplomacy than the historical written correspondence.

And if a diplomat cannot convey his message through a clearly spoken English, he cannot be successful.

To this end, I urged you to prepare speeches and make presentations in class, then we evaluated them on basis of pro-nunciation, communication skill, voice control, rhetoric, clarity of the message and being to the point.

Many young persons fear public speeches. But every diplomat overcomes this fear in time, because it is impossible to practice this art without public addresses.

Therefore we had to start this practice in our classes, and what I further want you to do is to utilize every chance to talk in public. We learn by making

small mistakes. Do not shy away from making your small mistakes when you are young, so that you would not make big ones when you're grown.

As I encouraged you to write your frank opinions on national and world affairs, I also urge you to honestly express your views in public, be men and women of cause.

Then, and only then...

You would be entitled to say

Ey vatan gozyaslarini sil, O fatherland, weep no more!

Yetistik cunku biz. 'cause we're matured to serve

My Dear students,

When I was in Chicago ☺

Long years back, an American professor who had been to our country said to me, he got the impression that

“Turks do not like each other“

At that instance I could not evaluate what he meant.

Later, I gave a special interest in Turks behaving towards each other.

To my regret, I found out that the Professor was right.

The most striking example was in the field of expressing opinions.

Especially the university educated ones had no tolerance to others' opinions.

I saw hate in people's eyes when their assertions were opposed.

Our educated people were not taught that after an idea was put forth, it belonged to humanity, and no personal offense should be taken if it was attacked!

To be enlightened means to have a questioning mind on your convictions, and being tolerant on other people's ideas. Never ever forget that!

My Dear Students,

As I said many a time in my classes, fathers and professors do not know, and do not have to know everything. But they can, and should always look up for what they do not know.

You, too... Don't be afraid to say “I don't know.” Always ask in the most innocent manner...

To pretend is the worst catastrophe for an intellectual.

But when you are an expert in a field, be assertive, take risk, and honestly say what you believe.

Except for rare necessity, do not beg the help of crutches, quotations from other thinkers. Do not memorize and fight with the ideas of other great minds. We, the generation of '68, did that mistake. You should dilute all learned data in your brain and create your own ideas for humanity.

To do this, you must read in a crazy manner, then reflect and contemplate... The ignorant, apart from loaned memorizations from others, cannot create their own ideas for mankind.

Do not use words and ideas which you do not digest and make your own. Memorized words and ideas stick out, get caught by serious minds and harm your intellectual integrity.

My Students.

Why do I insist so much on your intellectual capacity?

Because Mulkiye is a historical establishment.

It is the inheritor of the Ottoman Enderun establishment. It is the unique incubator of our statesmen.

For us Turks, “**State**” means so much.

And the State needs specially trained brains for its success.

Our beloved motherland has excellent universities, we have wonderful institutions. Yet, in the age of global economic competition, most of our elite colleges concentrate on producing the mentality of global businessmen.

Our beloved Mulkiye also must have a globally oriented education, a global vision. But as against our other colleges oriented towards cosmopolitan culture, our school should be concentrated on State.

This should be the field which we should excel, this would be commensurate with our Mulkiye March.

One important asset of Mulkiye, is our education in our mother tongue Turkish as against the English curriculum of our other elite colleges.

Yes, we definitely have to learn English and practice it, and it was my job to teach you excellent English.

Yet Mulkiye should have the monopoly of Turkish curriculum in elite education as well as excelling in English language to communicate with the global community of mankind.

My Students,

Nearing the end of my farewell lecture, I would like to give you one last example, that when we graduated from highschool, we collected all our books in the center of our football yard, burned them, and turned around the blazing books with crazy orgy.

Looking 40 years back today, I wonder how our teachers felt that day...

I hope I did not make you hate books and learning...

Life is a marathon, ordinary people have no bright future in it. Information technology is swiftly creating a new global society, without borders. If you lose track of global agenda, show neglect, exhaustion or fatigue, it would send you to the bottom of the global society. In this new global family, there will be two groups, sans borders: The highly, and continuously educated, and the rest.

Therefore, you should be prepared to be among the top, and continually educated, and become exemplars and beacons of your society.

Now I am departing with best of memories, and with optimism. I hope we did a nice job together.

My beloved students,

Bidding farewell, I have one little request from you...

If I could pass you some little knowledge...

Do not use it to oppress helpless people.

Use it to help human beings, especially the oppressed and the needy.

And always be on their side.

This was what my father asked of me,

This is what I ask of you,

And hope you would ask the same of your children.

Thank you and **good-bye**.

MESSAGE

by

Aydm Nurhan

Director of the Department of Science and Technology Representing
H.E. Dr. Azeddine Laraki

Secretary General of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference to
**The Fourteenth Graduation Ceremony of the Islamic Institute of
Technology**

DHAKA

20 November 2000

Your Excellency, Madame Prime Minister of Bangladesh,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Today, once again, we have great joy and happiness on this prestigious Ceremony of the awarding of Diplomas to the lauriates of the Fourteenth Convocation of the Islamic Institute of Technology, one of the pearls of education of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the OIC.

It makes me happier to know that our Ceremony is held under the high patronage of Her Excellency Madame Sheikh Hasina, Prime Minister of Bangladesh. Her acceptance of our invitation is an indication of her concern for the success of our Institute. I am pleased to express, on behalf of the OIC Member States, our deep gratitude and heartfelt appreciation for her continual support of our Institute.

Your Excellency, Madame Prime Minister,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to begin by expressing our deep gratitude to the people and the Government of Bangladesh for their warm welcome, traditional hospitality,

and, especially for the prominently positive role played by the leaders of this country within the OIC, to which they always extended their unyielding support.

IIT is the exemplar of this wonderful cooperation between the Government and gracious people of Bangladesh, and the OIC.

Leaving its fourteen years behind, the Islamic Institute of Technology has produced thousands of qualified, skilled young people to the Islamic Ummah through its academic curriculum as well as organizing numerous courses and international seminars.

IIT is also accomplishing a remarkable job as the OIC Focal Point of the Human Resources Development in the framework of UN-OIC Cooperation.

It is gratifying to note the escalating student applications to our institute, forcing our current capacity on the one hand, and on the other, the insufficiency of our resources to meet the demands and modern expectations from our institution.

Here, I would like to thank the IDB for its assistance in this respect and Her Excellency Sheikh Hasina and Her Government for providing the guarantee to the IDB loan for Development of the Infrastructure of the Institute. When completed, this will substantially increase IIT's capacity to enable it to train large number of students from all the member countries.

Your Excellency,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Since **Human Resource**, with its spiritual and technological preparation, will be the highest economic value in the new millenium, I would like to seize this solemn opportunity to urge the Member States to devote more attention to "Our IIT", and give it moral and material support, to enable it to be a top class institution challenging the best in its field, one with which our Ummah would be proud of.

On this occasion, please permit me to say a few words to our beloved, graduating students.

First;

We all owe congratulations to you on your success, based on determination and diligence. You well deserved it.

Second;

This graduation day is not the day to say

“I am educated.“

This is the day to say,

“I finished my **preparation**
for education”

It is today;

that you should feel thirst to further learning.

It is today;

that you should open books!

Not close them!

For in life, even in misery,

they will be the only good friends to you.

And make you stand tall among lower souls...

Information technology is swiftly creating a new global society, without borders. If you lose trace of global technological leap, show neglect, exhaustion or fatigue, it would send you to the bottom of the global society. In this new global family, there will be two groups, sans borders: **The highly, and continuously educated**, and the rest.

Therefore, you should be prepared to be among the top, and **continually** educated, and become exemplars and beacons of the Islamic Ummah.

Taking this opportunity, I also wish to thank your professors, members of a career that Sayyidina Ali bin Abu Talib (RA) has praised by saying, “He who would teach me a letter, to him I would be a slave”. Do always remember them in esteem.

And for this beautiful day of culmination, I would be failing in my duties if I did not express our profound appreciation of the earnest role put in by our Director General, Professor Dr. M. Anwar Hossain and his able staff.

May Allah in His infinite bounty, guide your steps, and crown your efforts with success in the service of the Ummah and mankind.

Our prayers will be with you, always.

Thank you

| Turkey - Ghana Trade and Investment Forum

TURKISH GHANAIAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

by

Aydın Nurhan

Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey

Accra, 9 February 2012

Honourable Mr. Alhaji Muhammad Mumuni, Minister of Foreign Affairs
and Regional Integration,

Honourable Ms. Hanna Tetteh, Minister of Trade and Industry,

Honourable Mr. Seth Adjei-Baah, President of the Ghana National
Chamber of Commerce and Industry,

Mr. Nana Owusu-Afari, President of the Association of Ghana
Industries,

Mr. Abdülkadir Kahraman, Vice President of the Confederation of Turkish
Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON),

Mr. Salih Timurtaş, President of the Ghana-Turkey Cooperation and
Development Association,

Distinguished members of the Turkish and Ghanaian business
communities,

Members of the press,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is indeed an honour for me to address the “Turkey-Ghana Trade and Investment Forum” shortly after I took up my duties as Turkish Ambassador to Ghana. I would like to welcome our guests from Turkey, and thank our Ghanaian friends for their warm hospitality.

As I am in my first month in Accra, my first impressions are that, if my gut feelings lead me correctly, this country is on the path of being another Singapore or Dubai, a center of excellence for Western Africa, perhaps the African Continent. Just as Ghana was the beacon of freedom for Africa under late President Nkrumah, it can be the exemplar for economic development for the continent. I congratulate the leaders and the people of Ghana for their democracy and stability endowing their record breaking 13.6% economic development, a world record.

Another impression for me was the brainpower of the universities of Ghana, factories of quality human resources in 21st Century. Beyond the natural resources, which sometimes kill other economic fields and become a curse on economies, educated human resources are the most important factors in global economic competition. Here I would like to stop and urge Turkish business community to encourage Turkish university, and post-grad students to world class Ghanaian Universities so that we Turks know our African brothers and sisters at the grassroots.

It seems that the Foreign Direct Investments which have increased by more than %500 in 2011 is mostly due to quality human resources, added to democracy and stability which international capital loves. Of course, we should add to these factors the peaceloving, friendly people of Ghana, who create the most hospitable environment for foreign investors.

Another observation for a newcomer, the cars on the streets of Accra are new and good models, beautiful, new highways are already locked by traffic, and more are urgently needed. And supermarkets and shopping malls are crowded too, many a time hard to get in and out, and to park.

As against pessimistic views on income distribution, and assertions that wealth is collected in a very narrow elite, what I see is a strong purchasing power in a wider population in Accra. What strengthens my view about a strong middle class is emerging, is the rocketing land and housing prices and rents in this country, boosted both by the local entrepreneurs and foreign investors and workers swarming into this booming country, in a way reminding me of Saudi Arabia of the Eighties.

We see Ghana as one of the most promising countries in West Africa, a country with a very bright future and we wish to co-operate with Ghana in political, economic, educational and cultural fields. That is why we have reopened our Embassy two years ago and the reason our President, H.E. Mr. Abdullah Gül, then Mr. Zafer Çağlayan, our Minister of State in charge of Foreign Trade, and our businessmen groups visited Ghana, and Ghanaian Ministers and business groups also visited Turkey many times in short while.

We had two Joint Economic Commission Meetings already, and I am happy to announce that our Third Meeting will take place in Erzurum in Turkey on 29 February- 2 March 2012.

Our reciprocal visits are accelerating, and TUSCON promised to give me their photographer to get the most seducing photographs and videos of Accra to attract Turkish entrepreneurs and investors to flow into this country. I would appreciate if Ghanaian authorities would be kind enough to give us a guide in making our **“Ghana Seduces”** ad as a joint project.

Our joint intention is to bring the bilateral trade volume to 1 billion US dollars by the end of 2015, and I believe, with this speed, it is feasible. Especially taking into consideration that our bilateral trade volume has reached 514 million US Dollars in 2011, which represents an increase of 76 % over 2010, when this volume was 290 million. With Turkish exports to Ghana amounting to 220 million US Dollars, and Ghanaian exports to Turkey amounting to 292 million US Dollars, the balance is in favour of Ghana. This is a situation we welcome, because we wish to buy from you, and establish a “win-win” relationship.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Very few people know that Turkey is a member of the European Union since 1996!

When I say this, many people get puzzled, yet it is a fact. Turkey is not politically a member, yet has been a member of the Customs Union with the EU since sixteen years. This means that Turkish goods have to meet EU standards, because more than half of our products are exported to Europe.

As we produce in European Standards, our quality is European quality, yet our prices are competing with China, indeed a bit more expensive, given the European standard.

Seeing the most important factor as infrastructure in Ghana, I would say that our construction sector is ranking second in the world behind China. We have made airports, turn-key in six months, showing our diligence and quality in construction world. For Ghana special, especially in sewage systems where intense labour is needed and helping reduce unemployment, Turkish construction companies can play a constructive role in Ghana.

Having Turkish businesspeople with us today, I would like to encourage them not only to trade, but also invest heavily in this booming country in various fields, including, agriculture, health, pharmaceuticals, infrastructure and so on.

We would also like to encourage businesses to explore opportunities that arise from the public-private initiative framework recently adopted by Ghana, which could be a very good opportunity for both sides..

Be assured that the Turkish Embassy stands ready to assist Ghanaian businesses interested in Turkey, as well as Turkish businessmen interested in Ghana. There is no protocol at the Embassy, just call my PA one hour earlier before you come, so as to make sure I am in my office.

I would also take this opportunity to call on the Honourable Ministers to communicate to us any project or sector, where they believe Turkish-Ghanaian cooperation could make a difference.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Before ending my speech, I would like to thank once again our Honourable Ministers supporting us, and our Ghanaian hosts for joining us today, and last, but not least, like to pay tribute to the dynamism of the private sectors of both countries.

Indeed, the intensification in our bilateral economic relations is not only due to political will, but to the hard work of our businessmen, and I would like to congratulate especially TUSKON for all their successful initiatives to this end. I am sure that our exploration in these pioneering years, shall be crowned by joint welfare for our peoples sooner than expected.

Thank you.

BUILDING BRIDGES:

Enhancing Linkages Between Turkey, Islamic World's Premier Democracy and Ghana, Africa's Most Shining Democracy

by

Aydm Nurhan

Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey

Golden Tulip Hotel, Kumasi Ghana

29 September 2012

Dear friends,

I would like to thank

Honourable Minister Mme Hannah Tetteh for honouring us tonight,

Mr. Richard Adjei Mensah Ofori Atta, Executive Director of Eon 3
Company the architect of this event, and

Mr. George Aboagye (C E O - Ghana Investment Promotion Centre)

And the leaders and the friendly people of Kumasi

This is our first time in this wonderful city and I am sure, not the last.

We would like to come more often, with big teams of Turkish businesspeople
to this beautiful, green city, also the city of entrepreneurs.

Dear friends,

As our theme is building bridges, I would like to concentrate on the millennial
experiences of Turkey and Africa and how we can learn from each other.

As a brief information, we started history at the borders of China, they did not let us in :) so we turned our horses West all the way to Vienna and ended up in what is Turkey today.

Two important empires we had were the Seljouk Turks who are known for fighting the Crusaders, and the Ottoman Empire which collapsed after WW I, and in 1923, we turned our regime into a Republic. Then we became, as the title goes, “a premier democracy” and economy in our region.

How we did this, solely depends on the character of the Turkish nation, its patience, discipline and endurance in hard times, a nation which never revolts, and gains in the end.

And the most important characteristic of our historical civilization was “inclusiveness” where all religions and ethnicities lived in peace and harmony, just as we happily see in your beautiful nation, today.

This civilization of inclusivity enables nations to make empathy within, as well as for the humankind at large. I think, due to this common heritage of ours, we understand each other, perhaps better than some exclusive civilizations.

Hence we believe we have so much to learn from the experience, historical insight, vast culture, and the pristine wisdom of our African cousins finely distilled through millenia.

My dear brothers and sisters,

As I mentioned earlier, just as you had great states, we also had great states. Yet as we lost our power and riches, a lot of pretenders came and lectured us about modernity. Having this experience, we never, ever would pretend to be the lecturers to our African cousins. Instead, we would like to understand you, send our children to your universities for licence, masters and PhD studies.

As we open to Africa, albeit belatedly, we want to know you and get lessons from your “yet” unpolluted wisdom and civilization. We see Africa not only as the cradle of civilization and mankind, but also as the focus of the future of mankind.

As you know, capitalism has to expand continually, it has to create new producers and consumers continually, if not, it would implode. And now the final expanding field of global capitalism is Africa, and we are aware of the 21st Century version of the “Scramble for Africa” as the “New Scramble for Africa”.

Yet Africa is the rising star of the 21st Century, and our priority is the development of Africa in every essential field. We would like to invest in labour intensive fields wherever possible. Honestly speaking, merchants are not angels, and they go for their profits. Yet we want our entrepreneurs to go honestly for a win win deal with their African partners. And the entrepreneurs expect businessfriendly bureaucracies. I think, in Ghana, traditional Chieftancy is in a good position to encourage FDI in the development of their regions.

Soon, our Eximbank Vice President and my Commercial Counselor shall be talking about Turkish economy, how the once bankrupt economy of Turkey became the sixth largest economy of Europe and the sixteenth of the world.

But first let me express how I see Ghanaian economy. I can easily say that, except for the problems of the land regime in certain parts of the country, your nation is a genuine rising star with 24 universities, if I remember correctly, a wonderful asset for future human resource. It has the potential of being an economical and political beacon for her neighbours, radiating her energy into her environment.

Once investors settle in Ghana, together with their Ghanaian partners, they can gradually spread out to neighbouring countries. I think Ghana with 25 million inhabitants, has an ideal population for an effective economy too.

We do know with regret that African countries are doing only 10% of their commerce among themselves. One of the most important handicaps is the poor infrastructure, especially poor road networks among the nations, even within national regions.

As Turkey is the second in the world construction sector, we would like to share our experience with you in the field of infrastructure, perhaps constructing highways between Ghana and her neighbours.

Our Eximbank Deputy Director and the Honourable Finance Minister just signed a 135 million dollar agreement yesterday for the water projects of Akim Oda, Akwatia and Winneba. I am sure more would be coming.

As for politics, Turkey has no intention what so ever to interfere in the politics of Ghana, take sides, give it lessons or try to manipulate it. We, without prejudice, want to deal with all Ghanaians, be they ordinary citizens, businesspeople, artists or politicians. We would try our best to bring Turkish groups to Ghana, as well as inviting Ghanaians to Turkey.

Swiftly opening to Africa with more than thirty Embassies, and in dire need to have first hand direct knowledge, we would like to invite many of your dignitaries and academics from a variety of your social and political spectrum, for lectures to tell us about you.

With our more than hundred schools, including universities in Africa, we are trying to add to the education of the youth of Africa, they are our sons and daughters in the common destiny of our global village.

We also give scholarships to African students for Turkish universities, while having Ghanaian teachers to teach Turkish students in Turkey.

Before coming to Kumasi, I asked our Galaxy school principal in Accra if he had any message to Kumasi, and he said they are contemplating to open a school in Kumasi too.

As for another field of cooperation, Turkey, with 31 million tourists a year, is one of the leading countries in the world, and we can also work together for this field.

And lastly, I want to give you the good news that I just received from my headquarters. As of today, all Ghanaian businesspersons who have USA, British, EU or OECD country visas, shall be eligible to get five year valid, multiple visas from the Turkish Embassy in Accra.

To end my speech here, I would say that we are just starting, we would like to have more organizations in Kumasi, the commercial hub of Ghana.

Taking this opportunity, once again, I thank our Honourable Minister Mme Hannah Tetteh,

Mr. George Aboagy (C E O - Ghana Investment Promotion Centre),

and Mr. Richard Adjei Mensah Ofori Atta and our august audience for this fruitful meeting.

EMPATHY

speech delivered

by

Aydın Nurhan

Ambassador

on the occasion of the 89th Anniversary of the Republic of Turkey
Accra, 29 October 2012

The Honourable Minister for Defence Lt. Gen. Joseph Henry Smith,
Members of Parliament,
Colleagues in the Diplomatic Corps,
H.E. former President John Kufuor,
Niimeɪ, Naameɪ,
Academicians, Members of the Media,
Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

I thank you all for joining us this evening to celebrate the 89th anniversary of our regime change from Empire to Republic.

This evening, I also want to acknowledge two distinguished guests from Turkey, Mr. Suleyman Sensoy, President of TASAM, the most influential think tank of Turkey, and his Vice-President, retired Ambassador Engin Oba who are here for an exploratory visit for the possibilities of joint projects with Ghana.

Dear Guests,

As we are newly opening to Western Africa, I would like to give you a brief information on our history. To start with, and with due respect to my

Chinese colleague, I would like to tell you that we started history at the borders of China, they did not let us in :) so we turned our horses West all the way to Vienna and ended up in what is Turkey today.

Two important empires we had were the Seljouk Turks who are known for having fought the Crusaders, and the six hundred years of Ottoman Empire which collapsed with WW I, after which, our founding father Kemal Atatürk established our Republican regime on the ashes of our collapsed state.

As we were among the early collapsing empires of the 20th Century, 21st Century smiles to us as a rising star with over a trillion dollars in purchasing power parity.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have a propensity to boast with our economic numbers and foreign aid statistics in various fora. Perhaps, as I just did a few seconds ago with our PPP, it is out of a psychology to impress my audiences. But this evening, I want to speak to you with concepts rather than numbers.

Firstly, I want to refer to the wonderful reading I just finished on my Kindle. The book “My First Coup D’etat” by H.E. the President.

It had such a beautiful literary style, but also reminded me of the road we walked in Turkish democracy and economy. I saw many parallels in our stories of development, and empathy was so easy to build.

Just like Ghana, Turkish Republic is on the rise in every field, and it all happened in my lifetime, as was so with H.E. the President. There were starving people in Turkey during World War I. Only 10% of our people were literate in 1920s. We had few quality roads. As our Empire collapsed, our economy was bankrupt, with nearly no industry at all. We had few educated people, yet apart from government, we had nearly no entrepreneurs to employ the educated.

As the economy was outmoded and closed to the world, corruption was rampant. Some of the early entrepreneurs took advantage of our people, collaborating with bureaucracy, they got very rich. Later, during military juntas they robbed Turkish banks in billions of dollars. Our inflation skyrocketed to 200 percents. We did not know what export meant, except for some traditional crops like tobacco and cotton.

Politically we were under the spell of social positivism, the intellectual fashion of the era. This wind brought the inclusive civilisation of Turks to an

abrupt end. Social groups were put under microscope for analysis, and cleavage points were hunted in every angle of the society.

Then we had to deal with bureaucracy, the millennial ruling class coming down from the Ottoman Empire, reluctant to transfer power to democratically elected governments.

Just like in your Republican history, we hanged our politicians and our youth, had long queues for essential foodstuff, and worker remittances were band aid to our empty foreign currency coffers. We even had trotros like your's, and still have them. We call them dolmush.

As for foreign policy, we suffered allegations of human rights abuses. We took sincere ones by heart and tried to improve ourselves. Yet, today, Turkish diplomats still keep the sad memories of the use of human rights as a political weapon against us, moreover as instruments of economic blackmail.

Then, after a series of military coups, came late President Turgut Ozal in 1980s, and opened Turkey to the global village. That was a painful transformation. Yet, the secret of our economic success lies in the patience of the Turkish nation. We did not revolt even in our toughest moments.

As we are known historically as a soldier nation, now we use that soldier discipline in industry, and this asset attracts billions of dollars of investment into our country. Discipline and Scientific Management bring great economic success for us.

Another secret of our success is our small and medium enterprises which create millions of jobs at the grassroots. Thinking of conglomerates using robots, and doing business at top bureaucratic levels internationally, which in the end donot reflect enough to grassroots welfare, we try to boost our small and medium sized rural enterprises and urge them to open to the outer world.

And now, these small entrepreneurs are turning over their businesses to their children, the second generation with global vision, who are educated at Harvard and other prestigious universities of the world.

As for our relations with Ghana, if I may again borrow the concept from H.E. Mahama's book, we are like siblings who have lost each other and met again. Everything from politics to economics among us move so naturally, spontaneously that some see it miraculous. Turkish Airlines is full with Ghanaians and Turks, seven days a week, visiting each others' countries.

Politically, Turkey has no intention what so ever to interfere in the politics of Ghana, take sides, give it lessons or try to manipulate it. We, without prejudice, want to deal with all Ghanaians, be they ordinary citizens, businesspeople, artists or politicians. We would try our best to bring Turkish groups to Ghana, as well as inviting Ghanaians to Turkey.

Swiftly opening to Africa with more than thirty Embassies, and in dire need to have first hand direct knowledge, we would like to invite many of your dignitaries and academics from a variety of your social and political spectrum, for lectures to tell us about you.

When I first came to Ghana, I had the impression that Ghana would be the Dubai of West Africa. And now the Turkish entrepreneurs and Media talk of Ghana as the Dubai of West Africa.

Ghana was a beacon under Osagyefo, and with her stability, economy and democracy, it seems to be a shining beacon again in 21st Century.

Ending my speech, I would like to raise my glass for the wellbeing of H.E. the President John Dramani Mahama and the Government and the friendly people of Ghana.

Long Live Ghana, Long Live Turkey, Long Live our Friendship.

| *Australian Institute of International Affairs*

TURKEY: BRIDGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST?

by

Aydm Nurhan

Consul-General of the Republic of Turkey

Melbourne, 17 November 2010

Dear Friends,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to start by thanking my dear friend, Honourable Michael Mc.Kellar and his colleagues at our Institute for giving me the opportunity, and the honour to speak a second time at this highly esteemed club, OUR club, that I am proud to be a member of.

I would also like to thank my co-speaker Dr. Luca Anceschi for his insightful remarks on Turkey's place in the global village.

As some of you may remember, my last presentation on Turkey was a bit controversial, this time I want to be even more controversial and stir up your brains and imaginations for a hot Q&A session.

Let's see what we can do together. ☺

Firstly, the question:

Is Turkey...

- “A Bridge between East and West?”

A civilization and a geography to be stepped upon and manipulated by Easterners and Westerners, Southerners and Northerners?

or

- A member of the Western family?

or,

- Member of the Islamic world?

- Possible member of (TRIU) Turkey Russia Iran Ukraine group?

- The Neo-Ottoman, or more correctly speaking, re-naissance of the economic zone of Eastern Roman Empire?

or,

- A pivotal emerging power in her own right radiating her economic and political influence from the Balkans to the Caucasus, to the Middle East and Central Asian Turkic States?

These are the questions asked by friend and foe who see the swift rise of the Turkish Republic from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire to the 17th place in world economy, and still rising.

To start with, let me tell you that I will not be apologetic, trying to convince our Western friends that we are with them. And this is in spite of the implicit threat, “If you are not with us, you are against us” of some of Western media and strategic institutions.

That is an archaic Biblical approach, and a dangerous one for the interconnected global village. In diplomacy, to befriend some family in the global village does not necessitate the enmity of the other family or families just because they have differing lifestyles! We come from a civilization, philosophy of which was “**co-survival in harmony**”.

Now, let us see what we have in our agenda in the 21st Century.

Are we heading to a

- Uni-polar world?
- Bi-polar world?
- Multipolar world?

Which one worked best in history?

Which would work best in 21st Century?

- How about Bush and Begin Doctrines of pre-emptive strike?

Would any regional or global emerging military power, to challenge that of the USA and Israel be tolerated?

- In the volatile age of information and quantum leaps in innovations, how long can the USA keep supremacy in military electronic technology? In economy? Most importantly, global legitimacy?

From our historical experience, we may, to some extent, predict how responsible Turkey, Russia, Britain or Germany would behave with great power. But it is very hard for us to estimate how China or India would act with great power. How can they convince us that they would act as responsible great powers in 21st Century?

- As the world economic weight is moving to Asia-Pacific, would rising powers, or declining powers.. pose a greater threat to mankind with nuclear weapons?

- As Eastern and Southern peoples wake up to the material goods of this world and cannot get them quickly, they may uprising resembling European uprisings of 19th Century.

- As Europe and USA lose competition in global labor wage wars, and their middle classes erode, they may have social upheavals too.

- Both upheavals from two different starting points may lead to similar totalitarian, fascist regimes in 21st Century, a nightmare for our children and grandchildren.

The reason I spent so much time phrasing these questions asked by strategists all around the world, was to draw the parameters of discussing Turkey's place in the global village.

Now we can start on Turkey.

For Turkey 101, I should give you a brief explanation on Turkish identity.

We started history at Chinese border, our Turkish speaking Uighur cousins still there. Turkish language is Ural-Altaic, in the same family with Korean and

Japanese. Not permitted in by the Chinese to go East anymore, we always went West, still forcing the gates of Europe.

Among the many Turkish states in history, Seljouk Empire who fought against Crusaders, and Ottoman Empire are the most important. Ottomans became a real empire after they took Istanbul. Hence it would not be possible to have a full grasp of Ottoman State mechanism and Civilization without knowing Byzantine history. Add to this the 10.000 years of vertical history of Asia Minor, and you get contemporary Turkish racial and civilizational mix.

QUESTION OF ISLAM

Now, let's go direct into the heart of the most important contemporary question in the minds of our Western Allies. The question of Islamic Religion versus Turkish politics. And the best approach to this issue is to look for the **theory and practice of islamic civilization** in history, to make a sound projection to our future.

As against the exclusive character of Western Civilization, Islamic theory **lets non-muslims be themselves**, and starting with Prophet Muhammed and Umayyads, Umayyads of Spain, Abbasids, Seljouk and Ottoman Empires, all practiced this teaching. This was the philosophy of **“co-survival in harmony”** in practice.

European Union making a trial of **“multi-kulti”** for just about half a century, and throwing the towel with Angela Merkel's recent words, versus the historical theory and practice of Islamic civilization, I challenge my European friends on the possible behaviour of Europe, how unemployed and demoralized European youth would behave in the near future against **gast-arbeiters of “other lifestyles”** among them, especially as Thilo Sarrazin a top German Central Bank officer says in his recent bestseller book that muslims in Germany are an inferior people. Let him slumber as Turks rise...

In spite of the inability of Europe for co-existing with other lifestyles and multiculturalism, and the global power is shifting Eastwards, we still want to join with an ageing Europe having curved the zenith, because it is our historical course, our destiny.

In our procession Westward, we joined Persian civilization in its decline, we joined Arab Islamic civilization in its decline, we joined Byzantine Empire in its decline... We gave them the kiss of life, and became catalyzers

of extending what was left of their civilizations, with a new vigor, made a harmonious synthesis, resulting as the all inclusive Ottoman Civilization.

Some European brains like Swedish Historian Gunnar Wetterberg already are looking for alternative regional groupings for a decomposition of EU.

Yet the Turkish Republic on the rise is for a united Europe, and if we join, we would work for the unity and vitality of Western civilization. Not because Europeans want it. But because we want it.

INTERNAL POLITICS

Ottoman state system, as against the feudal, later, class based capitalist European system, was based on Plato's ruler class and the ruled. This Ottoman practice continued in the Republic until the Anatolian peasants accumulated capital, industrialized and opened to the global market. Now this new, young, many American educated globalized merchant bourgeoisie, with its conservative historical values, **religion included**, is challenging the quasi-westernized local elite for the transfer of state power in a democratic way.

Now, for the Western strategists who fear the transfer of power to this young, global merchant bourgeoisie, taking small family businesses over from their conservative fathers, I would ask whether Weberian Protestant merchants risked their commercial interests with closing in and live in enmity with the global community.

As President Obama said after G 20 Seoul Summit,

"You are seeing a situation where a host of other countries are doing well and coming into their own and they are going to be more assertive in terms of their interests and ideas,"

Similarly, last Wednesday, Hon. Malcolm Fraser, addressing our club said, *"If we believe in democracy, we have to accept the outcome."* Two sound judgments from two wise statesmen.

This is the game of democracy, democracy reflects the culture, civilization, simply lifestyles of peoples, both in internal politics and external. Yes, we Turks will assert our historical, traditional values and interests more, yet in merchant mentality of win win.

Last week, Hon. Malcolm Fraser, also said that "Great Powers always act on their own interests". Well said. And smaller powers of the jungle of international relations acknowledge the interests of the lions, yet want their

just shares even if they are in a lawless jungle. And the ultimate power of great states lies not in their muscles but in their legitimacy.

And now let us talk about loyalty.

The crucial question, a dilemma so-said for Turkey. If Turkey wants to stay in NATO, she should prove her loyalty to the West when trapped between the interests of Western allies and those of her muslim neighbours. Here I want to tumble the question to that of the loyalty of our allies to Turkey. Provided our allies value Turkish friendship seriously. If not, this whole speech is useless.

Start with Iraq. Bush Jr. And Tony Blair lied to NATO members in starting war against Iraq. And Turkey had a very hard time rejecting the tremendous pressure to join in the invasion. Now, in this miserable enterprise, whose loyalty should be tested to whom?

Secondly, we are fighting PKK terrorists since 25 years, and billions of PKK dollars were robbed from Turks and Kurds in Europe, and toured among EU banks, and our NATO allies had deaf ears to our appeals, European Intelligence services playing unawares of the banditry and support for terrorism in their midst. Their reluctance is an insult to our intelligence. As we give full support to our NATO allies on so-called "Islamic" terrorism, they discriminate between "my terrorist and your terrorist".

A similar attitude comes in our problems with Armenia. We are in NATO and Armenia is not. Yet in our problems, American and European sentiments are still with Armenia against Turkey, as was in World War I. Where does loyalty belong?

Take another example.

Recently, Israeli soldiers killed an American youth of Turkish descent, on peace flotilla to Palestinians, yet our NATO ally USA sided with Israel against Turkey. We may guess the reasons behind US administration's apprehension in protecting her muslim citizens against Israel. Yet NATO is supposed to support a member, whose ship has been attacked on high seas and her 10 subjects murdered by a non-member state. Loyalty to whom?

And the last example.

The dispute between Israel and Iran.

Why should it involve NATO? Iran is a nation with millennial, predictable state tradition, and not so insane to declare war on NATO, the collection of the

most horrible annihilation firepower in human history. And some of our NATO allies imply that Turkish attitude in missile shield against Iran will be a test case of Turkish loyalty to NATO.

Although we have ideological differences, we have natural borders with Iran, and our borders have not changed since 1639. Iran is a major supplier of our energy, and college kids would tell you that gas and oil are strategic materials. Our allies, doing everything in their power to secure their strategic energy needs, ask Turkey to forgo her strategic interests. Would it not be double standards?

Turkish Foreign Minister Prof. Ahmet Davutoglu in Shanghai, told reporters that it was “out of the question” for Turkey to oppose security measures considered essential by NATO. But he added: “We do not have a perception of threat in our adjacent areas, including Iran, Russia, Syria, and other adjacent countries. NATO should exclude any formula that confronts Turkey with a group of countries in its threat definitions and planning.” (Radio Free Europe)

And the emerging merchant class is forcing the government for honourable interest relations with her allies.

Not only the emerging bourgeoisie, but the old establishment elite too.. The Pro-Western main opposition Republican Party MP and retired Ambassador Onur Oymen’s comments are an eye opener for our allies. “The US wants to protect Israel with the Defense Shield – She wants to pull Iran into war through Turkey with the Defense Shield project” a message clear enough to Turkish Government to state that the project was for protecting Israel against Iran rather than Turkey and NATO members.

The new Turkish approach might be a completely new phenomenon for our Western Allies who have been used to doing business with Turkish high bureaucracy rather than elected governments. Now they may mistakenly or intentionally read it as an islamic, ideological reaction, yet it is not. It is playing the game in the very European style **interest relations**. And the sentiments of Turks at the grassroots are eroding seeing such double standards.

Another important point.

Western media and politicians make so many negative comments on Turks and Islam, and think they get away with it. In the short term, yes. Yet

one serious outcome they cannot calculate is that Eastern cultures are verbal cultures, people do not write, do not speak out promptly, but keep their feelings inside.

In time, perceived injustices build up in their unconscious, and as in the recent polls, Turks rate with the highest percentage of dislike of the USA, to the surprise of our American allies.

Again, another important point, the ordinary Turk says that the West would neither want Turkey die, nor become strong. Just to be kept at the door of the West. And now, as Turkey emerges as a regional power in her own right, she wants her equal and just relations with her allies.

As you see, since start, I have been discussing Turkey's problems and relation with the West, because it is where we think we belong, and our sentiments should be heeded.

Relations with Islamic World

As for our relations with the Islamic world, we were together with them for a millenium. Just as Christian Europe has grassroots spiritual, sentimental relations among themselves, we cannot deny our spiritual, sentimental relations with the Muslim peoples, and it would be naive to try to hide it.

Yet it would not mean we would side with them when they do injustice. And of course, we would try to refrain our allies when they do injustice to them. In 21st Century, this is our intended mission whether you call it bridging or peace-making mission among Christian and Islamic Civilizations. Turkey's global legitimacy will be based on this balance of justice, I hope wise men would agree on this important base of global legitimacy for Turkey.

So said, we belong to the West, yet will stand for the just rights of our neighbours, following Ataturk's motto "Peace at home, Peace in the world" and its off-shoot, our present strategy of "Zero Problem with Neighbours". And for the sake of a peaceful region, urge our allies to be more considerate of this approach of Turkish Foreign policy and not push us to the corner for every issue of minor interests, or interests of non-NATO-member states.

And lastly, our relations with Russia, Caucasus and Central Asian Turkic Republics.

Turkish Empires had Orthodox subjects, Russian Empire had Muslim Turkic subjects. Hence we have a common experience and interconnectedness among our peoples. This joint experience may be a base of cooperation and stability in the Caucasus, Balkans and Central Asia.

Engaging Iran which sits on the much needed energy for the West, and on its passage way from Central Asia, Turkish-Russian cooperation, if not alienated by the West, may well be a strategic asset for the Western world for an unpredictable global future...

Now, I hope I was provocative enough for further discussion.

Thank you all for bearing with me.

GLOBAL COMPETITION

by

Aydın Nurhan

for Daily News Ankara

Simply put,

Globalism is “equilibrium”. Theoretically, under pure global economic competition, rich communities would meet poor communities at the middle level.

So, **Western farmers and workers** will lose, and they will protest globalization.

Secondly, the powerful and prosperous **elite of the underdeveloped**, closed societies shall lose their privileges as their peoples open to the global community of free nations. And they will also be against globalization.

A sharp mind may have caught competition of **“communities”** here, we do not say competition of **“countries”** any more.

The reason is, globalization is swiftly tearing down economic borders of nation states, and as in the example of the USA and the European Union, we see packs of communities and regions who are doing well off on the one side, and others not as lucky, though in the same country.

As income distribution gets to be harder to manage fairly, soon we may see packets of wealth reaching 50.000 Dollars per capita in some communities of poor Asian Countries, as against packets of 5000 dollar communities in post-industrial Western countries...

Today, speed of globalization and its complications are so huge that no human brain can manage to cope with it.

Things are getting out of control, and this is, paying tribute to Paul Kennedy, what I would coin as **intellectual overstretch**, and it is disturbing and threatening.

Industrial Revolution eased the need for **animal power**.

Technological Revolution eased the need for **human muscle power**.

Now, IT revolution is threatening white collar **brain power**.

As machines replaced a considerable amount of blue collar muscle power late last century, now the computers are starting to replace white collar brainpower in 21st Century. Even services sectors are firing highly skilled finance experts and other white collar personnel, shedding fear throughout the university graduates of the world.

Soon, the world economy may not need the millions of ordinary university graduates we produce, even turn them into very low class proletariat as unemployment climbs into 20 per cents.

As in the “Brave New World” of Aldous Huxley, top brains from the top elite schools of the U.S. may innovate and produce everything through robots and computers, demolishing the middle class workforce, the pillars of democracy of the industrialized countries.

This trend may bring the end of the purchasing power of the West, lead to social upheavals and terrorism among Western youth, even lead to the collapse of the EU.

As a case study, Turkish economy broke world record in 2004 with 9.9% rise in GNP. Yet unemployment stayed at the same 12% level, with not much wealth reflection to poor masses. Today, Turkey has tens of thousands of new university graduates unemployed. The reason? Technological efficiency.

Then the question comes..

Apart from the Ivy League elite universities for world’s top brains, why university education for hundreds of millions? Just for culture?

Which fields would be safe from the rivalry of robots and IT?

Tourism? Arts? Services?

What else?

Had this article not been a conventional approach, I would have mentioned about “**reversed imperialism**”. As would be remembered, Imperialism was an

age in which countries wanted to dominate resources of the world, and then captured markets to sell back manufactured goods.

What do we see today? Eastern peoples start sucking global resources, work for dirt cheap prices to manufacture them, and fight to conquer the Western markets. Is this not Reversing Imperialism in 21st Century postmodern world?

Eastern goods invading the USA and European markets reminds me of the Ottoman Empire of Magnificent Sulaiman, as he granted free commercial capitulations to European merchants, and as Mediterranean and European merchants freely dumped all their produce to the Ottoman lands at its most powerful era, gradually leading to the collapse of its economy.

But even this historical approach is soon to be obsolete. Blaming Chinese or East European cheap labor as rivals is not a wise and far-sighted approach, our horizons should be much wider and beyond.

Serious challenge from **artificial rivals, the robots** against human work force is much more ominous and nearer than we think..

In such gloomy picture, comes the question of modernity, postmodernity and religion in the philosophy of education.

How to educate the interest driven, “rights” oriented Western individual of modernity into acceptance of hard times? How much “duty” oriented religion education (Marx’s opium) for the unhappy, unemployed masses?

Strategic resources as Coal, Steel and Petroleum were the causes of the World Wars, now, this time, China and India with one third of world population, opt for the strategic oil... Are we being pulled into WW3? Any way to stop the trend?

Modern capitalism is based on ever growing consumption. If capitalism cannot expand, it would implode. So the industrial output needs more and more buyers every year. Yet, with spread of know-how, if every country overproduces the same cars, same white goods, computers and textiles, try to sell the same surplus to each other, then what happens?

Should we remember David Ricardo, and assign an appropriate production field to every nation? Or think of intersecting and/or concentric economic regions?

Empires secured commerce in vast geographies, whereas modern smaller Nation States blocked global flow of commerce by their strict geographical borders. Now nature is working back its course against this anomaly, and world commerce is forcing the artificial borders of Nation States in its modern form of globalization.

And the global capital is very sensitive, like the birds on the telephone wires, they gather very slowly. And with the faintest disturbance, they all fly away at once.

Then what do these birds want?

First and foremost, they want political stability and commitment, so that they can see their future and make strategic plans.

If the risk is high, they come in with high profit and interest margins. They come for short term gains, just to snatch big money, take it, and leave the country as soon as possible, draining the poor economies of the world.

So the first lesson for the developing states is that half-hearted incentives and half liberalism is worse than closed economies, it is a betrayal against national economy, because it calls in world's most corrupt businessmen, and let them drain the economy in short time.

Hence, if countries decide to open once, then they must open in full liberalism, give full security to capital, so that it may strategically stay long time, live with decent margins of profit and interest, and above all, reinvest in the same country, without feeling the need to invest its profits in other countries.

Looking back into history, in closed societies, businessmen did not have much freedom to move out, hence had to obey the feudal lords, or central despots. The more the societies opened, the more freedom the businessmen had to escape out.

And in 21st Century, you can see a little Turkish Doner Kebab entrepreneur deep in Kyrgyzstan. If harassed by local rulers, he can pack his doner set and fly into a remote African town. He does not have much to lose. This is real globalism. He can go anywhere in the world, yet with a restriction...

Castle Europe is, more than physical, psychologically isolating itself from global economy. A certain psychological barrier gradually shuns Eastern, even more, the Western entrepreneurs from going to Europe. This is a signal for the closing in and decline of Europe.

Now, localization,

First, take a look into transnational capital. As we all feel, metropolitan life is very expensive. So the businesses, especially to avoid high taxes and high salaries, are moving to smaller towns and suburbs. And smart mayors of rural settlements start a fierce race for inviting investors to their towns offering unbelievable incentives to them.

And once the business starts in town, modern feudal system starts acting.

Especially with heavy industries, or headquarters of big corporations, towns become one service towns, forgetting agriculture or other fields of economy. And now you can imagine what happens to such a town if the monopolist business leaves it.

This is the point where the business can impose all its will on the politicians and the people of the little town, just as the feudal lords of Medieval Ages. So the National and local governments and even workers' unions feel too weak to impose their terms upon the global investors.

Hence they have to figure out the limits of entertaining these neo-feudals, without losing their sovereignty and dignity, yet making sure their town does not lose the business to neighbouring towns. And this is the game of Localism.

Here we should give a special example of the Industrial Age, the early 20th Century American Economy..

When the USA had the near monopoly of know how and the assembly line, without competitors, it needed more workforce. The world was hungry for American products, like baby birds waiting to be mouthfed by their mother.

So every worker in the U.S. was needed, not for 8 hours, but more. And every worker had to produce more, per hour.

How to make them work? Simple. They had to consume. To pay for consumption, they had to work more. A cyclic mechanism from which the whole world was supplied.

Then 21st Century.. The post-industrial age..

Americans are still "homo-consumptionis", they are heavily debted by the plastic cards and mortgages, and to consume, and pay debts, they are still hardest workers and the most productive.

Yet the world is changed, in global competition, they **cannot sell anymore**. Because economic rivals can make many things better for cheaper.

American trade deficit is soon to force the limit of one trillion dollars.

As for Socialist Europe,

Paying tribute to Sultan Galiev, the Turkish Soviet Communist, we can say that European social security system was made possible by two factors:

1. Forced by 19th Century social upheavals, European States had to transfer excess Imperial wealth to European Proletariat.

2. Later, as in the case of the USA, West had the monopoly on technological know-how which the “Rest” did not have, so the Western proletariat had no challengers.

And today, both pillars are gone, and especially the French youth do not seem to understand this new global reality. And the European Governments do not know how to give something they have no more.

In 21st Century, EU Countries are in a very hazardous position in global competition due to their protective policies. Also, due to his high lifestyle, it would be unrealistic to expect a European citizen to leave his comfortable social benefits and go to Kyrghzstan to open a little kebab imbiss, to rival a Turkish peasant from a remote Anatolian town.

Let's look at the trend.

In early 20th Century, America was making white goods, the brown goods, the cars, the airplanes, later the computers, and was leading in innovation and services.

First, white and brown goods jumped into Europe and Japan, then automobiles, then computers, and lastly airplanes.

Did shift of the know how of industrial age stop in Europe? No, it continued Eastwards; today, every one of three television sets sold in Europe is made in Turkey. Plus another very high percentage of white goods and textiles in Europe are made in Turkey. Renault is in Turkey since nearly 40 years, followed by Fiat, followed by Honda, Toyota, and scores of other automobile, truck and bus plants, Mercedes among them.

Yet..

Will these industries stop half way to the East in Turkey?

Certainly not, technology is journeying Eastwards from the West, and already Pakistan and Bangladesh, not to mention China, are threatening Turkish textile industry, the motor of Turkish development since 60 years.

Technology of 20th Century moving Eastwards is known and accepted since long, and the industrialized countries are changing strategies to shift into innovation and services of the post-industrial age of the 21st Century.

Admitting the fact that blue collar jobs may be lost to the Orient, Western countries seem to think that they still have the upper hand in in services and patents due to their creativity and innovation based on their democratic spirit of freedom.

Here is a very delicate point, Oriental philosophy is based on conceptualization and indeterminism as against the empirical, categorical, deterministic mindset of the Greco-Roman tradition.

As information spreads in lightening speed with globalization, one wonders whether Greco-Roman categorical, analytic mind, or the conceptualising, synthetizing old Oriental mind may better utilize data they receive for innovation.

Having opened the subject, let us continue with philosophy.

Europe slept for centuries under inquisition, living for the next world. Then with renaissance and reform, it woke up to the benefits, comfort and luxuries of this material world, and came the industrial revolution. Then, came the 19th Century revolutions and social upheaval of Europe.

200 years after, the Eastern societies are waking up to the material tastes of this world, ready to sacrifice even ethical values for their material interests. It is nearly impossible for the European societies to sacrifice as much as the insatiable new masses of the developing world.

Awakening to this world, curiosity and creativity are emerging in the Orient, they are in the offense, and the Occident is in defense, at least trying to hold on to its present lifestyle.

Although curiosity and entrepreneurship is emerging, poor countries are still handicapped by an economic reality. As some capital accumulates in a rural location, it tends to escape to national metropol. After a certain size, it

then becomes global capital and escapes to other global centers of production. Here the small rural capital should be protected from the oppression of local despots to keep it at home and be reinvested locally.

Ottoman economic history is a good case study here, as the state saw capital as a political threat, it discouraged capital accumulation in the hands of the Turks. Non muslims, seen not as political threat, prospered. Now-a-days, we see similar trends in despotic developing countries where powerful international companies get better treatment than local national businesses.

Now, on national characteristics on global competition.

As nations get richer, they get used to comforts of civilization, and take them for granted. And workforces in some advanced countries start getting sluggish, whereas there are some so-called soldier nations as Germans, Japanese, Turks and Koreans who work with strict discipline under modern management.

So comes the Question. What is the role of religion and philosophy on the productibility of a nation in global competition? This Weberian question is catching more academic attention in 21st Century.

Quoting Karl Marx, Lenin had said, “Labourers of the World, Unite”, believing they were global brothers and sisters, and that capital was their common enemy. Today, desperate governments are begging transnational capital to invest and feed their hungry workers. Today, poor governments see capital as the best friend for their starving masses.

We are in an age where some politicians may be forced to unfairly protect their National Workers’ unions against the workers of other nations, even see rival unions as enemies. We should be very sensitive against such radicalism which may lead to **national socialism**.

Whereas on the other hand, unemployed hungry masses in national borders are challenging their compatriots who have been lucky enough to find jobs and unionized. So the happy unions, especially in countries where unemployment is rising speedily, shall be forced to think twice on how to treat their desperate jobless citizens who are ever ready for less and less salaries, and give a freer hand to capital in “easy hire, easy fire”.

Especially the use of “direct democracy” in global commercial competition would prove fatal in the hands of populist politicians. Because people tend to vote for immediate interests as against the long term strategic interests of

organized state apparatus. If every nation goes protectionist by direct public pressure in global trade, then the whole global economy would collapse.

Until 21st Century, one way to coerce a rival state was to put economic embargos against it. Now, it is the public democratic pressure on politicians to embargo foreign goods and workers. This grassroots boycotting may bring the collapse of global trade, leading to WW3.

Now a bit about the postmodern role of transnationals..

Transnationals like Nike already act as transferrers of technology and serve as Quality Control Brands outsourcing their know-how to the best subcontractors around the world, giving their namestamp to the best quality produced anywhere on earth. Standard and Poors etc serve same function in financial field, private legal arbitration houses to follow suit soon, replacing corrupt and incompetent legal courts of many underdeveloped countries.

In the near future, transnationals shall just make money by giving their name to any product that meets their international standard.

Last but not least,

States should engage philosophy for their global survival.

If we give religion, the opium of Marx to societies, peoples would be more subservient and this may be good for internal discipline. Yet, such meek people cannot support their government with democratic protests in its negotiations with other governments in the global jungle.

On the other hand, if we give them too much secular education based on interests, they would be fiercely pursuing their secular rights, threatening and paralyzing their governments to be irreconcilable in international bargaining, as we see in some European countries recently.

And the trend is..

As Homo Occidentalis starts experimenting the return to spirituality in 21st Century, the Homo Orientalis is swiftly jumping into an age of fierce materialism, ready to sacrifice any value for the material tastes of this world...

Can the defensive Occident cope with the trend?

No, it is impossible to stop Eastern peoples, the genie is out of the bottle, this was what the West wanted, and against the warnings of Sam Huntington, still urge the East to this end...

To end my article, I would wonder...

Is there something wrong with the pillar of capitalism?

The ever expanding consumption?

Is this a scientific must?

Or should we remember Plato to educate enlightened generations who may learn to need less, rather than crave to have more?

This article is an updated version of the speech the contributor had presented at an OECD meeting in Istanbul in February 2004. Original article may also be found in OECD site and March 2004 issue of journal "Vital Speeches".

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World Affairs Council of Michiana South Bend, Indiana

TURKEY AND MIDDLE EASTERN STABILITY: IRAQ, IRAN, ISRAEL AND THE KURDISH QUESTION

Presentation by

Aydin Nurhan

*Deputy Consul General of Turkey
in Chicago*

October 3, 1996

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to thank Prof. Roger Hamburg, Prof. William Hojnacki, Mr. Thomas Wrasse and your distinguished group for giving me the honor to share my views on international politics with you.

Looking at the title of my presentation, you can question my courage to claim authority on such a wide range of issues. But no, I will only try to give you a generalized approach to the events in our neighborhood.

Beginning my speech, I would like to give you a brief historical background for contemporary Turkish foreign policy.

As you may know, like other migration flows to the Occident from the Orient, we came to Turkey from Central Asia about a millenium ago. On our procession, we built many states, the rather recent and important of them being our Great Seljouk Empire (1040-1250) based mainly on a smaller geography of ancient Persian Empire, and our Ottoman Empire (1299-1923) replacing Eastern Roman Empire.

As against the lost relation of many of the other migrator societies to their origins, Turks did keep their original identity, and that is a very strong factor in today's Turkish foreign policy towards the Central Asian Turkish Republics namely Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan. We have common heritage, all speak Turkish dialects, and share the same religion. We may add Uighurs in Sinkiang in China to this list who speak nearly the same pure Turkish spoken in a village in Turkey.

With this initial information, I wanted to draw the Eastern boundaries of Turkish involvement in international relations.

Since Turkey is a member of the Western Family of nations, I should shortly mention Turkey's membership in NATO, OECD, EUROPEAN COUNCIL and Associate Membership in the EUROPEAN UNION and we have now full membership in the Customs Union.

As for Turkey's responsibilities coming down from the Ottoman Empire, in the Balkans, Bosniaks (Turkish word for Bosnian Muslims), Albanians, Turkish minorities in Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania all expect Turkey's attention, Cyprus being the most important issue since decades.

To this list, we should add the interesting Orthodox Christian Gagouz Turks of Moldavia and Romania and the 3 million contemporary Turkish residents in Germany, Holland, France and other European countries.

Having recently broken from the USSR, the Caucasus nations also request Turkey's attention and help, as Turkey is their natural window to the Western family of nations.

As for the Middle East, the main issue of our discussion today, let me start with saying that Turkey is surrounded by fire.

Geography of Asia Minor is the cleavage point of civilizations, religions and trade. It is one of the hardest geographies to keep stable and for nations to survive. Any nation on this geography has to have big, powerful armies, and deeply farsighted supranational strategies.

If we look around the neighbors of Turkey, Greece has expanded five times since her independence snatching pieces from the old Ottoman geography, still asking for more in Cyprus and the Aegean sea. Bulgaria has tried to convert the religion of her hundreds of thousands of Turkish citizens, now easing her policies. We all know the genocide in former Yugoslavia. Georgia is in internal turmoil, and Armenia has invaded Azerbaijan, cousins of Turkish nation.

As for Iran, Iraq and Israel, they are our main topic today.

Let's start with Iran:

To begin with Turkish-Iranian relations, perhaps we can make an analogy to historical relations between Spain and France. They have natural geographical boundaries, both have the experience of great empires, a valuable basis for a reliable, predictable and responsible neighborliness.

As Europeans fought among themselves for religious and political reasons, Turks and Iranians have done the same. One important point, Turko-Iranian border has not changed since 1632, which shows the real value of natural borders among states.

Remembering the border creations by ruler in the Middle East and Africa, we can better understand the value of natural borders for peace and stability in the world.

Given this geopolitical setup, Turkey and Iran, strictly speaking, do not have a STRATEGIC RATIONALE for a military conflict.

Having said this, we can now discuss religious, economic and political interests of the two countries, plus those of the US.

Political

To evaluate the foreign policy of Iran, firstly, we should read the Iranian revolution correctly. Making an analogy to French Revolution, we may say that Iranian revolution is a genuine grassroots uprising against the ruling elite, although 200 years later than France. Comparing it to Turkish experience, perhaps again we can make an analogy saying Turkish democratic procession may correspond to the British evolution as against French style Iranian revolution.

Iran comes from a very strong state tradition unlike other tribal formations in the Middle East. So reading the revolution as a simple religious zealotry would perplex our evaluations on Iran. Leaving our interests and our ideological

differences with Iran aside, I believe we should take Iranian revolution as a positive step toward peoples rule and democracy in so far as the initial support it received from the masses. Iran has the seeds to promise the second democracy in the Islamic world.

In his recent lecture at the National Strategy Forum of Chicago, I asked a high ranking expert of the US State Department if he could see any light of democracy for Arab countries, and he said none. And I further asked if the US had any inclinations for their democratization, again his answer was negative.

In the beginning part of my speech, I said Turkey was surrounded by fire in the region. Knowing European peace came with democracy and wealth, we must have the same in our region so that Turkey can feel safe in her immediate region. So my country sincerely wants democracy and peace for the region, and also an economic reconstruction of the wartorn countries. But American approach to the region is vague.

We should realize that the Iranian nation is aware of its interests, that is why they clash with our interests, and the sound solution is to try to understand what they want from us.

Of course this means we have to also ask ourselves what we want from Iran. Is it strategic? Is it something religious? Is it economic? What is it that we really want from Iran? We cannot just say they are a terrorist state? Then someone may ask us why only Iran?

The world knows that Hafez Assad of Syria granted a villa in the center of Damascus to the most bloody international terrorist Apo of the communist PKK, who meets Western journalists and politicians in that house every day. But we do not break relations with Hafez?

So apart from democracy, human rights or terrorism reasons, we should have more serious strategic reasons in dealing with Iran. One reason may be regional power game. A reason for double containment in itself. It may be their petroleum power. It may be their religious influence in the region. But still yet, we have to come up with a rational reason to tell our national and international community.

Dealing with Iran, we Turks vividly see that the mullas in Iran purely go with the political and strategic interests of Iran, and not with Islamic ideals. And as some other Middle Eastern dictatorships or sheikhdoms are far behind Iran in the process of democratization and popularization in state affairs, then

how sincere can we be as we tolerate the worst medieval regimes in some of them? And even be allies with them?

To sum up, Turkish interests lie in friendship, tolerance and cooperation with Iran. Since US policy against Iran is neither based on the worry of human rights nor democracy, then we should look for a strategy of real politik, and still yet we Turks have not been able to figure out the US strategy.

Especially at a time when we can integrate Iran back into our family as she was before, against looming threats to the future in different forms of dictatorships that might evolve in China and Russia as a possible challenge to the Western World...

Religion:

As we all know, Shia is Iran's national faith as Orthodoxy is to Greeks, and this factor was important keeping Iranians from assimilation by the Arabs after assuming Islamic religion.

And the Turks are predominantly Sunni. Why I am telling this, is that fears for Iran's exporting religion to Turkey are baseless, Turkey does not fear of her citizens converting to Shia.

Moreover, although religion seems dominant, national identity and nationalism in the Western sense is very powerful in Iran as against awakening nationalism of her 20 million Azeri Turks and about 5 million Kurds. So rather than a meek religious offensive, Iran is swiftly moving towards defense against a possible disintegration of her minorities and her geography.

So as much as Turkey needs Iran, Iran also needs Turkey's friendship and cooperation. Given her loneliness in international relations, her need for Turkey's cooperation is ever more important.

But this does not mean that Iran would cease efforts for seeking religious allies in Turkey for her political needs. And Turkey is alert against such tries.

As for Economic Interests,

Let me give you an example: Due to Gulf war, Turkey lost 25 Billion Dollars in trade with Iraq. Turkey has energy shortage, if she cannot get the strategic natural gas from Iran, her industry faces total collapse in the year 2000. Due to Bosnian war, her commercial land route to Europe got a severe blow. Armenian invasion of Azerbaijan cut her commercial route to Central Asia. Against all these current difficulties, Turkish economy is growing at a

pace of about 8%. If these problems are solved, can we imagine how Turkey, and also the regional economies would flourish?

Recently, in the Southern town of Gaziantep, Turkish businessmen held a rally against embargo on Iran and Iraq, and our administration could not sufficiently convince them of the reasons why Turkey supports the United States on the issue. European administrations had the similar problem.

Another vital interest for Turkey is her evolving relations and trade with her Central Asian cousins. But with the blessing of Russia and the United States, Armenia invaded Azerbaijan and cut all hopes for Turkey to Transit to Central Asia. Hence Turkey is left with no alternative but Iranian transit route to the Orient. This strategy will further encourage Turkish-Iranian economic cooperation...

World economy needs to expand, hence needs new-able partners that can produce and buy. So postponing Iran's, and for that matter Iraq's re-entry into global economy, harms all nations. For this reason, Turkey, together with her European partners, believes in trade with Iran, and ask their grand ally the USA to re-evaluate her policies to this end.

IRAQ

At a conference on petroleum at the National Strategy Forum in Chicago, I had posed a question on prospective Chinese interest on Caucasian and Central Asian oil to expert Martin Pranga. The lecturer replied that it would not threaten the Western world, because laws of economy force producers to sell to any buyer at the highest market value. If this is so, then why did we stop Saddam in Kuwait? He could replace Kuwait as the new seller?

If invasion of another country is such a big sin, then should we not punish Armenia who still occupies 20% of Azeri territory against UN, Turkish and US principles?

Certainly it is a sin to use force to get territory, and we should condemn all such actions. But since values do not mean much in Real-Politik, then again we have to seek deeper reasons behind the Gulf War.

So the regional balance game again pops up in front of us as a possible theory. Iranian power in the region became too big. Here, Western and Russian interests coincided, leading to support of Iraq to break Iranian power down. But then Iraq ended up as the regional power, then we had to break Saddam's might.

But several years after the Gulf war, we do not know what to do with Iraq.

Let's pose some of the questions:

-Can a gradual democratic calendar be drawn for Iraq? Or should we keep Arabs away from democracy for 50 more years?

-Can Saddam be ousted? Or is he the correct instrument for our interests?

-If Saddam gets ousted, should we prepare a milder dictator?

-If we abolish central dictatorship, how can Kurds and Shiites be kept with Iraq if they, like the Quebec people, want to vote separation?

-Do we want an independent Kurdistan but not give the same right to an independent Shiite state in the South? Or the Turkomans in Northern Iraq?

-Do we sincerely believe that *de facto* Kurdish entity in Northern Iraq is not the start of an independent Kurdish State?

After all these questions, come the crucial question. The famous Double-Containment. For how long can we contain Iran and Iraq? It is like the Egg and Hen problem. The longer they are antidemocratic, the longer their threat to the region. The more democratic they get, the more they will seek their national interests. Democracy with oil power will make them even more powerful. Then what to do?

We Turks believe that the swifter these two states are integrated to world economy, leading to their welfare and democratization, the better for mankind. Turkey is in a region of fire, and nobody is safe in a neighborhood in fire. If we do not help neighbor put up his fire, then that fire would jump on our homes.

Kurdish Problem

When we Turks hear Europeans warning us about the good treatment of our fellow Kurds, we, by automatic reflex, remember history. Starting with Greek independence revolts of 1820s, and continuing with Balkan and Armenian revolts against the Ottoman Empire, Europe and Russia imposed unbearable pressure on the ailing Ottoman regime with Christian solidarity and enabled the birth of new Greece and other Balkan countries.

Today what we see, is a continuation of those policies under the new motto of "Human Rights". States are not charity foundations, still yet they should not bear the guilt of turning these noble values into political weapons.

Historically speaking, this has been our experience and we want our allies and friends to indeed convince us that they pursue these ideals for the good of mankind and not for parochial political interests as they did in fresh history.

We Turks expect the European countries to convince us, to prove to us that they left their historical trend behind and they are real allies today, their hearts really hurt for a peasant on a remote corner of Turkey, or even in Iran so to speak.

Let me give you an example of a double standard. As European countries force Turkey for the emphasis on the ethnic differences between Turks and their 1000 year brother Kurds, they themselves do not let the Turks who have been living as taxpaying residents in their countries for nearly 40 years now, to enjoy basic civic rights.

Coming to the ethnic problems in the world today, we see them in two forms. The first one is the result of weakening central powers of once strong Empires, and the second is the ethnic conflicts in the new breakaway nation states on irregular geographies of conflicting ethnic identities and interests.

Kurdish problem carries both characteristics. Kurds are an indigenous ethnicity of Eastern Turkey who also have relatives in Syria, Iraq, Iran, Armenia and Russia. The biggest Kurdish population lives in Turkey numbering around 10 million. Having a common heritage with Turks of nearly a thousand years, they chose to stay with Turkish composition at a time when Arabs and Balkan nations were departing from the collapsing Ottoman Empire.

As a matter of fact, Turkish ethnic composition comes from the Byzantine, Seljouk and Ottoman Imperial mix, and today we can trace at least 22 ethnic backgrounds of the national make-up of Turkey. And Kurds are one of them. They number about 10 million, forming about one sixth of the population. A dominant majority is intermarried with Turks and live in Western Turkey. A small percentage lives in the mountaneous South East, and the handful of terrorist acts can not find root among them although opening tribal formations sometimes lead to different ethnic identity formation.

Still yet, like our American friends, we come from a melting pot, a harmonic synthesis of 10.000 year old Asia Minor history. A Kurd, one of the components among 22 ethnicities, simply becomes a President, Prime Minister, Chief of Staff, Foreign Minister, Chief of Intelligence, Chief Justice etc. as anyone else.

As the majority of Kurds have integrated with the Ottoman ethnic mix, the small percentage of Kurds in the harsh mountainous Southeast have kept their feudal social system until late Ottoman regime. With industrialization and transportation, Ottoman and later the Republican central governments have begun controlling the region, consequently weakening and break down of the feudal system and local hierarchy, a bridge maintaining stability between the Central government and the local people.

The swiftness of communication and economic explosion has not left enough time for the integration of this feudal group to the ethnic mix of Turkey. As if it were an internal problem, perhaps it could have been solved in wider timeframe. But Kurdish population scattered in Iran and especially in Iraq have rendered it impossible to solve the problem unilaterally and internally.

British and American plans for Kurds in Iraq after WW I, and especially the creation of a Kurdish zone in Northern Iraq following the Gulf War, has exacerbated separatist tendency and terrorism at the Iraqi border in Turkey.

After the Gulf War, US embargo on Iraq economy has put a serious blow on Turkish-Iraqi trade, leading to the collapse of the economy of the local Kurdish population of Turkey creating serious reaction and again fed separatist sentiments among the local Kurdish population of Turkey. Unemployment of the youth has led to manipulation of their desperation by the terrorist PKK.

Another factor, some of the Turkish Kurd workers in Germany were exposed to German ethnic nationalist philosophy and gradually built up a racist identity and started exporting those ideas to Turkey, Iran and Iraq.

In the meantime, Turkish governments have undertaken a \$ 30 Billion Dollar mega-project of 22 dams in South East Anatolia which has exposed the stable society of the region to a vigorous economic and social change. So, good intentioned government economic projects also have had a short term adverse effect on the problem.

What is important for Turkey, is her geographical and national unity and security. That is why Turkey is in NATO. Especially after the demise of the USSR, NATO's security concept has started a new evolution, terrorism and regional wars taking precedence.

Within this new role of NATO, when we look back to our allies for help, what we see is only "Human Rights" warnings and arms embargoes. Knowing Western policies favoring juntas, terrorist dictators, religious zealots and sheiks

in the world, Turks see these policies inconsistent with sincerity and alliance.

Turks also see the intolerance and outrage of their Western allies against even a single terrorist in their own countries, and start curbing liberties for just a few terrorist cases a year. Just to remind you.. Turkey lost 20.000 lives to terror!

These double standard approaches are creating exhaustion and pessimism among Turks, and by accumulating in the national unconscious in time, leading to political inclinations against Turkey's place in the Western Family.

As for the Kurds of Iraq, the US policy is vague. Operation provide comfort, a joint military mission of Turkey, Britain and France composed under the leadership of the US was formed to protect Iraqi Kurds from Saddam in the safe haven created in Northern Iraq. In the aftermath of the Gulf War 500.000 Kurds fled into Turkey, Turkey suffered a heavy financial and political burden to house and feed them, still gives aid to them, so it was to the interest of all parties to create the safe haven to send the Kurds back to their homes.

But then the aim went obscure. As time went by, the safe haven started turning into an undeclared independent state. This started to raise voices in the region since Turkey, Iran and Arab states were strictly against the formation of a Kurdish State in the region.

Then everything started changing all of a sudden with Barzani cooperating with Saddam, CIA agent Kurds leaving Iraq. Since we know all interested states manipulate Kurds, Barzani's move should be interpreted as his loss of trust in the Western countries hence hopelessly returning back to Saddam. And yet another odd situation came up where Talabani sided with Iran interestingly putting American interests in line with Tehran.

So all these mindboggling accomplishments leave the interested parties in the air. What to do about the Kurdish problem?

Turkish state policy is for a united Iraq, against an independent Kurdistan, and for a democratic Iraqi regime respecting the rights of its Kurdish citizens. And nothing more. As for the US policy, we do not know it, hope we can learn it soon.

And now let's talk about Israel

As sentiments between nations are the most important factor for strategic planning, Turks and the Jewish people enjoy a wonderful heritage of

brotherhood especially beginning in 1492 an era where inquisition in Europe and tolerance in the Ottoman empire were at their peak.

Jews had bad days with Europe, and had bad days with Arabs. But none with Turks and Americans. I believe this is our common strength for a lasting peace in the region if we work hand in hand...

Having said so, to begin with Israel, we should put a simple, solid fact in place.

America is Israel's special and strongest ally.

And America is the Judge between Israel and Arabs.

This fact clearly put, the most valuable thing for the USA is the **legitimacy** she has gained in the peace process.

Although the USA is firmly committed to Israel, she has been able, through time, to convince Arabs that she can play the fair broker.

The US can pull the Arabs to a certain tension. But if she pulls the tight rope too hard, too fast, it may break. If the rope once breaks, then her legitimacy will be destroyed, and force alone cannot restore it.

As for Israel, I think it is time for her to decide whether her foundation era is completed, her geographical and populational dimension is reached, or if she needs more. If she says her geographical and populational dimension is too small technically and strategically for her survival, then she will drain more Jewish people from other countries around the world, and ask for a bigger land.

Since the US is committed to the survival of Israel, she also has to decide about a strategic dimension and try to convince Israel for that.

The point reached through time, is that now Israel's presence cannot be denied in the region. Against all protest and rhetoric, **Israel is legitimate** in the region.

Her military might, including her undeclared nuclear capacity, is unmatched in the region, and US commitment is stronger than ever for her survival.

So how we see the problem from Turkey is that there is an Israeli nation, they deserve a home, it is their legitimate right to live peacefully in their country.

But we also think that Palestinians too have the right to survive in the region, it would be unnatural to expect peace without meeting their legitimate expectations.

We believe that with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, a vacuum appeared in the region, and none of the European powers could fill it. Then the USA entered, still yet the turmoil is there. We saw the same vacuum in the Balkans, again European powers could not fill it, again the US had to fill it. But US is very far from these lands, has too many interest lobbies in her policies, and cannot act alone to get solid results.

The latest Barzani cooperation with Saddam shows how vulnerable US policies are in the region. So Turkey, with her Ottoman experience can be a very valuable partner if her voice and concerns for the region would be taken seriously.

Turkey is a very realistic country, she is a muslim nation with secular state mechanism, trying to confirm her place among the Western family of nations and closely watched by the muslim world as a laboratory of Westernization. If Christian Western Civilization accepts her, then she will be an example and a bridge between the West and the 1.3 billion muslim world. If not, opposition radicals in the Islamic world will be proven correct about European discrimination.

So having put my sincere and candid thoughts, I hope I could be controversial enough to stir some questions for further discussion.

Thank you for your patience.

Seminar

(Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies)

Post-Soviet Ethnic Relations: Conflict and Cooperation

Almaty, 3-6 May 1994

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION STATE AND STATE NATIONALISM

Presentation by

Aydm Nurhan

*Senior Adviser, TICA**

Mr. Chairman,

Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to begin my presentation by extending my heartfelt thanks for the warm welcome and the excellent conditions made ready here for our stay in our brother country.

Starting my study for this Seminar, the first glimpse in my mind was the similarities, and of course, the dissimilarities between the collapsing Ottoman Empire and that of the Soviet Empire.

Since we are repeatedly saying that Turkey is an example to the ex-Soviet countries, I think transition to a “Nation State” is one of the interesting fields for us to make parallels so as to extract healthy and peaceful results from historical experience.

1. Definition of “Nation”

To start our subject on Nation State and State Nationalism, perhaps the first thing to do, is to question the term “nation”, how it can be differentiated from people, or a group. Among thousands of definitions, an optimistic, constructive definition may be;

“A people on a certain geography, bonded with the same cultural values for similar ideals”

Now let’s elaborate on the variations of this subject. Which factors strengthen the modern nation, which factors decrease the spirit of unity? Same language, same religion and same ethnicity, are definitely the strengthening factors for a nation. But! for a homogeneous Nation. For a heterogeneous society, emphasis on these uniform factors turn into a fatal divisive bomb.

II. From Empire to Nation State

A. State Nationalism and the Ottoman Example

A vivid example of transition from an Empire to a Nation State would be the Ottoman Empire. With the winds of Nationalism after the French Revolution, first the Christian groups started to stress their ethnic identity. The Muslims, due to religious unity, stayed longer in the Empire. But in the process, the more the ethnicities stressed for autonomy, the stricter the regime got. With this paradox, the Empire collapsed.

**TICA: Turkish International Cooperation Agency (affiliate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey for aid to developing nations)*

After the collapse of the Empire, the Republican revolutionaries had to redefine the philosophy of the State. They knew that the new State was going to be a Nation State, and the Nation had to be defined. In Atatürk’s words, the principle was, “How happy is he, who says I am a Turk”. The intention was to cover all ethnic and religious groups left on Turkish soil from the Empire and unite the people under the ideal of the citizenship of a Nation State, the Turkish Republic.

With this approach, Atatürk and his elite started to create a modern Nation from the top. 75 years passed the practice of State Nationalism, now we have a modern nation built on the ashes of an Empire that had completed its mission long time passed.

B. Nation State

In the process of transition, the Nation State should be taken in two categories. The First category is the ethnic State that has got its independence from an Empire, and the second category is the Empire that tries to convert itself into a nation state from being an Imperial State before.

1. The New Born Nation State

The Ethnic State has to stress its differences from those of the Empire so as to build a national identity and a union of ideals. Here, the new nation states are lucky, because, having been the minority in the empire, they have learned to survive centuries without being assimilated, and they, as ethnic and cultural groups, have a very strong solidarity and resolve to build a robust future. If they integrate other ethnicities into this process, they might win the future.

2. The Core Nation

In the same process, the imperial state goes into identity crisis. While still keeping its heterogeneous mosaic, it has to redefine its composition and ideals. Doing this, it has to avoid going back into imperial designs on the one hand, while keeping its ethnic majority from a reactionary ethnic nationalism on the other.

Here, lack of democratic culture shows itself. Coming from merchant bourgeois mentality, Western societies have learned to compromise without force from an authority above. Whereas in the new democracies, groups kept in harmony under totalitarian regimes, now have to learn to reconcile through concessions. Especially after the emergence of ethnic states, reactions built-up in the hearts of the majority, may lead to social explosions against other ethnic groups.

The trouble for the new Nation States shall be the ethnic minority left from the Empire. For instance, the process to change the composition of the national armies and the government officials which the communist

regime has created dominantly from Russian race, certainly will be painful. Here, all parties should act in responsibility, and cleaning one racist policy, should not bring more ethnic pain.

As for ethnicities, the Ottoman problem was solved by shifting populations by treaties between Turkey and the new born states. Later on, the process

took a natural course, and now, whether we like it or not, the minorities on all sides are small in numbers. As for the NIS, the solution seems to take some time. Double nationality, Voluntary immigration, treaties, etc. are all to be expected to stay in the agenda. But to observe one vital point. Any unnatural manipulation in ethnic make-ups, shall break the spontaneous process and bring chaos to all of the states, including Russia. Ex-Yugoslavia is a dreadful example ahead of us.

C. Economic Factors

Apart from historical-political process, another approach to transition from an empire, should be from the economic angle. Perhaps one rule is, “everyone goes with the rich and the powerful”. When state is rich and powerful, all groups are bonded to it and the almighty state is well equipped to cope with dissidents in democratic or totalitarian methods. But when economy goes down, everybody try to save their individual future and depart from the State.

As Ottoman economy was powerful in the 15th and 16th centuries, it was like the United States of its time. All religious and ethnic groups felt Ottoman, no voice of dissidence was heard of. Coming to 20th Century, the Soviet system, too, could keep itself live as long as it could feed the people. But with the economy, it also disintegrated.

Neither the tries of the Ottoman Empire to keep its nationalities in the cause of Islam, nor Soviet Empire’s efforts to use “Marxism” as a religious bond, could be successful. Once again, Victor was the economy and ethnicities, and not religions.

III. Nation State and Welfare Democracy

After this classical approach to the topic, now I would like to take the Nation State from the point of 21st Century pluralistic, welfare democracy.

In imperial state, individuals do not have much say in the vital interests of the State. The Sovereign, and his immediate circle are responsible for all solutions. Whereas Nation State is a political, democratic entity which aims the welfare of its citizens. Much to regret though, experience shows that the fragile point of this regimes is; “a pluralistic, ideal democracy cannot live in poverty”. So the vital factor shall again be a healthy economy for an ideal democracy.

In Turkey, we did not have accumulated capital in the beginning days of the Republic. First the State was the investor, then small and medium investors

popped-up, then the nation-size companies rose, and then the foreign investors came in. In this process, bourgeoisie was created, and they started creating their own democratic culture. In times of economic failure, army came to power three times. This experience shows the strong interrelation between the economy and democracy.

One optimistic factor for the ex-Soviet States, is that they have rich natural resources, and that if these resources can quickly be channeled into global economy, then they would not wait for a similar 70 year long painful process that Turkey had experienced.

A. Social Pressure Groups

In modern wealthy Nation State, it is the people, the citizens, and not the rulers that know the best of the people's interests.

In democratic evolution, first the people chose their political deputies, and did not care about daily politics after that.

Then the media and the powerful lobbies led the masses to where the capitalist system wanted to. Approaching 21st Century, individuals are learning to group together to protect their interests at social, sectoral and geographical organizations. Professionals, volunteers, workers, artists etc. are uniting their powers for either their own interests, or, at a higher ethical level, for noble causes. To the degree of their reaction, political fruits follow.

We can call this formulation as "horizontal Organization" that controls the classical "Vertical Organization", the political power.

B. Political Pressure Groups

In pluralistic welfare democracies, societies are presumed to have matured so as to rule their local municipalities and for that matter, collect their own taxes, build their own schools, hospitals, elect their local administrators, police, etc. Here, the central governments cannot interfere much in the affairs of the local people. In this system, the spirit of active participation in the local interests, proves most productive.

In the classic administration, people do not have access to daily functioning of the municipalities, and do not care much about the misdeeds, the collection of taxes and how the resources of the State is spoiled. It is the modern democratic ethic that forces the people to react, and the corrupt leaders to step down without waiting for the next elections.

A silent society is the least wanted group for a pluralistic democracy. If people do not show their dislike promptly, then the problems would build up, and one day, explode. Another important detail, is to show reactions in a civilized democratic manner, and not with violent street riots. This culture will also need time. Here, one thing is to be conceived. Any violation against the society, returns to the individual himself.

Another point, the people get the authority and responsibility on what their political leaders do. They know that if something goes wrong, it is because they lost control somewhere, hence deserve the consequences.

IV. Effect of Pressure Groups on Foreign Policy

A democratic society is also responsible on foreign policy, and especially wars. Among the wars, trade wars are going to take the highest priority in the coming Century. To give a case scenario, farmers of one country shall unite their forces against the farmers of another country and burn down the import trucks. Labour force in the automotive sector of one country, shall see the labourers of the automotive sector of another country as their number one enemy.

These accomplishments, in complete contrast to communist ideal of the brotherhood of all workers of the world, lead us to the interesting conclusion that as workers in geographically confined nation states, start seeing each other as enemies, the international multinational capitalist companies shall be the friends of the worker classes without frontiers, serving the communist ideals more than the nationalist labour unions and the farmer associations.

In fact, these hostilities have already started, their political repercussions have also been affecting international politics since some time. Other interest groups are in the making, and this is the process of the Nation State.

In this kind of new democratic decision making, historical-classical cleavage points such as ethnicity or religion or sub-culture, may loose ground to pressure groupings in different areas of complex “democracy of interests”, thus softening social tension created by ethnic and religious reasons. For the sake of pluralistic Nation Democracy, this may be an excellent process.

Much to regret though, as this process leads to a healthy Nation State inside, it will lead to radical international disputes. So here we can say that Nation States should be expected to be more radical against each other in a short future.

First of all, workers and the farmers of the rich countries are not ready to accept loosing the ground to newcomers with drastic price-cuts. Agreeing with the Multinational companies, the national labor organizations shall voluntarily cut prices against the workers of other countries, the states shall compete to open their doors to multinational investors.

This war will not be like the wars that the Emperors declared against each other. This is a different war. The smallest detail shall hurt the group or the individual, and the democratic reaction shall affect foreign policy promptly. Due to public pressure, the politicians, unlike a monarch or a junta, will not be able to give easy concessions to other states, moreover, they will be pulled to radical nationalist line.

Coming with competition, the relative decrease in the wealth of the workers of the rich countries may lead to great social explosions that may even affect their national stability, while disintegrating efforts for regional economic union among the wealthy, i.e. European Union.

In this war, we should be prepared to expect the use of noble values like human rights and environmentalism as political pressure weapons among Nation States for their economic interests.

C. Cross-National Solidarity Groups

Apart from the economic interests, democratic pressure institutions shall also be organized in fields of let's say women's rights, gay rights, environmentalists, cultural or religious entities etc. Here, the mediating factor for international conflicts among geographic bordered Nation States, shall be the cross-border international human values and the cross-border interest groups and unions that may help us to resolve the conflicts, and try to bring humanity to common ground.

Approaching 21st Century, the terms fission and fusion will gain an important place in the international agenda. As an individual identifies himself with his differences from others, social groups also need to identify themselves by emphasizing their differences From other groups. This fission, or fragmentation in parallel with horizontal and vertical pressure groups, is a healthy approach in a pluralistic welfare democracy.

On the other hand, again, like a human being, social groups tend to approach each other to escape loneliness and be identified by others, and

accepted into a group. This tendency of fusion is highly favoured by statesmen, since it is this social psychology that helps build and keep the nation in unity. Fusion is constructive, because any individual or group feeling as an active, participating, integral part in the make-up of that society will be on the side of the State.

Fusion and Fission act in double direction: As economy goes down, ethnicities tend to escape from the state, as economy flourishes, wealth functions as a magnet bringing not only groups, but nations together as in the case of the European Union.

Apart From their historical role, these two factors of fusion and fission may efficiently be utilized as pillars for 21st Century Global Union. Here the question shall be; How dangerous is compartmentalization in the society, and in the World?

The key is, “Less the central, government interferes in the local affairs of the communities, the more unity”

This principle seems to be the solution to micro nationalism and centrifugal forces which are leading the world into disintegration, vacuum and chaos in 21st Century.

If people can live in their natural groups, according to their philosophical values and choices, uninterrupted by totalitarian centralized regimes, they will participate and produce.

This process, supported by telecommunications, may soften ethnic problems, perhaps international problems would find new solutions, and not follow the classical historical line.

One last word;

“no measure can be successful against nature, hence human nature”

Thank you.

| Seminar

THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS

by
Aydın Nurhan

Senior Adviser - TICA
TEHRAN, 17-19.1.1994

Mr. Chairman,

Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to express my cordial gratitude for the excellent conditions of work, warm reception and hospitality rendered to us here in our brotherly country.

Beginning my presentation, I would like to give tribute to Great Islamic Historian and thinker Ibn Khaldoun. He has resembled State to a Human Being. He has said that States, like human beings, are born, grown up, mature, get old, and die.

Talking about the new born states of Central Asia, Ibn Khaldoun would be the first thinker that would give us an optimistic look to the future of our Central Asian brothers. They are born new, they have, a bit hard, but bright future to come. Whereas Twentieth Century has been the Century of the burial of Empires to the depth of history.

What has Twentieth Century brought to the Empires and totalitarian, centralized regimes? The key word perhaps should be **specialization**. If we look back into history, we see that great thinkers have felt responsibility to deal with all fields of science, philosophy, statesmanship and arts in their studies. And success was mainly based on individual works.

Entering Twenty First Century, **specialization** and **teamwork** are the keys to success. The modern society has sophisticated so much that even genii cannot rule huge countries from one remote center with a small oligarchic elite. They must share power with local democratically chosen administrators and technocrats who have specialized to the smallest details not only of social, but also of technological fields. If not, they collapse. And this is simply what has happened to the Ottoman Empire, and seventy years later, to the Soviet Empire.

United with specialization, **decentralization** comes as one of the basic issues approaching 21st Century. Historical totalitarian approach in statesmanship has built dictatorial psychology and individual decision making among the classic leader type. As societies have matured in democracy, decision making has started decentralising and got a collective character. Missing this point, again, is a vital factor in the collapse of the Communist regime.

The first failure for the central decision makers was in the field of economy. As liberal economy has forced the classic governments to loosen grips on the society, this has brought decentralization in economic decision-making. Subsequently, political decentralization has followed suit. Western countries have had this transition earlier due to industrialization.

Excellencies,

After having made a brief elaboration on the decline of the Soviet Empire and the birth of the NIS, now I would like to comment on realpolitik and relation between States.

As history teaches us, mankind comes through centuries fighting each other. Human being is after bread and better conditions of life. To secure these, they have made wars for thousands of years, personally and organized... Against nature and against each other.

To serve these economic interests, states, the highest form of political and economic organization, have created delicate political instruments and

diplomacy. They have developed policies as to watch the regional and global balances, when to fight and when to compromise. Since **States are not charity foundations**, they have also built armies and intelligence services against one another. To hit and to destabilize when deemed so. And of course to keep regions of influence.

Highlighting these realities, I want to avoid perplexing the minds with ideals put forth in many international fora, but which would not have any practical ends in real-politik.

Excellencies,

If we try to refresh our memories, entering the Twentieth Century, we see the replacement of classic Empires by the new economic powers, the United States being the unquestioned new economic giant. Following the U.S., we see Japan and the Pacific Economies trying to grasp bigger slices from the global economic cake, thus decreasing the traditional share of the European economies. This speeded up the need for **Fortress Europe**. The historical economic rivals of Europe became partners seeing the need for uniting their powers against the new competitors.

The complicated global economic network of the Twentieth Century with rigid interdependence between markets, necessitated international laws and instruments for the regulation of the economic integration of the world and brought new concepts in global politics as well as in military strategies.

The Soviet Empire collapsing due to its economic incapability, left NATO in search of a new identity. Europe went into searches of a European Army, European Community going into an open economic conflict with the U.S., whereas we see a third economic party in the Pacific, Japan being another economic rival in the arena.

If these three prospective economic blocks, namely the **Americas**, **Europe** and the **Pacific**, turn into politico-military blocks, what is the place of the remaining economies of the World, including the ex-Soviet countries in this new make-up? Can Russian economy with its present dramatic situation, organize an economic union against the already present economic giants? Or is it more likely that it be a prospective member of an economic block rather than itself being a leader any more? Or should it be supported as a balancing power against the rising Pacific?

Seventy years passed the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, division of the imperial heritage is still a problem in the Balkans, the Middle East, Cyprus and the Caucasus. Then how can we speculate about the immediate tomorrow of the newly dissolving Soviet Empire? Which of the following post-imperial models i.e. British, Dutch, Austro-Hungarian, or Ottoman Empire is awaiting Russia? What about the future of China? Can they survive economic dire straits together with the winds of decentralization and micronationalism? How responsible can declining economies behave with nuclear power?

We do know that Spain, Italy, Germany, Greece, Turkey, etc. had military or fascist regimes to pass through economic hardships. These totalitarian regimes preventing chaos in the short run, postpone democratic culture, doing more harm than they bring, in the long run. If such happens, should the Western democracies tolerate totalitarians in Asia for the sake of stability? Or would totalitarians, once getting the blessing in the beginning, carry their threat abroad to their neighbours with imperialistic intentions and get out of control? Hitler is still fresh in minds... Would the ethnic regions and groups be manipulated by totalitarians with chauvenistic intentions?

Since the armies of the new states have not institutionalized as the establishments in other developing countries, they may fail to fill vacuums when economic conditions deteriorate. Then the only alternative to the present regimes may be religious fanaticism (be it christian or muslim) for the angry masses. Are we ready for such possibilities?

A French scholar who recently visited Ankara, said in a conference that the West can live with chaos in Central Asia, but not in Eastern Europe. United with the rumors that the hot spots of the World are moving from the Middle East to Asia, we should have a special attention on the stability of Central Asia.

Excellencies,

Posing these questions so bluntly, is not to paint a pessimistic portrait, but to find realistic solutions to our present problems.

As I mentioned before, our world is pregnant for new economic, military and political formation. In the new set-up, the most threatening factor will be economic rivalries leading to closed politico-military blocks and the collapse of the economic system of the world.

To prevent the collapse, we need wise and practical approaches. Globalization and interdependence of the world economy, can survive by gaining new and able markets/partners into the system. As the American Economy assisted Europe and Japan after World War II, same philosophy should continue for the newcomers. It is not easy to accept creating new economic rivals with your own hands, but we have no other choice for the future of mankind. Otherwise, the economic system of the world would collapse due to greedy rivalries between rigid blocks behind strong walls. **Mankind does not deserve Economic Fortresses after the tragedy of Iron Curtains.**

Since major economic groups are the realities of life, we may try to build linking circles between these groups as to interconnect interests at sectoral, regional and other vertical and horizontal organizations. To this end, Turkey has started the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) initiative on the one side, while having applied for the membership of the European Community on the other. Turkey, again, is a member of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) as well as being the Chairman of the Permanent Economic Committee (COMCEC) of the Islamic Conference Organization.

Taking a closer look at the economic integration activities, we can first take the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC).

With the trend of regionalization, international attention gradually shifted from national strategies to regional concepts. A wide range of integrated regional groupings started to emerge all over Europe and the World. Besides the European Community (EC) and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), the Balkan Cooperation (Albania, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia) and the Baltic Sea Area (Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Russia and Sweden) and NAFTA (US, Canada and Mexico) constituted outstanding tries in this regard.

In this context, Turkey, considering her geographical proximity, her traditional ties with her neighbouring countries, complementary nature of economies of the region with its vast resources and industrious population, and great potential to develop into a weighty economic cooperation zone, has launched the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) for the deployment of common efforts to stimulate this potential. In Istanbul Summit of 25 June 1992, Declaration of Black Sea Cooperation was signed by the Presidents of Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine.

BSEC was not considered as an alternative to the already existing groupings in Europe, rather as an instrument directed to achieve a higher degree of integration of the member countries to the European and global economy. Application of Greece, an EC member to the BSEC is a clear evidence of the complementary nature of the project and its compatibility with other European groupings.

ECO, Economic Cooperation Organization is another important initiative into which the Turkish Republics have been entered as members. ECO was first established on 12 March 1977 under the name of Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). In 1985, it has been reorganized with the new name ECO. It aims the enhancement of cooperation among member states namely Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Tajikistan and Afghanistan in the fields of economy, industry, agriculture and technology.

Second Summit Meeting of ECO was held in Istanbul on 6-7 July 1993. With Istanbul Declaration, ECO has assumed the mission of creating an economic circle in the region so as to fill a vacuum among already existent economic groupings in the global economy. **It should be remembered that the decline of the Ottoman Empire had started with the collapse of the Silk Road due to discoveries in the High Seas and of the Americas. Since then, the vacuum in Global Economy between Istanbul and Beijing, and today the Pacific, has been waiting to to be filled. ECO, being an organization of Central Asian and the OIC countries, has the potential of filling this historical gap.** ECO, being in close relation with the OIC and the Islamic Development Bank, an affiliate of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, also is a good example of integrated circles of economic interest groups.

Another Economic activity where Turkey takes active part, is the Organization of Islamic Conference. The Conference being a political body of 51 member Muslim Countries, has entrusted Turkey being the Chairman of the Permanent Economical Committee (COMCEC), and Turkey organizes Ministerial Meetings every year in Istanbul to enhance economic cooperation among the 51 member States of the Organization.

Turkey is also trying her best to find financial support for the NIS. To this end, TICA (Turkish International Cooperation Agency) has organized on 8-10 November 1993 in Ankara a Conference on "Financing Aspects of

Development in Eurasian Republics". which has prepared the meeting ground for the executives of International finance Institutions and authorities of donor and recipient countries to have direct contact.

In the endeavours for seeking financial and technical aid to the NIS, Turkey has established relations with International institutions as OECD, UN, IBRD, IMF, G24, and EC, as well as national aid institutions such as (US) AID, (JAPAN)JICA, (GERMAN)GTZ, (ITALIAN)IRI, (CANADA)CIDA etc. We are trying to coordinate our efforts through triangular operations with these institutions and donor countries to organize aid to the Central Asian Republics for their soft landing into the world of freedom, democracy and market economy.

On 18 January 1994, TICA and OECD Development Assistance Committee are organizing a meeting in Antalya, Turkey, to brief the recipient countries about the methods and procedures for preparing projects for application to aid. In this conference, the Donors shall find a chance to learn about the considerations of the recipient countries who give a high priority to development with stability.

Excellencies,

The key to international peace is to enhance free flow of capital, goods and people so as to reach a global integrated market fully efficient. To this extent, now I would like to brief you with some of the substantial activities of Turkey towards cooperation with the ex-Soviet countries, priority given to Central Asian Turkish Republics.

First, I should speak of the Turkish Summit Meeting held in Ankara on 30-31 October 1992, which was attended by the Heads of State of the Turkish States. By the Declaration of Ankara at the end of the Summit, Economic Working Groups were established to seek ways for economic cooperation among the participating countries. Substantial results may need time, but we are determined and serious for the success of the Summits. And the second Summit is due on 21 January 1994 in Baku.

As being the very first country to recognize these countries and to accredit ambassadors to them, Turkey signed more than 100 agreements and protocols with the Central Asian States in economic, cultural, educational, communications, transport, technical assistance and training, banking etc.fields

in two years. Turkey has established TICA (Turkish International Cooperation Agency) in January 1992 an aid institution directly responsible to the Minister of Foreign Affairs for directing Turkey's contribution to developing countries, Central Asian Countries having the priority.

TICA has signed intergovernmental agreements with, and received mandates from newly independent States to prepare projects and programmes in fields such as agriculture, health, education, small and medium enterprise development, energy, tourism, civil aviation, banking and insurance, and foreign aid coordination.

In this context, "Project Execution Offices" of TICA have started functioning in Ashkabad and Bishkek. Other offices are to be opened soon.

Training and retraining programmes for officials and private sector participants have been launched in the fields of market economy, banking, insurance, external economic relations, public administration, etc.

In academic year 1992-93, around 8700 students arrived in Turkey for an education program extending from 5 to 8 years. Quota has been raised to 12500 this year.

In telecommunications field, equipment and technical assistance have been provided for the Turkish Republics to connect them to the international telephone and telecommunications system via Turkey.

Turkish Airlines have started regular flights to Almaty, Ashkabad, Baku and Tashkent, and many Republics have reciprocated air links to Turkey with their national airlines.

Turkish Television has launched Eurasia Television broadcasting programs which is intended to be the common Television of the Turkish speaking nations. We are working on a project for common productions.

In linguistics, Turkey is pleased to see the adoption of the Latin alphabet by the Turkish-speaking Republics which will definitely facilitate their integration with the modern community. Parliaments of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have already adopted resolutions to this end.

Some 5000 Turkish businessmen are currently investigating in the region for possible connections. Their commercial activities are under the guarantee provided by bilateral agreements on avoidance of double taxation and on protection of investments.

On 6-7 May 1993, TICA has invited the Chambers of Commerce of the Turkish States to a Conference in Ankara, at which the draft Statute of “Eurasian Union of Chambers of Commerce and Industry” (EUCCI) has been accepted.

On 26-27 November 1992, TICA has invited the News Agencies of the Turkish Republics to a conference in Ankara, at which the Statute of “Union of the News Agencies of Turkish Speaking Countries” (TKA) has been adopted.

In coordination with the UN, TICA has launched a project of sending Turkish volunteers to Turkish Republics in fields of professional expertise.

To name some more, TICA has organized University unions, scientific councils, training missions, etc. In joint project with OECD, US and Japan, TICA has established a tax training center in Ankara for the officials of the NIS. Whereas Bank officials from the NIS are trained in Istanbul at the Banking Training Center. In another joint project with the Italian Government, a training center for the incentive of the private sector shall be opened soon in Istanbul again for the NIS entrepreneurs.

In short, total aid Turkey has given to developing countries in such short time, has reached 425 million US Dollars, while credits reaching 1.2 billion Dollars. Remembering the potential of Turkish economy with respect to Western economies, one can estimate the responsibility Turkey has assumed by above numbers.

Excellencies,

I do not want to bore you with too much data about what Turkey is doing towards Central Asia. My aim is to convince you of how serious we take the transition process of the Turkish Republics.

With considerations I tried to explain, Turkey, having strong historical, cultural and linguistic bonds with the Turkish Republics of Central Asia, sincerely wants to assist her brothers in their hard times, with the understanding that their problems unsolved, the global community shall stay on dynamite and never feel secure. We believe that **no country would feel secure with poverty and fire in the neighbourhood.**

Turkey has been coming through similar endeavours, and we have our fresh experience fighting the troubles of transition. And we know our responsibility towards our Turkish brothers. Our main aim being cultural, we

give a very strong emphasis on economic relations, which we realize is the basis of healthy relations in all fields.

For Central Asia, there are good factors to be optimistic, educated manpower is the first asset for a good start. Rich natural resources are the second factor for optimism. The problem is to convert these factors into a healthy economic system in a very short time, let's say 5 years. The aid policy should be based on credits for direct investment and joint ventures with multinational corporations. Credits and donations should be limited to vital needs, and luxury goods should not be imported. Also hard currency should not fly out of country. After a quick investment on especially on petroleum and natural gas, credits can start to be paid to Western creditors. Recent history of the Gulf countries can be a good case study for prospective Central Asian development on natural resources.

If we can not succeed in a swift process, we may expect social unrest, repercussions of which may be spilling over to the global family.

A quick glance at the problems, we can outline the following:

Human Factor

- Educated manpower is available, but not enough entrepreneurs
- Bureaucracy has no initiative
- No authorized counterparts in Government offices
- Transactions take too much time in bureaucracy
- Corruption builds-up with inflation
- Lack of trust due to instability in economies
- Lack of Foreign language speakers (especially English)
- Spirit of joint ventures and corporations in small or big business has not developed socially or psychologically
- No human resource for modern marketing
- Unemployment
- Brain-drain

Structural Situation

- Outdated physical infrastructure
- Outdated technology

- Outdated legal infrastructure
- Lack of information on modern taxing
- Low quality production
- Poor communications
- Poor transportation
- No modern standardization
- Outdated banking, lack of automation
- Problems in Letter of Credit, transfer of currency due to lack of foreign currency
- Lack of finance and capital
- Lack of sufficient foreign investment
- Insufficient international credit and aid
- Inability to compete with external markets
- Problems in project preparation to get foreign credit and aid
- Insufficient international guarantees and insurances for export and investments in the NIS
- Unreliable statistics, lack of information. Neither available for local autho
- High inflation, continuous loss in the value of local currency
- Decreasing production
- Social and technical problems in privatization
- Environmental problems
- Dependence on Russia and interdependence among the NIS

Above problems should not make us pessimistic, since most of them are also applicable to our own selves as well as other developing countries in transition.

An important observation in transition, would be that the present economic infrastructure can be used to keep the interdependence among the Central Asian Republics in addition to their common cultural heritage, and Turkey welcomes their endeavours to form a Central Asian Economic Union among themselves. Such a union would assist harmony, peace and stability among these countries...

Of course, the motoring force would be the private sector, and mainly the multinational investors in channeling these potentials into global economic

system. Privatization and conversion shall create much controversy due to their direct socio-political effects on the society. Stability is a very important factor here.

So the responsibility for the Western, as well as the Central Asian Governments, is to try their best to clear all obstacles and prepare the legal and administrative infrastructure for the private sector. Here, we should act understandingly towards considerations of the local governments, and this is where technical aid enters the field of cooperation for the development of Central Asia in stability.

External pressures for hasty privatization of big enterprises and hasty transition to market economy may create serious social, political and economic problems for the new republics. Turkey is in a position to understand and address such problems more easily than some of the developed countries.

We should further note that the eventual political and economic orientation of the Central Asian Republics will be strongly influenced by present Western policies towards them. No doubt, a successful transition of these Republics to the market economy and pluralistic democratic structures, would significantly contribute to the maintenance of peace and stability not only in Eurasia but in the world at large and a prosperous Central Asia would also provide a meaningful contribution to overall global prosperity.

Let's hope the strong economies of the world too would not fail to answer the expectations of this important and strategic region.

*(parts of this text have been skipped in the conference due to time limitation in presentation)

A LETTER ON ARMENIAN QUESTION

To the Attn of Hon.

*Carlos Pereira de Lemos Honorary Consul General of Portugal
Secretary of Consular Corps, Melbourne*

My dear friend Carlos,

Thank you very much for sending your Professor friend's Pro-Armenian paper for my views. I read it with due consideration. My first impression is that he is passionate, convinced, engaged. His style is not scientific.

As for the substance, anyone with senses in Turkey says without trepidations, that we did kill Armenians. It would be an insult to the intelligence of world community to do otherwise, and we do not have such an intention.

What the Christian Western world does not want to see and hear is the muslim side of the story. And that is our sorrow.

Nobody in the Christian world drops a tear for the millions of muslims and Turks massacred and displaced in the Balkans and Caucasus in the last days of the Ottoman Empire, grandfather of the ethnic cleansing continued into Bosnia in our day... The problem is of un-ethical double standards...

To give you a practical example from our time...

To defame Islam is not punishable, it is a democratic right.

To defame Judaism is the greatest crime for humanity...

And the Western media and politician takes this very, very ethical.

Now, a bit of philosophizing...

You know me, my heart even aches for an ant, stepped upon unknowingly.

Genocide, ethnic cleansing and human rights violations are surely grave crimes.

And the reason for us to reject them is, so that they would never happen again. Yes?

Look at our day...

To bring “democracy” and “world paradise” to the human...

How many million Iraqis are displaced, how many killed?

How many Palestinians?

How many Afghanis and Pakistanis?

How many Tatars in Stalin time?

Not to forget the 1 million Azeri ethnically cleansed souls, at this very moment, by the Armenians, living in the slums of Baku .. TODAY Carlos. Not a Century ago!

Call these genocide, ethnic cleansing, massacre or “collateral damage”... These are simple, plain facts of “KILLING”.

In this world of real-politik, who sees or hears the suffering muslims my dear Carlos?

The US is hanging the possible Armenian Genocide Resolution as the sword of Damocles above Turkey ’s head, implying, if Turkey does not behave some day, she would even use it as a political cause to declare war on her.

Europe is waiting in line too...

To us Turks, this is not a matter of human rights. Today, as in the last millenium, there are nearly 100.000 Armenian illegal guest workers living in security in Turkey , and nobody even thinks they are Armenians, just as it was in history. No my dear Carlos... Issue is not noble human rights.

The problem is not among Turks and Armenians, neither our Greek brothers. I am a diplomat, strategist and university lecturer of a strictly secular state, yet I should not refrain myself anymore to say frankly that it is between “Secular” Turkey and “Christian” West! Crusader spirit is still alive and in full force, using the noble concept of “human rights” as a political weapon against certain target states.

This is the continuatuion of WW I with other means. Britain , France , Russia , the USA all manipulated and supported Armenians against the dying

Ottoman State, still supporting them against Turkey and Azerbaijan. Frankly, this is a hostile approach to Turks.

Left alone, we the children of the Ottomans; Turk, Armenian, Greek, Assyrian, Arab, Kurd, can solve our problems and apologize each other if need be.

We do not need lessons from the “exclusive” colonialist culture. Genocide, racism, ethnic exclusivity are all children of Western philosophy of modernity.

What Ittihat ve Terakki (Union and Progress) regime did was the result of the very Western Civilization of the era of Colonialism followed by racist fascism, the baby of exclusive positivist philosophy that deeply affected Turkish nationalist intelligentsia of the time.

Lastly, I lived in Europe and the U.S. long enough to observe whether they got any lesson from the Holocaust...

My dear Carlos, please ask your friend to replace the words “Turk” and “muslim” in European and American media he reads, by the words “Jew” and “Judaism”... He then should contemplate how bearable it would be, then honestly decide what horror is being done to my people in the Western world.

You know better that many people who speak of human rights, are just in the rhetoric of it, and do not feel the pain in their hearts for the silent screams...

You can tell your Professor friend that we do not deny history. Yet it would be naïve to think we are idiots to believe that the Western Parliaments are the conscience of the suffering billions of this world.

Just ask your friend, the “Professor of Political Science” what “Real-Politik” means, and he will know...

Thanks again for asking of my sincere opinion as a friend. You may fwd this msg to your friend if you want to do so.

Best regards.

Aydin Nurhan

Consul General of Turkey, Melbourne

| Australian Institute of International Affairs (AIIA)

TURKEY IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE AND AUSTRALIA

by

Aydm Nurhan

Consul General of Turkey

Melbourne,

20 April 2009

LET'S TALK TURKEY



Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to thank our President The Honourable Michael Mackellar, our Executive director Ms. Peta McDermott, Margaret Papst and also your

distinguished group for giving me the opportunity to share my views on international politics with you.

I. TURKEY

Original Geography

Turks seem to have originated in the geography around Baikal Lake, about 500 BC, then spread to the steppes around the crescent formed by Lakes Baikal, Balkash and Aral. Our presence in Central Asia can best be defined by “**perpetual motion on horseback**”.

Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Uighurs in Sinkiang in China plus many smaller Turkic populations in Russian Federation are our cousins who speak various dialects of Turkish which is an **Altaic language**, already matured during Göktürk Empire, in 6th Century.

Race

Some historians assert that ancient Turks were a **Caucasian race**, but king statues in **Göktürk** (552 AD) monuments near Mongolian Capital Ulan Batur depict the Göktürks with **Mongolian features**.

Whatever the origins, a race in perpetual motion has mixed with and assimilated so many races in procession to the West, gaining dominantly Caucasian racial features in the end.

We came to Turkey from Central Asia about **a millenium ago**. When we **entered Asia Minor in 1071 AD**, we found a 10 millenia mixture of local races to be diluted with, once again.

Turks are one of the **most mixed of the human races**, and Turks of the 21st Century can definitely not be defined in racial terms.

and a little joke before proceeding to our next headline:

When modern Turks go to Kyrgyzia or Kazakhstan, their ancient cousins meet them joking:

“We sent you to the West
on horseback
with narrow eyes,
and a millenium later
you come back on airplane
with rounded eyes...”

First Turkish State with the name “Türk” in it, was **“Göktürk” Empire, meaning “Celestial Turkish” Empire. (552 AD)**

Ottomans and Seljouks

Coming West from Asian steppes, we built many states, but two are of special importance.

Seljouk Turks (1040-1250), known for their wars against Crusaders, sat on a shrunken geography of ancient Persian Empire, as seen in the comparative map below.

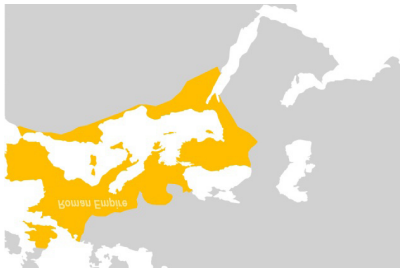


PERSIAN EMPIRE



SELJOUK EMPIRE

The following Ottoman Empire (1299-1923) sat on the shrunken map of the old Roman Empire, Fatih the Conqueror of Istanbul choosing as one of his many titles the name Kaiser-i Rum, the Caesar of (Eastern) Rome.



ROMAN EMPIRE



OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Religion

In Central Asia, religion of the Turks was **Shamanism**. When Islam started spreading in Asia, the first Turkish King to adopt Islam massively for his people was Satuk Bugra Khan of the **Karahanli State** about year **955 AD**. And the massive Islamisation of Turks was done in 10th and 11th Centuries AD.

Today, 99% of Turkey's 73 million population is muslim.

The State

Until the conquering of Istanbul in 1453, the Ottoman State did depend on Turkish bureaucracy and nobility. With the conquering of Istanbul, the era of the Empire started. Seeing Turkish aristocracy as a threat for the state, **Fatih the Conqueror eradicated Turkish feudal kings** and established a centralized state and merit system.

As historian Arnold Toynbee says, the Ottoman State was the nearest to the ideal state of Plato in the sense that its ruling “**devshirme**” elite was unique.

Major duty of the State was **external protection and internal justice**. Within this context, as was the “**INCLUSIVE**” practice in Turkish-Islamic civilization, the Empire embraced the nonmuslims (peoples of the book) too.

The Republic

As the Ottoman Empire lost W.W.I, Ataturk lead the people in a salvation war, and a new start, a new modern state out of the ashes of the Empire.

The new nation was called Turks, the concept of “**Nation State**”, the European hybrid baby of Westphalia Peace Treaty and later French Revolution, having been reached lately.

Today, we have a secular state with European laws, and in the process of synchronizing our laws further with the legislation of the EU.

Wake up

Let us remember that when the church took over Roman Empire, Europe went into a **millenial sleep, living for the next world**, then with renaissance and reform, it woke up to the material benefits of this world, and came the industrial revolution.

200 years late, the Eastern societies are waking up to the material tastes of this world, among them Turks. With late **President Ozal's reforms** in the 1980s, the great reformist

following Ataturk, feudal Turkey started to join the global economy tearing down the archaic, feudal, closed economic system. With economic awakening came the political and cultural opening to the global village.

Economy

Being called the **China of Europe, or the new Detroit of Europe** with car, bus and truck plants, Turkey has a thriving industrial base, gradually moving into services based economy. Until last year, Turkey had a very high development rate, averaging 8% for long years.

We are the 17th biggest economy in the world, (6th largest economy of the EU) and target to be among the 10 biggest of the world in the Centenary of the declaration of our Republic in 2023. Turkey's **direct foreign aid to developing countries reached US \$1.7 bn in 2008.**

Speaking of Turkish economy, I would like to present some figures.

We have a population of 72 Million people, and the highest young age ratio in Europe.

As of end 2008, our GNP is US \$ 730 Billion

Our foreign trade is US \$ 340 bn.

We are the 16th country in global imports,

And 22nd country in global exports

Turkey is,

- 2nd biggest manufacturer of flat glass in the world
- 5th biggest manufacturer of jewelry in the world
- 6th biggest manufacturer of cement and cotton in the world
- 8th biggest manufacturer of ships,
- 3rd biggest producer of yachts in the world
- 1st clothing, TV sets, and fertilizer manufacturer in Europe
- 4th biggest ceramic tile and natural stone manufacturer in the world
- 3rd biggest exporter of cleaning products in the world
- 3rd in world production and exports of home textiles

- 5th biggest fresh fruits producer in the world
- Earns \$ 21bn annual tourism revenue
- Turkey has 54 million GSM users
- Turkey has reached 18 million internet users in last three years

II. The EU

Let us start the EU issue with a communist joke.

During Soviet times, it was said that the Soviet government acted as if it was paying the workers, and the workers acted as if they were working 😊

Today, that joke is made on Turkish accession into the EU, some say

EU is pretending as if it will accept Turkey,

and the Turks pretend as if they will join the EU.

The truth is, Turkey's relation with Europe is anchored to the year **1354**, the year when Ottomans jumped into **Gallipoli**, then swiftly into the Balkans. Since then, we are Europeans.

Throughout our history, **our compass showed the West**, and our union with the EU will crown this historical procession. Yet Europeans have trepidations on our membership, because the Christian, European identity was based on the “**other**”, **the Turk**. Now, if the Turk, the “other” joins you, would it not create identity crisis?

Yet European Civilisation is an **Exclusive Civilisation**, with post-WW II economic welfare, it is newly experimenting co-habitation with “other” civilisations. It is too early to declare inclusivity and multiculturalism of Europe, the success and sustainability of European inclusivity will have to be tested through economic hardships.

Whereas Turkish/Islamic Civilisation is inclusive, had church-bells next to minarets a millenium ago, and has much to offer to the European civilisation. Turkey has a strong historic experience to make her predictable, reliable.

Interestingly, not very many people know, but today, with minor exceptions, Turkey is a full member of the EU economically.

Today, one of the important fears in Europe is **young Turkish population**. Yet Turkish population growth has fallen to 2.2 babies per woman, barely

above limit, which is 2.1 for sustainability. Soon Turkey will also need skilled labour import, and we will get it firstly by pulling back European Turks, then from Turkic states of Central Asia, and also from the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caucasus. To some estimates, up to 2 million illegal aliens, including 80.000 Armenians from Armenia, are peacefully working in Turkey.

And some Turks ask: If Turkey joins the EU, would she support the elderly of Europe with her young workers? Or as the Germans are doing, work hard and shoulder the burden of some leisure, siesta loving peoples in the EU?

If Turks can really enter the top 10 among world economies, would they really need to shoulder the burden of an ageing Europe? A fortress Europe which is showing signs of closing in with protectionism and tending to convert international socialism into **“national” socialism**?

As Ottomans went into slumber, Europe was vibrant and vital with wars. Today Europe is going into slumber where emerging nations are entering a period of perpetual upheavals. Yet Europe may also enter chaos soon.

Upheavals bring dynamism and vitality, bringing fission first, then fusion. Slumber can only bring fission. Some Turks take such considerations into their calculations for the future of the EU.

21st Century shows serious signs of going into an era of global totalitarianism.

As emerging peoples wake up to the material tastes of this world, they will want welfare fast, and due to frustration, they may revolt.

Conversely, as Western middle classes, especially youth, lose in global competition, and unemployment reaches 20%*s*, they may also revolt.

Then the natural reflex of the nation states will be oppression and totalitarianism.

And the threat to world peace would come from the historical trick. “If you have internal discontent, reflect it to a foreign enemy, create a foreign threat.” Such policies may seriously lead to World War III.

III. The Middle East

First thing for the Middle East is that, the vacuum the Ottomans left in the region, is still not filled, and the region is in constant chaos for nearly a

Century. The US is an inexperienced hyperpower and not successful in the region. The more Turkey recovers and grows in economic power, the more she can mediate in regional problems, together with her Western allies.

As for Iran, she was with the West during Shah's time. We must, re-gain Iran to our side as a strategic partner.

Here, we should remember the discoveries on the high seas breaking **Silk Road** trade. Since then, the link of global trade between Beijing and Istanbul is broken. This is a great loss for world economy. And to mend it, the strategic link is Iran. Excluding Iran, we are shooting ourselves in the foot, forcing our oil and gas flow Eastwards!

With Armenia, we have the same issue. US and Europe, together with Russia, gave implicit consent to their historical ally Armenia invading 20% of Azerbaijan, hence strategically cutting Turkish Azeri route to Central Asia, again shooting themselves in the foot. Now the West is at Russian and Iranian mercy for its energy...

The term "Islamic Terror"

As we spoke of Westphalian and French Revolution nation state, this concept is foreign to Islamic lands, and hence deep identity is still defined by religion in the region. In an interest clash, as a Western soldier **dies for his "Nation state"**, the Middle Eastern man **dies for his "Religion"**.

The issue here is that we Turks are very irritated when this political interest war is presented as a war against **"Islamic"** terror. We also do not like terrorists calling the Western armies as **"Christian"** armies. President Obama saw this reciprocal crusading approach, and stopped using the term "Islamic Terror".

As for the **war in Afghanistan**, again a strategic question.. Defining this war as a war against religious zealots would not fool China, India and Russia, just as telling Russia that basing missiles in Eastern Europe is not against Russia but against common enemy "Islamic" Iran. Russia took this as an insult to her intelligence...

Hence trying to use a holy religion of 1.5 bn. followers as a petty instrument for strategic causes in Afghanistan is not convincing to anybody, moreover, alienates its followers further from the West.

As for the **Abrahamic books**, I have read them more than three times each, and they all have similar assertions on how we live. They are not compatible

with our secular laws, that is why we went secular, yet we cannot eradicate them from earth. So we have to live with them, even if they are against our crime laws, constitutions and as such.

The reality is, we are not pure logic, not Mister Spocks of the Star Track, rather Captain Kirks with our inconsistencies, and the only thing to do is to use our good-will and brains to harmonize the two institutions, and it would be unfair to single out Koran as a discrepancy against modernity.

IV. Turkish-Australian Relations

To start with our relations, I should refer to the modern practice of **Public Diplomacy**, better perhaps, **Diplomacy at the Grassroots**. And rather than being an old-style diplomat, I am a strong believer in public diplomacy.

And when we speak of public diplomacy, first question! **Do the peoples reciprocally know each other?** Because “if peoples do not know each other, they can not build sentiments for each other. If they do not have sentiments for each other, then their negative prejudices immediately dominate in moment of interest clash.”

Now, looking at Turkish-Australian relations from this background, our reference is **GALLIPOLI**. Yet how much substance could we load into this valuable concept? How much does this name help us know each other?

I know that Turks do not know much about Australia and Australians. This weekend I was at a town, and some Australians I met, did not know much about Turkey, either. Again, we are left with an interested elite, and not the grassroots.

Another factor would be trade, and Turkey and Australia, 17th and 15th biggest economies of the world have nearly no trade at all, just a miniscule US \$ 1bn. In a stressed global economy, how can we increase the volume of our trade?

Politics? Apart from being allies through the US and NATO operations, again not much relation. Being in the same Western family, we share many values and have common strategic interests. Yet apart from this multilateral unity, what can be done at the bilateral level? Any realistic proposals?

Further, as in US and Europe, historical grievances against Turks are being played by some interest groups here, trying to nurture negative sentiments

against Turks, carrying in them the potential of turning Australia into an arena of historical grievances between ethnicities.

These are facts.

Now, hope.

First, the spirit of Gallipoli.

Though not having a substantial reciprocal interest, Australians have warm sentiments for Turks, and Turks have warm sentiments for Australians. And they respect each other.

As we do not have a bulky relation, we can take this as a positive asset and try to build a robust future among our nations.

We have, to some estimates, 150.000 Australians of Turkish origin here, they are well adopted to this embracing land, do not feel alienated in their new patrie, and form a wonderful bridge among our countries.

100.000 Australians go to Turkey every year, and are embraced warmly by the Turks in Turkey.

Ottoman Civilisation, as I said earlier, is an inclusive civilisation, and I see Australian culture in a modernised form of inclusivity, which would perfectly suit the Aussie-Turks in their new patrie. This weekend I was in Shepparton, and saw a minaret at a mosque, which is not welcomed in many European towns in 21st Century...

To further our relations, provided if both nations want it, we can encourage more Turkish tourists, students and migrants into Australia by easing visa and immigration requirements for Turks. Last year, the number of Turkish migrants was no more than 1000 persons.

And as we do not have reciprocal economic interests, we can also take it as a plus and start fresh looking for creative ways to a substantial relation.

V. Now the Global Village

What we see as the financial collapse may be indicative of a deeper problem, that of **redistribution of global wealth**. Wealth accumulating in the hands of a few million global elite, using IT and robots for production and services, **and the rest**.

Serious challenge from **artificial rivals, the robots** against human work force is at our door now. Certainly within the next 50 years, perhaps much earlier.

Which means all I said since the last 30 minutes would go into pieces...

If a few elite rule the world, and do not need the remaining 6 billion human souls for production and services, what role would they decide for these non-producing, unneeded peoples?

Perhaps there will always be services that robots will not be able to replace.

Are we sure? If so, which fields?

Geriatric Nursing?

Tourism?

Arts?

In which areas would Humans need Humans, not machines to service them?

Even then, the rulers will have two options:

Feed the 6 billion useless souls benevolently, a communist paradise...

Yet human nature is never content with what it has, there will always be the threat of revolt from the useless masses, so even if the elite would be benevolent, knowing human nature and always vigilant, they may go totalitarian anytime, any moment...

Or treat them as subhumans at their mercy?

Remembering colonial treatment of Africans in 18th and 19th Century, this possibility looks more real, and the future looks gloomy for our children and grandchildren.

What makes the picture gloomier is the problem of urging the “interest” driven, “rights” oriented Western individual of modernity into acceptance of hard times.

European social security system was made possible by two factors:

1. Forced by 19th Century social upheavals, European States had to, and could, transfer excess Imperial wealth to European Proletariat.

2. Later, as in the case of the USA, Western worker had the monopoly on technological know-how which the “Rest” did not have, so the Western proletariat had no challengers.

And today, both pillars are gone, and especially the European youth do not seem to understand this new global reality and gradually start pouring into street protests. And the European Governments do not know how to give unemployed masses something they have no more...

Ending my speech, I would urge you to think of the next 80 years, a reasonable lifetime for a new born baby...

Can you be optimistic for its future? We speak of 80 long years...

When you put your head on your pillow tonight, please give it a deep thought...

See if you can come up with a light to turn the tide...

Thank you.

| AK

| Feldkirch, Austria

TURKEY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

By

Aydın Nurhan

Consul General of Turkey

January 21, 2007

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to thank Mr Hammerle especially for bringing us together at this panel on a very complicated subject loaded with history and futuristic dimensions, the Turkish-EU relations.

It is an exciting experience for me to participate in a panel bringing together Austrians and the new Turkish Austrians as an audience on a hot topic, Turkey and the EU, which will affect their future generations.

Identity

To begin with, we Turks have started our historic journey from the walls of China galloping Westwards aiming the Atlantic. On the way, we ruled many lands and the last two Empires we formed were the Seljouk Empire in Iran, and later the Ottoman Empire on the shrunken geography of the Roman empire.

And much against wide contemporary belief, the Ottoman Empire was born as an Eastern European Empire. We conquered our European provinces in 1354, and then after about two Centuries later, in 1517, our Arab provinces.

And Europe could stop us at the gates of Vienna, yet the trauma still plays vital role in contemporary European subconscious. This trauma in fact was

based on a European identity shaped through a millenium on the “otherness” of the “Muslim Turk”.

The new EU dilemma is..

“If your counter identity, your “other”.. joins you, would it create chaos in your identity?

We understand that every human group wants to root its identity with the glory of a former religion, ethnicity or civilization. This is most evident in Hollywood movies of the Roman Empire with which the American audience empathizes. Identification with the past may be empirical, as well as as a built myth. Europeans identify themselves with a Middle Eastern religion pegged on Greek and Roman civilizations whereas Turks want to peg another Middle Eastern religion unto the same base.

In this context, the historical European effort to put a dividing line between Christian identity on one side and Jewish and Islamic on the other, so as to deny their effect on the formation of their civilization is somewhat sentimental, yet understandable.

Still yet, it is commendable that Europe has come to the point after World War II to say it is proud to call its civilization as Judeo-Christian, embracing Jews after a turbulent historical relation.

Yet, civilizations on the road to maturity cannot stop half way, now is the time for the Western civilization to contemplate the effect of Islamic civilization in its formation. A mature civilization should not have any complexes to call itself Judeo-Islamo-Christian civilization, an all embracing path to an evolutionary global human civilization.

And this seems a hard choice for many contemporary Europeans, for whom, the 5 million Turkish immigrants scattered throughout Europe, are invading the continent, this time not on horseback, but by the so-called demographic bomb, spreading fear that Europe would soon be an Islamic Continent.

Yet Europeans should note that we Turks too, having lost an empire, are in deep identity crisis, in time of painful transformation, apprehensive of our direction and destiny.

With all these considerations in minds, Turkish accession into Europe is a long and intricate story. It has love, passion, hatred, frustration and myths involved, many a time blurring logic.

Milestones

With this introduction, now I would like to give you some basic milestones on Turkish journey into the European Union.

To begin with, nearly sixty years ago, in 1949, the Council of Europe, the political pillar of Europe was founded, and Turkey was one of the founders.

Three years later in 1952 Turkey joined NATO, again a union of Muslim Turks and Christian West, more than half a century.

And 1959 was the beginning of the Turkish EU story. That year, Turkey and Greece, long before many of 27 E.U. members of our day, made their application for accession into the European Economic Community, the former phase of the European Union, and were accepted as candidates.

The positive factors for the welcome were the booming European economy on the one hand, and the Soviet threat bonding Europe, on the other, both non-existent anymore..

In 1963, Ankara Agreement was signed to enable Turkish accession into the Customs Union. Yet this was a long and painful process taking 33 stormy years, happily ending with customs union of Turkey into the economy of Europe in 1996.

Interestingly, not very many people know, but today, with minor exceptions, Turkey is a full member of the EU economically.

Then in Helsinki in 1999, Turkey was declared full Member Candidate, this time for the European Union, yet it took another six years for the official Negotiations for Accession of Turkey into the EU to get started in 2005.

And now, we are in the last phase, to fully join the EU. This phase is of screening and synchronizing legislations and regulations on tens of thousands of technically detailed chapters.

As was the case with other candidates, this process is the most troublesome part in negotiations as it includes a lot of bargaining on economic, as well as other national interests.

In retrospect, the EU gave a very hard time to Turkey in many fields, sometimes leading to fatigue and frustration of the Turkish people. EU officials tried to calm Turkish reactions that the British and the Spanish, to name among others, also faced formidable obstacles during their accession struggles.

But for the Turks, the hardships were of double standard, of a different kind, aiming their religion and culture. Many European leaders were saying that Turks do not belong in Europe.

Where on the other hand, to be frank, we Turks too, lacked many of the criteria the EU had asked of all prospective members.

In the process, we made all the major changes in our laws the EU wanted, yet it was not sufficient, and Europe was pressuring our democracy to put those new laws into practice through our courts and bureaucracy.

Philosophical Transformation

Now, let me go into the heart of my thesis, the philosophical transformation of the Orient, for that matter, Turkey.

In early negotiations, economy was said to be the hardest part!

Yet, miraculously, it proved to be the easiest, and as I already mentioned, we accomplished that union in 1996.

Until 1980s, Turkish economy was a closed, feudal agrarian economy, perhaps rather like those of the former Soviet economies with government involvement in about 80 percent of the infrastructure.

With late President Ozal, came the sweeping revolutions in every field of Turkish life. After conversion to Islam, this was the second philosophical transformation in the 2000 year history of the Turks. As Ozal's revolutions spread, the Turks started travelling abroad in masses, gradually binding business contracts, then came Turkish investment abroad.

As to start with an example, Europe slept for centuries under inquisition, living for the next world. Then with renaissance and reform, it woke up to the benefits, comfort and luxuries of this material world, and came the industrial revolution. Then, came the 19th Century revolutions and social upheaval of Europe leading to Social State.

300 years after, the Eastern societies are waking up to the material tastes of this world, ready to sacrifice even their ethical values for their material interests. Awakening to this world, curiosity and creativity are also emerging in the Orient.

An important psychological factor, as Asians surpass white students at American ivy league schools, the recent racist supremacy and the "burden of

the white race” is being shattered giving another psychological shock to the European subconscious.

Turkish people are among the pioneers of the new awakening, working with sweat and blood to snatch a bigger piece from the global material economy. Genie is out of the bottle, and it cannot be put back anymore.

Old Europe is perplexed by the immense vitality and vigour in Turkey, some seeing it as the re-emerging historical threat of the “other” on the one hand, and a few with the idea of marrying her, on the other.

Economy

And now, economy. Here, let us use the metaphor of fission and fusion in nature. We may think of emerging Empires securing commerce in vast geographies, whereas decomposition into small nation-states blocked the global flow of commerce by their strict geographical borders. Now nature is working back its fusion against this fractured anomaly, and world commerce is forcing the artificial borders of nation-states in its modern form of globalization.

And the EU is the perfect answer to the needs of globalization, the 21st Century grand fusion.

Hence Turkey follows the trend and tries to join the most natural economy it can at her borders.

So let us delve into the trends in Turkish economy.

In closed, feudal days of our economy, the Common Market was rejected and ridiculed as “Europeans are common, we are the market”.

The Customs Union, a bold jump into risk, starting in 1996 opened the feudal industry to worldwide competition. Many expected sudden collapse of feeble Turkish industry against competition of European goods, and blamed the government.

As we take the year 1980, the year Turgut Ozal took over Turkish economy, the GNP was a mere 50 Billion Dollars, with exports only \$6.5 Billion.

In 2003, Turkish GNP reached 180 Billion Dollars. Then with political stability, Turkey doubled its GNP in just 3 years, from 180 billion dollars 360 billion in 2005 and forced its limit to 400 billion by December 2006.

As for Direct Foreign Investment, transnational capital was travelling the globe, always bypassing Turkey until 2000. Then it started testing the Turkish economy, in 2000-2005 it reached a total 22 billion dollars.

Then, passing the threshold in 2005, it reached 8 billion Dollars in that very year, pushing Turkey up from 35th level to 25th level in global FDI. And 2006 expectations for FDI is 12 Billion Dollars.

And there was the other side to the story. In 2005, with another threshold passed, Turkish investment abroad surpassed one billion Dollars.

This fantastic accomplishment was an eye opener for the global capital, and Turkey, with a 10 percent development rate in 2004, became the rising star in global economy, targeting to take its place among the top ten economies of the world in the year 2023.

Today, 52% of television sets sold in Europe is made in Turkey. Plus another very high percentage of white goods and textiles in Europe are made in Turkey. Renault is in Turkey since nearly 40 years, followed by Fiat, followed by Honda, Toyota, and scores of other automobile, truck and bus plants, Mercedes among them.

A market of 75 million young, exuberant people are appealing to global capital, and especially the great banking institutions are in line to buy Turkish banks, with the recent sale of 20 % of Akbank, one of the pillars of Turkish banking system, to Citibank.

This was to give you the picture of the dynamism of Turkish economy, which in fact would give a shot of youth into the European economy that is panicked as Asia wakes up and global competition gets fiercer.

A European economy struggling with ageing, low child birth, social security problems, no hire-no fire mentality, rigid working hours, high social costs, rising unemployment, uncompetitive labor wages, the looming nationalism, religious xenophobia, and closing in, one does wonder if Europe, in between the USA and China, has passed the peak and entered an age of accelerating decline in historical curve, because we do not see the self-confidence of Europe as before. Otherwise why try to close in? Rising civilizations open and bloom with self confidence, whereas declining ones get xenophobic and start closing in, ending in implosion. We Ottomans know it too well...

Democracy

Returning back to Turkey, let us continue with Turkish democracy, a much controversial issue in our EU saga.

Turkish democracy has its roots in the 1876 Ottoman Parliament, the first elections for a constitutional monarchy. The parliament was composed of Turkish, Arabic, Greek, Armenian, Jewish and Kurdish deputies, yet as it was the era of decomposition of the Empire, the parliament did not last long.

Then, trials were made in 1920s and 1930s during the early days of the Republic, but Atatürk, founding father of the Republic, saw that his good-willed efforts in founding several parties, could not be realized in an environment leading to world wars.

So the first grassroots change was realized long after his death, with 1950 elections by which the founding Republican Party had to pass power to the newly formed opposition Democratic Party.

Yet the country had to face three major military interventions into democracy, and it created great reaction in Europe, sometimes leading to suspension of relations with the EU.

Today, with industrialization and evolution of the metropolitan bourgeois, Turkish democratic journey of 130 years is much more healthy, and military interventions a distant story. A general contemplating a cue today should be sent to a psychological clinic rather than dungeon.

Having opened the subject, we should also talk a bit about the trends of democracy in Europe.

Recently, we have been seeing an interesting trend in European democracies where politicians tend to practice direct democracy on subjects possibly to be rejected by their public.

One case in study is Turkish accession into the EU, and Dutch and French politicians want to take the matter to their public vote.

In age of globalization, such is a very dangerous populism. Especially the use of “direct democracy” in global commercial competition would prove fatal in the hands of populist politicians, because people tend to vote for immediate interests rather than the long term strategic interests of organized state apparatus. If every nation goes protectionist by direct public pressure in global trade, then the whole global economy would collapse.

And European socialists, in global labor rivalry, should be very alert against suddenly falling into “national” socialism..

Until 21st century, one way to coerce a rival state was to put economic embargos against it. Now, there is the public democratic pressure on politicians to embargo foreign goods and workers, among which rejecting Turkish accession into the EU. This grassroots reaction may prove to be a fatal strategic blunder for the future of the EU.

Such economic nationalism, especially fed by a possible massive unemployment due to unrealistic wages in global labour competition may lead to internal strifes within the EU, add to it the competition among the farmers of the EU, may weaken the solidarity within the union, more than that, such rejectionist clannish mentality would gradually isolate Europe from the global economy in an era in which all oriental and southern economies open with full vigour to commerce with each other in a multilateral environment.

The closing in and collapse of the Ottoman Empire should be an example for a Castle Europe which may alienate itself from the global environment.

Having opened the subject of the Ottoman Empire, we should remember the static mentality of the colossal Oriental State as against the fractured, competing, warring Europe full of vitality especially after French Revolution. Today old, tired Europe is transforming into an Oriental style mega state longing for slumber and moribund comfort whereas the Orient is making a late entry into a Napoleonic age, fracturing into ethnicities and religious sects, with regional competition and wars reminding us of the vigorous, vitality of Europe of the 19th Century.

This new vitality of the Orient, competition of the fractions albeit with wars, tear and blood, may lead the way to the renaissance of the East.

Comparatively thinking, one wonders if tired Europe would need Turkey in such a realm..

Further in philosophy, we see a Europa evolving into a kind of Asian style Empire vying for comfort and stability rather than rocking the boat and risk stability of its aging population.

Reverseley, the Orient having been addicted to applying European positivism to sociology to human groups is decomposing into smaller pieces, warring and competing with others, a dynamism which would be imitating the Europe of the enlightenment. Soon we will be seeing the Orient Balkanizing,

or rather Europeanizing, and one remembers the admonition of the Russian to Europe on not mingling with and awakening the sleeping Chinese...

Laws

As I mentioned briefly, Turkey converted its Ottoman Islamic law system into secular Roman Continental Law in 1920s, with overnight translations from Swiss, German, French and Italian legislations.

As the new laws were foreign to the body, it took nearly a century for them to be assimilated, yet with the happy end, providing a good base for union with the EU.

With minor touches left, and a few politically combustible details in criminal legislation, Turkish law system is certainly synchronized with that of the EU.

This synchronization is especially important in two aspects which strongly depend upon each other. One is human rights, and the other, the legal infrastructure necessary for the transnational capital to be able to perform in freedom.

Religion

99% of Turks are muslims, yet Turkey has a secular state system. Interestingly, many Europeans who reject Turkish entry into the EU because of their islamic religion, blame Turkish regime for being too rigid against the religious rights of Turkish people.

Historically speaking, Turks adopted Islam in eleventh Century, practicing it in its most tolerant and mild form with mystics and sufis as Mevlana Rumi and Yunus Emre. This is why they were welcomed in the

Balkans in the early spread of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, many a time by invitation rather than the use of sword.

Turkish interpretation of Islam is the guarantee in Europe, of a peaceful and cooperative spirit, as such that has been practiced since half a century among Turkish immigrants in Europe. Any allegation that it may be a threat is dead wrong. Turkish understanding of islam may only soften the diverse and rigid interpretations of other muslim groups in Europe.

Another aspect of religion is its relation to positivism, modernity and postmodernity. With modernity, religion was pushed aside, yet in the

forthcoming postmodern era, religion is forcing a comeback, especially in the U.S. We also see sparks in Europe where church attendance is at all time low.

Religion and racism may come back strongly in a Europe which would fall into identity crisis and loosing self confidence in fierce global competition.

So rather than speaking of Islamic threat, we perhaps should be thinking of the future of the European psychology in age of globalization.

Here, dialogue of religions is very vital, and the most important is the role of the media, politicians, academia and the think tanks, who deliberately and insistently keep “Islamic Terror” on the agenda. As we muslims do not call Western terrorists “Christian Terrorists”, it would be our right to ask of our Western friends not to call terrorists “Islamic”.

Doing so, sends to the subconscious of the Christian Westerner that all muslims are terrorist enemies, and this is a fact supported by the statistics, polls and behaviours at American and European schools against muslim kids.

This approach, if not the instrument of sinister political aims, feeds enmity among our peoples, and should be stopped promptly.

Here we can take the evolution of religious tolerance in Europe where once people massacred each other for different sects, then embraced all christian fellows, then it was separation with jews, then embraced them, now the evolution of tolerance should not stop with Islam, it too should be embraced in a linear evolution leading to the peace of religions rather than conflict of civilizations.

Last but not least, I would kindly ask my christian and jewish friends to elaborate with a bit more scrutiny on the holy Bible for its verses on women, slavery and war, which I am sure they will be surprised to see, are more radical than the verses of Kuran, as they compare them with Koranic verses before they comment on the negative aspects of Islam, and try a bit of empathy.

Religions should be evaluated in two main attributes, namely theory and practice.

For theory, we may look into the holy books, to get their use for co-habitation.

Secondly, we may look at the practice of religions by states through history on minorities, whether they are inclusive or exclusive.

If sincere in approach, all of us should make a comparative study on the holy books and interpret them for peace.

Only then we may come to sound judgments as to the future of our children.

Democracy versus Human rights

As for human rights, I can start with globalization. In closed societies, all rights were for the small clan, and negation of the foreign was normal and considered ethical.

Now I will give you an example of what globalization does to traditions. Recently, there was a news about a little town in Spain. Since known history, this town was using an effigy of the skull of Islamic Prophet Mohammed to be ridiculed at the festival, and now they decided to abolish that tradition.

This is what globalization is all about. Now the world is one small village, and anything you do, is spread in lightening speed.

Another example is the Danish caricature crisis. In Medieval ages, it would not even have been heard in the next town.

So the message here is that if we live in a global village, we respect each other just as we respect our neighbour next door in our village.

Here the intricate point is democratic freedom versus refined human respect.

Individuals respecting the values and sensibilities of one another is the core of our civilization. And normally, in personal relations, we do not insult each other's values.

But what happens in politics and media is that, the "elite thinkers" insult values without respect to the individual, and call it democratic freedom.

And come in the academics who say it is their scientific right to elaborate on any value.

Yet... The great Turkish mystic Mevlana Rumi says that any science not tamed by the love of the human being, is the instrument of devil...

Intention is what counts...

Now Turkish record in Human rights and democracy, we sure lack so much, still have to go a long way.

But looking at European approach to human rights violations in Turkey, we see that they are not constructive and encouraging, rather disheartening and dismaying with an arrogant attitude, perhaps rooting out from historical psychological sedimentation.

At this point, Europeans need soul searching in the way they treat immigrants in their countries, whether they really want to live with them.

And of course Europeans should not miss the point that in the global village, as they enjoy democracy, welfare and human rights inside, decisions of their politicians may lead to suffering and misery of millions in poor countries, leading to a double standard in human rights, one for the Europeans and the other for the “rest”..

Demography

Coming to demography, the great fear of Europe, I would start by stating that with urbanization, Turkish family is also atomizing just as other industrialized countries. The birth rate of Turkey is 2.2, just one point higher than the necessary rate per woman.

Soon, Turkish population will start shrinking.

So we will need migrants. And like New York City, perhaps more than that, Istanbul is the perennial magnet of the world, already with one million illegal aliens working in its economy.

This tolerant magnetism is a gift to Turkey, because it can pull in the best brains and entrepreneurs from the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Middle East and Central Asia, and in a natural evolutive trend.

A thriving Turkish economy targeting to be one of the top 10 among world economies in 2023 may be sucking in the skilled technical power of Turkish immigrants back home from Europe, rather than exporting more. And the EU will have to look to other countries for future support of its welfare system. Then perhaps, heeding the prophecy of Bernard Lewis, warning about Islamisation of Europe, the EU may start looking for immigrants from the Phillipines and Latin America, this time having to tolerate their race...

Today, Turkey has nearly two million illegal residents, about 100.000 of them from its poor neighbour Armenia... Armenians as illegal “gastarbeiters” in the so-called enemy country for them...

Another fact is the European retirees who buy houses in Turkish Mediterranean coasts and spend the rest of their life in Turkey, receiving medical services in Turkey. Soon their children and grandchildren will be frequenting Turkey, and one wonders which way the demographic trends will be shifting in ten years from now.

Add to this a possible decline in European economies which may trigger xenophobia, rise in the number of skinheads and a massive shift of Turkish immigrants back home, as Spanish, Italian and Greek workers returned home as their economies flourished.

Subsequently, perhaps we can tell our European friends to fear a sudden exodus rather than an influx from Turkey, and build their strategies accordingly...

Future Turkish power should not be feared from its birth rate, but its ability to pull in vital masses as new citizens, Istanbul especially rivaling NYC.

European Turks

“Turks of Europe”, “Turkish Immigrants” or “European Turks” started pouring into Europe in the 1960s, as European economies started booming with the Marshall Plan after WW. II and needed extra workforce.

In the beginning, this was a temporary affair, neither Turkish workers, nor their European hosts expected anything beyond a temporary working relation, mutually giving economic benefits to both.

Soon the temporary work contract became a great social affair, something Europe never had experienced before.

As it was so natural for the Ottoman Empire to harmonize all religions and ethnicities through centuries, with their genuine identities intact, it was a very novel experience for Europe to accept groups as they were, without assimilating.

As the economies were booming, the distinction of the foreigner was ignored. Yet, as their numbers soared, and unemployment started, so started xenophobia and came the skinheads burning foreign homes and temples. Economic hard times were trying the patience of Europe. A Europe which did not have the Oriental tolerance for diversity, but was just experiencing it in wealth within only a half century through its violent history.

Now, young European experience of diversity is to be tried in times of scarcity. And the omens are not good, and one wonders if the half century European experience with tolerance of diversity based on wealth is sustainable in hardship.

International Politics

Having said all, now I would take the political aspect of Turkish accession to the EU.

Having left the Cold War behind, the world is leading yet to another polarization, especially based on energy needs, just as was the case before the two world wars.

So-called Islamic Terror can in no way match a looming energy war between the Orient and the Occident, perhaps both rivals using Islam as a phony common threat to veil their preparations against each other for a catastrophic confrontation.

In such a procession, one wonders the wisdom in alienating the whole realm of Islam, for that matter Turkey, the energy corridor of the 21st Century, a disciplined young nation full of vigour and energy, together with her Western culture, with a common heritage with Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Balkans and the Middle East, in a world being dragged into two new camps.

On the regional level, the West may evaluate leaving Turkey to be a regional power, re-emerging counter identity to the West, or, as in the case of Germany and Japan, embrace and integrate it into the Western family, yet with respecting its powerful historical identity and weight in the Union. We know it would be painful to allocate the highest number of seats at the European Parliament to Turkish deputies, and as Einstein says, to break prejudices is harder than splitting the atom.

And Europeans should realize that even the lowest educated Turkish labourers have in their genes the experience of one of the 16 greatest empires of human history, and they only want their due respect accordingly in their relations, not to be seen as a clan easy to assimilate.

And it would be most unrealistic to see Turkey as a buffer country between Europe and the Middle East, or between regions of influence. Turkish geography, is historically a center of power in itself, itself a zone of influence.

That is why since 1000 year history Turks had powerful armies on this geography, that is why Turks are a very vigorous, alert and disciplined nation, without having siestas in the afternoon, even at their Mediterranean coasts. They can be the energetic spirit Europe needs in global competition.

Conclusion

To end my speech, I can proudly and confidently say that Turkish Republic, born out of the ashes of the Ottoman Empire is young, dynamic, and on the rise.

We, being one of the great players of history, getting closer to reassume our historical role in the global vacuum, still waiting to be filled since the demise of the third Roman Empire, namely the Ottoman mission.

We target to enter the Centenary of our Republic, 2023, among the top ten economies of the world.

Our 130 year democratic journey rooting out from 1876 is growing healthy and sturdy.

If old Europe is also on the rise, and in positive spirits, they may as well invite us in. If they feel the opposite, it will be their decision to do so.

Observing the decline in support for the EU to 34% in Turkey down from 75%, and in Europe for Turkey's accession to 20%, we both would do best by observing two prudent approaches.

One,

leave prejudices aside, start without prejudices which blur logic and goodwill.

Two,

leave the marriage to time, and see how this fiancée situation goes, as none of the partners feel ready for the marriage yet.

A day may come in which Europe may certainly not want Turks, a day may come Turks would be tired of courting the EU, the world would change, all the global balances may be reshuffled as Asian economies may gain momentum, as two world wars broke out on the distribution of natural resources, a third one may loom because of incapable political leaders, the EU may dissolve due to economic reasons, and everything is possible in the realm of global politics.

In time, if wills are good, if interests impose, union would come in.

Last but not least, we might as well keep in mind that no human brain capacity can cope with the looming problems of globalization..

Where brains are insufficient, let hearts enter.

Hope all goes well for our children and especially for our grandchildren. For that, one thing we need is good intention.

Thank you for your patience..

| Rotary Club of Vorarlberg

TURKS OF AUSTRIA

by

Aydın Nurhan

Consul General of Turkey

Bregenz, Austria

6 February 2006

Gentlemen,

I would like to thank Mr. Paul Senger Weiss, and your august club for honoring me with your kind invitation.

As we have precious 15 minutes, what I want to do is to try to inform you in short headlines, then, if they catch your interest, elaborate on them in Q&A session.

To start with, I could say there are 30.000 Turks in Vorarlberg, 17.000 of them already Austrian citizens, and a total of 200.000 Turks in Austria, 60.000 of them Austrian citizens.

Turks came into Austria in two main waves, around 1987-1993 and in 1994-2004.

The Turks of Austria, in general, show similar characteristics with those of Turks of Germany, yet have some differences.

As the Turks of Germany have reached the critical threshold of blooming in business and education, we cannot say the same for the more isolated Turks of Vorarlberg.

The Turks in both countries can be characterized as traditional, pious, conservative, hardworking and reliable. This is why they were invited into Europe in millions, and that is why they still are in Europe.

The Turk, coming through milleniums of statehood, respects state authority. Yet, coming from a Platonic central state tradition, cannot organize from grassroots, always looks for a charismatic political leader at the top.

Apart from petty mosque groups, social interest organizations cannot survive among Turks in Austria. Hence the Austrian authorities cannot find an organized group to do business with. So perhaps, against the tendency to request leadership from the top, we should try to boost the culture of democratic grassroots organization among the Turks of Austria.

As for integration,

everyone has a different definition of it, including politicians in Turkey and Austria.

Yet, one thing is sure. Integration requires a high cultural level and education. This was how Jews could integrate into Christian Europe in history. Without education and a high culture, integration is a distant dream in Europe.

Some may think integration is a cross-national problem. In fact it is not. It is a class problem. A highly cultured person may not feel comfortable with an uneducated, rough person without manners, no matter what the nationality or religion.

Hence, again we come to education.

Now, I want to give you a specific example of integration.

Let us say two factory workers, an Austrian and a Turk became very strong friends, even as brothers. Here comes in the culture.

For the Turk, families frequently visit each other, together with children, for dinner, without even appointment.

As for the Austrian, home is the private castle, and the friends meet at the bar or restaurant. Yet traditional Turkish woman does not go to bar, nor restaurant.

Then comes the question. How to carry on the relation?

Another approach to integration.

The media.

When Austrian media attacks Turkey for some political reason, it cannot empathize with its neighbor, the Austrian Turk here. When the Turk sees the news against his motherland, he takes it as a personal offense, an assault against his very identity, and gets alienated from the Austrian society.

As European media has been writing against Turkey since half a century, rightfully or wrongfully, it has never realized how much impact it has had on the alienation of Turks from Europe, how much they have blocked their integration, helped their psychological isolation.

On the other side, the Turk, being uneducated and feeling alienated, is not interested in learning about the Austrian people, their religion or culture. I wonder how many Turks have read the Bible to understand the religion of their neighbor.

But do they read newspapers? In Vorarlberg, where 30.000 Turks live, only 200 Turkish newspapers are sold, and I wonder how many buy local Austrian papers.

We know that millions of Euros are dedicated to integration projects..

What I understand is that these funds are mainly spent by Austrian Experts to study Turks as laboratory objects, without solid results in the field. Many of these funds are not spent for direct cultural and social needs of the Turks here.

Now, young generations.

When I make visits to schools and ask Turkish children of their dreams, they tell me they want to become mechanics or secretaries. The boys dream fast cars, the girls dream becoming housewives with good and rich husbands.

They cannot dream becoming doctors, engineers, lawyers, professors or politicians.

Of the 30.000 Turks in Vorarlberg, we have only 30 university graduates.. And only 3% can make it to the gymnasium.

One reason I may think of, is that they do not have role models in various fields who have made it to the top in Austrian society.

Another may be the elitist education system which sifts ability at an early age, disregarding the deficiency in German language.

As for juvenile criminality, the parents are trapped in between traditional

child raising and the modern society, not knowing what to do. In between, the children are spoiled, speedily losing traditional values, but not gaining modern city values at the same rate, falling into the void of ethical abysses.

Even against this trend, we may say that Turkish millenia old values are very powerful, and soon as we overcome this transitional chaos, I am very hopeful that the future Austrian Turks will be proud of their Austrian identity, knowing no Turkish, still they will be saying, "I am a proud Austrian, with Turkish roots"

Hoping to have created some questions in your minds, I would like to thank you once again for giving me this honor.

TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES STRATEGIC ALLIES?

by
Aydın Nurhan

Dr. Richard Chambers, Professor of Middle Eastern Languages and Civilizations of the University of Chicago says:

“Turkey is probably the least known and least understood of America’s allies”

I think this phrase summarises the essence of Turkish-American relations today.

An alliance is the reciprocal promise of two states for a common defense against common enemy. A strategic alliance, we can say, may be for long term, and against a more generalized threat.

Among many, we can present three factors that strengthen the power of a real, sustainable strategic alliance.

1. Common Heritage,
2. Common Ideals,
3. Reciprocal sentiments among the allied nations.

Any alliance, and especially a strategic one, not supported by at least one of the above factors, may not last the test of time.

Even though statesmen like to repeat the motto “States do not have friends, they have interests”, the determining factor in testing an alliance is the sentiments of the allied peoples for each other.

So the first and foremost duty for the proponents of Turkish-American alliance should be to work for building robust relations and sentiments among their two nations.

And here, I would urge them to work on media, academia, think tanks, and Congresses of the two countries. If these institutions reject sincere spirit in guiding their peoples into friendly sentiments, our alliance may not be strong enough in perspective.

As for common heritage, we do know the American aspiration to Roman Civilization. The Ottoman Emperors, “Caesar” being one of their titles, also claimed heritage to the Roman Empire.

We may say that ultimate state system of the USA today, resembles the government system of the Ottoman Empire, a classical paragon of Platonic Statehood where a peasant from the remotest corner of the country could climb the peaks of administration, where, at the same time, the ruling elite and the ruled have clearly designed roles in the complex state-society relation.

And tolerance for all minorities is another example of the most pertinent similarities of the two state models. Here, we can say Turks and Americans are much more alike than they are with other countries of the world system.

And lastly, we can take a look into the common aspirations and ideals of the two nations. Both nations, through their historical experiences, believe in universal order and harmony, feel responsibility to that end, and try to reach this ideal in modern liberal economic and democratic philosophy. In this respect, Turks have a tough challenge locally, and Americans have a tough challenge internationally.

If they succeed, hand in hand, allied strategically, they can prepare a better world for our coming generations.

| De VRY Institute of Technology

TURKISH AMERICAN RELATIONS

Presentation by

Aydın Nurhan

Deputy Consul General of Turkey

Chicago

September 12, 1995

I thank Dr. John Morello For giving me the opportunity the second time to talk about Turkey in your school..

I would like to start by quoting Dr. Richard Chambers, Professor of Middle Eastern Languages and Civilizations of the University of Chicago.

“Turkey is probably the least known and least understood of America’s allies”

With this quotation, I want first to attract your attention to the zenith quest of my professional experience on international relations:

“If peoples do not knoweach other, they can not build sentiments for each other. If they do not have sentiments for each other, then their negative prejudices immediately dominate in moment of interest clash”

As you know, once upon a time there were primitive tribes hostile against each other. To secure the tomorrows of their children, tribesmen died fighting against other tribes. These dead were honoured as martyrs of a noble cause. Then bigger groupings emerged, soldiers were martyrs against other nations, again trying to secure their children’s tomorrows. And came religious empires.

But TODAY we are in a global village, we are a global tribe. If we are smart enough, martyrs of our day would be the ones who work for the tomorrow of the children of the World, no matter what nation or religion they belong to.

As you may have read, crusades left a strong imprint on the identity of Europe and this identification was based against Islam. With urbanization, industrialization, and globalization of trade, economic doctrines replaced religion as new identity factors. Communism and Capitalism became the two enemy philosophies. Communism, the common enemy gluing the West together was defeated, and now a new glue is needed, as it is said, and many people want to see Islam or the Far Eastern philosophies to attach a possible role of Satan on them. This approach of A clash of civilisations@ is anachronistic. it will not work.

We have to revolutionalize our traditional approaches.

As the world gets smaller, education systems of countries still have anachronistic cultural and historical approaches in the name of shaping the minds of young generations for “nationalistic values” and identifying “us” against “others”. Education systems lack sufficient information on other geographies and peoples much needed sentiment building, among peoples is not understood in school curriculums. Prejudices are skillfully hidden into history books. The students get so programmed that if one day conflict of interests arise, and especially economic ones come out in our time, they follow their interests rather than trying to put out the emerging fire among human beings.

Human rights, democracy and justice are new toys of pressure in the hands of politicians for use against hostile countries. It would be interesting to make an academic study on the political motive and timing behind a politician’s comments when he says he loves the poor, suffering people of the “enemy” country.

Due to this insincere approach, the faintest difference of interest between peoples lead to grave consequences. Whereas sincere people do not exert enough democratic control on their administrations, leaving the ground for interest lobbies.

Now I want you to think of Iran-US relations in the time of Shah. Or take US-Iraq before Gulf war. Relations were said to be so sweet. Remember? But were they really so? Did the peoples know each other? Was there sentiments

among them? And now take US and Britain. How much stronger would the sentiment factor work in time of conflicting interests among these two nations?

What I want to stress is this. Statesmen are mathematicians. They go by solid interests for the survival of the State, so much so that many times at the expense of the nation they work for. Interest of State comes ahead of people's interest. at the cost of national interest sometimes. This is why we need sentiments among peoples, this is why we need democratic control on governments.

And today I am here to tell you about Turkey, to put our problems forth, and get lessons for building strong sentiments among our two nations. Doing this lengthy overture was I think more important than telling chronological and statistical data that you can find in your library much better than I can do so.

Synopsis

To make a realistic assessment, traditional Turkish-US relation depended on military cooperation against USSR and with the collapse of the Soviets, the relation had to be filled with new substance. Late President Turgut Ozal said that Turkey did not want aid, but now was the time to trade. 'Turkey wanted to be a trade partner of the US as well as an old military ally watching an instable Russia. US response came as declaration of Turkey among 10 emerging markets for US trade in the years 2000.

From early relations until WW2

History of Turkish American relations date back to 1780s when the new US administration made friendship and commercial/naval agreements with the Ottoman provinces of Algeria, Tunis and Libya. Apart from that, the US did not have much interest in the Middle East. The sentiments were, as the American perception of the world being Eurocentric at the time, not positive towards the Ottoman Turks. In late 1860s American Missionaries were sent to Turkey to convert Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians and Assyrians into Protestant belief. To this end, 260 protestant American schools were opened in the Empire in a very short time. These schools exacerbated separatism and independence of ethnicities from the Empire.

In contrast with our efforts to keep Russia united today, independence fighters against the collapsing Ottoman Empire were hailed in the beginning

of this century. The immigrants who came to the US also contributed to the negative effect on the American minds against Turks.

Chronology

The first diplomatic contact with Istanbul was made in London between US Ambassador Rufus King and Ottoman Ambassador Yusuf Agah Efendi in 1797.

US-Turkish relations started mainly with the visits of merchant American ships to Turkish ports in 1797. First US Trade Representative in Izmir was William Stewart of Pennsylvania in 1802.

First US Consul David Offey started mission in Izmir in 1824 and served more than 30

years.

First courtesy visit of US Naval Fleet under the command of Commodore John Rogers to the Ottoman Empire was in 1826.

First treaty between the two states was signed in 1830 titled ATreaty of Friendship and

Commerce@.

First US Ambassador David Porter has started office in 1831 first as Charge d'affaires, then in 1839 as ambassador. This level was raised to Ambassador Extraordinary, plenipotentiary in 1906.

First Ottoman Ambassador Eduard Blacque was appointed to Washington in 1867.

US-Ottoman relations were severed in 1917 when US declared war on Germany. An ally of the Ottoman Empire then. But the two states did not declare war on each other, therefore the US had not been a party to Lausanne Peace Treaty of 1923. The two states have signed two parallel treaties on resuming diplomatic relations, on abolishing American capitulations, and on assistance in criminal law. But the US Congress did not ratify these treaties up to date.

Nevertheless, the diplomatic relations between the new Turkish Republic and the US resumed on February 11, 1927 by exchange of Notes.

During WW2

After the fatigue of two Centuries of wars, Turkey could succeed to stay neutral despite combined efforts of the US, Britain and Russia on the one hand and Germany on the other to push her into WW2 to their side. To this end, President Roosevelt declared in 1941 "A Defense of Turkey vital to the security of the US". In the end, Turkey did declare war on Germany on February 1945 to take her place among the family of states who have been the founders of the United Nations.

After WW2

Right after Yalta Conference of 1945, the USSR approached Turkey with imperialistic requests, asking for two Turkish provinces on the border, plus special rights on the Istanbul and Dardanelles Straits. Turkey rebuffed Russian threat while in the meantime contacting the US on the consequences of Russian imperialist designs on the free world once started with Turkey. The US though not taking the threat seriously in the beginning, has, one year after, decided to send a destroyer to Istanbul as a sign of friendship to Turkey, and following that, gave a Note to the USSR rejecting her requests on Turkish territory and waters.

Seeing the new menace to World peace, Harry Truman declared an assistance program to Turkey and Greece on February 27, 1947 against new Russian totalitarian Imperialism

Together with the Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of wartorn Europe, American aid has started to modernize the Turkish army and especially Turkish highways which were in bad shape both for military, and for civilian needs.

NATO

Following Truman Doctrine, US-Turkish relations gained momentum and Turkey joined the Western economies in founding the OECD. With the start of the Korean War on June 26, 1950, Turkey offered to send 4500 troops with the US, and the soldiers of the two nations fought together against communists.

After Korean war, Turkey wanted to be a member of NATO and Britain rejected saying it was a muslim nation. Later US administration was convinced of the need and Turkey was invited to join NATO on October 17, 1951.

The position of Turkey was evaluated in terms of

1. Strategic geography
2. Stable Regional Power
- 3 Reliability in international relations

In a parallel effort to contain Soviet expansionism in the region, Baghdad Pact was formed in 1955 including Turkey, Iran and Iraq. When Iraq had withdrawn, containment policy was resumed by the formation of CENTO, Central Treaty Organization with Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. CENTO later has been converted into an economic mission with the name of RCD. (Regional Cooperation and Development). Abolished after Iran revolution, today it is continued with the name ECO (Economic Cooperation Organization) with the accession of newly independent Central Asian Countries.

As the USSR grew its menace into Europe and into the Middle East, the US was seriously convinced in the importance of Turkey for the alliance. Soon, Jupiter Missiles were based in Turkey, then reconnaissance flights started from NATO bases in Turkey over Russia. and then Space communication and listening stations were established on Turkish territory against Russia. In 1960, Russians shot down Gary Powers in his U2 spy plane which took off from a base in Turkey.

Though hardly earned, Turkey's accession into NATO was a milestone in Turkish history and it was first time she was considered a member of the Western family. One of the consequences of Turkish accession into NATO was the creation of a military and bureaucratic elite, educated with Western norms and a window opening to the Western world. Same had happened in the Ottoman Empire, Western influence entering through military modernization.

Collapse of the USSR

Since US-Turkish relations were based on the containment of the USSR, after the collapse of the Soviets, importance of Turkey was devalued for a short time of euphoria and good terms with new Russian state. Turks started to feel left aside as the US gave more consideration to Russian interests over Turkish interests where a choice had to be made. But as political instability, economic chaos and nationalism started building in Russia, Caucasia and the Balkans, Turkey was again revalued as an ally. A NATO member especially as a land of stability among the boiling Middle East and the Balkans, a Regional Power

having the imperial experience of a responsible, calculating and predictable foreign policy, with connections to the Islamic world as well to the new born Turkish states in Central Asia spreading to Chinese border, and a candidate of the European Union.

Conflict of Interests

Now to break the monotony of data, I would like to attract your interests on some very few conflicting interests of our two states among the normally smooth and successful relations.

Cuban Crisis

During Cuban crisis, US agreed to the USSR to pull Jupiter missiles from Turkish territory without consulting Turkey. Together with the "flexible response" concept designed against Warsaw Pact, Turkey started questioning the reliability of NATO in case of a Soviet threat on Turkey.

Cyprus Crisis

During the decline of the Ottoman Empire, Britain offered the protection of Cyprus, a Turkish island since 1578, against Russia, and after WWI, annexed it. In 1950s, Greeks started asking for the annexation of the Island with Greece since they were the majority population on the island. Under the banner of Enosis (meaning union with Greece under Megali Idea, the ideal of recapturing all ancient Greek lands), they started ethnic cleansing of the Turkish population of the Island. Turkey sent 4 jets over the island to show her determination against Enosis. and President Johnson gave a very strong warning to Turkey which created the first break in the

Turkish sentiments for the US which in the minds of Turks was unjust. In 1967, Greek military took power in Greece and thought the time was ripe for annexing the island with Greece. In 1974 they toppled the Greek president of the Island, started massacres of Turkish villagers as the Serbs are doing today, and took control of Cyprus, then Turkish Army intervened. After carving a secure part of the Island for the Turkish population, Turkey was protested by the US administration and an arms embargo was put on Turkey that lasted until 1978 and did a considerable harm on Turkish military capabilities.

As you would see, here the US interest was against the Greek Military Junta and the toppled Greek President of Cyprus Makarios who was pro Russian. But bowing to Greek lobby in Washington, policy was chosen against Turkey

Armenian-Azeri Conflict

Another example of ethnic lobbying in the US foreign policy against American humanistic values is Azeri-Armenian conflict where Armenia is at the moment sitting on 20% of Azeri territory, having driven 1 million Azeris of Turkish ethnicity south as refugees, the US administration has put embargo on Azerbaijan with the reasoning of poor human rights in that country.

Gulf War

As it is so normal that there may be difference of opinions in the foreign policies of different states, one good case study would be the recent beheading of 4 Turks in Saudi Arabia according to Saudi law. As you know, Turkey and the US were allies in the Gulf War to save this Kingdom. And we know that their regime contrasts our Western values. Again a case study for you: Women and Democrats in this Kingdom are desperately crying for help, and now I want you to think on how we should balance our petroleum needs versus these cries in treating this country.

As you would know, one consequence of the Gulf War was the creation of a Kurdish Zone in Northern Iraq. Turkey wanted it, Turkey supported assistance for the Kurds of Iraq, donated more than \$100 million worth of food and medicines to these people, but in the end Turkey was the second loser in this war as Iraq. Our loss was in two main aspects The first one was, due to the embargo on Iraq, Turkey lost more than \$20 billion in oil pipeline and border trade. The second and grave result was the creation of a vacuum of power in North Iraq where Turkish separatists could find refuge and make border attacks back on Turkey. This terrorism was fed by the unemployment in Southeastern Turkey where the border trade came to a full stop creating an unprecedented unemployment in the region, leading to supplying idle manpower to terrorist organizations.

It is no secret that the leader of the PKK, declared one of the bloodiest terrorist groups of our time by the US, holds press conferences in his suite in Damascus, has training camps in the Syrian controlled Bekaa valley, and Turkey feels she can not get sufficient support from her allies against Hafez Assad.

Conclusion

Before I conclude my presentation, I want to emphasize on the interest groups at parliaments. At the Ottoman Parliament of 1876, a parliament of 22 different nationalities and religions, the deputies were so much after their own ethnic causes that the democracy of the Parliament virtually worked for the decomposition of the Empire. Looking from this background to Turkish-US relations, I see that some minorities work for the interests of their ethnic fatherlands than to their new land the US. Their efforts at your Congress do some harm on Turkey, but I wonder if the US gets any interest from these policies.

Let's hope that everybody would work to build, rather than ruin sentiments among peoples.

Since I was to speak at a college, I wanted to give Turkish-American relations in a generalized concept as to how international relations work, and tried to stimulate your thoughts for the possible solutions to improve the system. If I could stir some questions in your minds, I would just be happy.

Thank you.

| *International Women's Association of Chicago*

MEVLANA & LOVE FOR HUMANITY

by

Aydm Nurhan

Deputy Consul General of Turkey in Chicago

Chicago, May 22, 1997

“GREATEST MYSTICAL POET OF ISLAM, AND IT CAN WELL BE
ARGUED THAT HE IS THE SUPREME MYSTICAL POET OF ALL
MANKIND”

says Arthur J. Arberry, a British orientalist and expert on Mevlana.

Whereas Molla Jami, the last classical poet of Iran says in 1492,
WHAT SHALL I SAY IN PRAISING THIS LOFTY PERSONALITY?
HE IS NOT A PROPHET, BUT HE HAS A BOOK”

and he describes Mevlana's Magnum Opus, the Mathnawi as,

Mathnawi-yi maulawi-yi ma'nawi

hast Qur'an dar zabani pahlawi

translating

the spiritual couplets of Mevlana are the Qur'an in the Persian tongue

Poet, Mystic and Saint who has radiated light to mankind through centuries, many nations have embraced Mevlana, some jealously possessing him racially or culturally. He himself was beyond race, beyond matter, even beyond paradise which were for ordinary mortals.

He was immersed in **the Fifth Dimension**, “**LOVE**” a concept that transcended time and space.

Though Mevlana was against intellectual formats, still yet I want to start with a short encyclopedic introduction on him.

His full name was Mevlana Mustafa Jeleleddin Rumi.

Mevlana means “our beloved master”, Rumi means “of Rome”, as Asia Minor was then called.

He was born on September 30, 1207 in Khorasan, which today is located in the borders of Afghanistan. His father Bahauddin Weled left his homeland in 1218 due to political unrest and in 1228, settled in Konya, the capital of the Seljouk Empire. He was a respected and well known scholar and mystical theologian, having earned the title of Sultan ul Ulema (Master of the Scholars).

When he settled in Konya, Seljouk King Alaeddin Keykoubat built a special college in his honor and always showed great respect for him and consulted him.

Reminiscent of this relation, Mevlana’s Discourses “Diwan” start with Prophet Muhammed’s famous Hadith

“The worst of scholars is he who visits princes, and the best of princes is he who visits scholars”

So Mevlana in fact was the continuum of this intellectual and mystical line of the vast knowledge coming through his father.

His travels on a vast geography from Turkestan to Arabia to Anatolia, enabled Rumi to master Turkish, Persian, Arabic and Greek languages and use them masterfully in his poetry, as well as giving him access to all previous classical oriental and occidental knowledge.

After his father’s death in 1231, Mevlana took over his college and started teaching there until he met Shams of Tebriz in 1244, who made a profound impact on the life and personality of Rumi.

Mevlana married two times, second of which was after death of his first wife, and had 4 children. He died on December 17, 1273 in Konya and is buried in Yesil Turbe, Green Dome, *His son tells of his funeral*

“The people of the city, young and old
were all lamenting, crying, sighing loud
The villagers as well as Turks and Greeks

they tore their shirts from grief for this great man
“he was our Jesus” thus Christians spoke
“He was our Moses” said the Jews of Him”

WORKS

Before we enter the realm of love, let me briefly quote Mevlana’s works:

*Mevlana’s Magnum Opus is his *Mathnawi* which is composed in 6 books of 25.000 verses with metaphors, folk tales, anecdotes and jokes

*His earlier work is his *Diwan-i Shams-i Tabrizi*, a collection of nearly 45.000 odes, songs of love and sorrow that reflect his spiritual divine love in the person of his friend Shams.

*His Discourses, *Fih-i Ma Fih* is comprised of his scholarly teachings including stories from classical thinkers.

*Maktubat are his letters to dignitaries and friends

*Mejalis-i Seb’a are his public lectures as a preacher.

Now let’s observe Mevlana’s Time and Environment

In 13th Century, Asia Minor was the melting pot of Oriental and Occidental civilizations and ethnicities, of Arabs, Jews, Armenians, Greeks and Turks , and was a thriving center for commerce, arts and knowledge and Seljouk capital Konya was radiating enlightenment.

And yet this enlightenment was attracting the appetites of Mongolians and Crusaders. Their rage was devastating the world, and out of exhaustion, many a people of Anatolia be it muslim or christian or jew, went ascetic and found refuge in various forms of sufism, letting go of all worldly desires.

There were Muslim Turks living in Byzantium as well as Greeks living in the Seljuk Empire, both in friendship and harmony based on traditional Anatolian tolerance. There was a formless harmony that transcended the borders and ethnicities. This inner harmony was Sufism, rather Tasawwuf as it is called in Muslim world.

Muslim Sufis were interchanging with Christian hermits and this helped much to build a harmonious atmosphere in Anatolia. Turks coming from a Shamanistic, Pantheistic culture, injected their own flexibility into Islam, and hence many orthodox, especially sunni scholars observed Mathnawi as perfect

expression of pantheistic mysticism. Hence it is not surprising to see Indo-Muslims, Afghanis and Central Asian Turks embracing Mevlana so dearly.

Mevlana and sufism is especially embraced by Persians since sufism was more tolerant than orthodox sunni sect. Sufism proposed a guide, and a mystical hierarchy also practiced in the Shia sect of Islam in the form of Imamate.

It was sufi missionaries like Mevlana and Yunus Emre coming from a heritage of Central Asian pantheistic pattern who softened the Orthodox views of Islam, put a vast tolerance and love of humanity into its practice and thus spread it with nearly lightning speed in Asia and Asia Minor and the Balkans. Many historians point to their effect on the quick rise of the Ottoman Empire, reaching many lands especially in the Balkans, many a time without even using sword.

LOVE AND MEVLANA

Before meeting Shams of Tebriz, Mevlana was a respected scholar, professor of religious canon and law, and as a man of saintly heart, he was loved by all in Konya from the poorest to the King, from Muslim to fireworshipper. Though his love for humans and their love for him were worldly in essence.

With the tremendous and sudden change after meeting Shams, a strange and unknown sufi from Tebriz, his love become universal in essence.

SHAMS UL HAQ OF TABRIZ

Rumi met this strange sufi in October of 1244, when he was 37 years and Shams was 60 years old. His life changed miraculously at once when Shams posed him the quintessential question;

“Who was the greatest, Bayezid (Bistami 874 Iran), or Muhammad?”

Muhammad said to God “I have not known thee as I should have”

Bayezid said “Subhani-GLORY BE TO ME. HOW HIGH IS MY DIGNITY”

Here, in the second line, Prophet and God are separate concepts and we see dualism.

Whereas in the third line, the sufi means He is God, we see oneness.

This was the eternal dilemma of religions between oneness, “deification”, and of prophetic dualism where prophet is the servant of the Lord as a separate entity.

Orthodox scholars use sura 53:9

for duality, which says that at the highest level near God a prophet can approach is at the standing distance of “Kaba qawsain” Two bows length.

Whereas other suras were used for pantheistic interpretation of islam

Sura 2/109

“withersoever you turn, there is the Face of God”

Sura 2/151

“verily we belong to God, and to Him we are returning”

Anyway, Rumi fainted at this dilemma, and when he came to his senses, he was in spiritual love with Shams. Overwhelming personality of Shams revealed to Rumi the mysteries of divine majesty and beauty and Love. In Shams, he lived the divine spiritual love. Rumi left professing at the college, left all his disciples, and let go of the exterior world for 16 months. Reacting to their union, some of his disciples and his son Alaeddin protested Shams, a while after which he mysteriously disappeared. This event of 1248 left an unbearable pain on Rumi, hence he became a poet and dancer. Diwani Shams-i Tabrizi was born out of this spiritual love.

“I am afraid to call you god”

“You are that light which said to Moses:

I am God, I am God, I am God!”

Rumi also compares Shams to Jesus in other verses. With Shams, Dualism died, and for Mevlana, all was one, all was God, “everything was charged with the Grandeur of God”. He was beyond time and space as he said;

“what shall I do, o ye muslims, for I do not know myself anymore;

I am neither Christian, nor Jew, nor Zoroastrian, nor Muslim”

Or his verse

“72 sects will hear from us, their own mystery.

We are like the flute which, with a single mode, is tuned to 200 religions”

And he hates radicalism and fanaticism. Exiled from homeland, having seen destruction and violence through childhood, widowed with young kids, having lost his spiritual master, yet he still testified that life has a meaning, love and joy transcend all sorrow, in the end, nothing is absurd because man is infinitely greater than man. He sure was an Optimist and he sees good in whatever God does:

“thanks be to God that this prayer was rejected:

I thought it was loss, but it has turned out to be gain”

“and if he closes before you all the ways and passes,

he will show a hidden way which nobody knows”

He also thanks God for exposing him to bad people, so that before criticising them, he can test his soul if he has the same evil and first clean his own SELF. And like Christ, he prays for those who are bad.

“They wrought so much wickedness and injustice and oppression

that they cast me forth from evil into God..

..it behoves me to pray for them”

Here we hear his most famous words of love for mankind and tolerance:

Ger kafer-u ger sanem peresti baz ay

Sad bar eger tovbe sikesti baz ay

In dergeh-i ma dergeh-i novmidi nist

Baz a baz a her onchi hesti ba ay

“come, come, come again,

whoever you may be,

come again, even though

you may be an infidel or a fire worshipper

our home is not one of despair,

come, come even if you have broken your repentance a hundred times

come again

As we said Love was the Fifth Dimension, Now let's enter deeper into Divine Love with Mevlana: He says,

“the religion of love knows no difference between the seventy-two sects. It is different from all religions.”

And Mevlana's love has a Dynamic character;

“Love makes the ocean boil like a kettle,

and makes the mountains like sand”

Sufi's travel into the realm of love starts with a noble soul and a sound intelligence. For a novice, knowledge and intellect are good assets. But these assets are evil assets if not tamed by sufism.

“cunning intelligence is from satan, love from adam”

Or take Muhammed Iqbal’s words

“intelligence without love is the satanic illness of the world”

As for Shams,

true “Knowledge is to cross from the unknown into the known”

and recites Sanai

“If knowledge does not liberate the self from the self,

Then ignorance is better than such knowledge”

And Mevlana’s dislike for raw intellect

“just as a child cannot understand the acts of intellect, thus intellectuals are incapable of understanding love.”

“intellect is a stick to help blind find his way, but love is a candle,

what use is candle to give light to the blind in darkness?”

“intellect is a thief to be hanged when love becomes the ruler of the country”

“Intellect is indeed like the donkey that carries books.”

reason says: the six directions are the limit, there is no way out!

love says: there is a way, and I have gone it several times!

reason saw a bazaar and began to trade

love has seen other markets beyond this market

“far be the intellectuals from lovers,

far be the smell of the ash from morning breeze”

As we see from the verses above, Mevlana gives a lower level to knowledge and intelligence which are imprisoned in logic. He sees them as inferior steps, perhaps mere preliminary tools on the path to LOVE.

For Mevlana, the throne for divine love is the heart. To reach divine union, one must clean her heart from the self, since TWO cannot sit in the heart. Only God can sit in that throne. If one can manage to kill the NAFS, the SELF of earthly desire, only then one can reach divine union, melt in the divine love and dissolve in God, BECOME GOD.

This is called FANA, mystical experience aiming complete destruction of soul, and rise to annihilation in beloved. In this first phase, the sufi unites in soul with God, and becomes light.

And sufis support this ONENESS by the main pillar of Islam

“La ilahe Illallah” meaning “There is No God but God”

Here the negation **“LA”** meaning **“NO”** is the key word.

As Sanai, another master sufi says,

“La is a broom

clean this house from yourself, see that imperial beauty

go take the broom **“No”**, for the **“No”** is good for sweeping the house.

After cleaning the heart with **“LA”**, the negation, then sufi calls God saying he is prepared for transformation into nothingness **“illa”**. This is total destruction, end of existence. Illa means no existence but ONE. And one is God. Only at this point one can start his new existence, **existence in God**. So ultimate Sufism is a person’s Union with God, her oneness with God, as Rumi says, **“Her dissolving in God as sugar melts in water.”**

“Whence do we seek existence?

from renouncing existence”

In the ocean of Godhead, neither fear, nor hope, neither patience nor gratitude is any longer existent, and the angel of death has no power over the sufi.

Yet it is not easy to attain continual Oneness in God. Once reaching annihilation in God, one has to work for the higher level in Tasawwuf, which is BAQA, permanently staying in God. This state is the ultimate state of **Continual Orgasm of being God**.

After BAQA, the soul having become pure divine light, lands back to humanity and radiate divine grace to creation.

As Arab proverb goes,

“ We have learned in order to give, we have not learned in order to take”

This thought is symbolised in the SEMA, the ecstatic dance of the whirling Mevlevi Dervishes as the right hand is opened up to resemble taking from God, and left hand looking down representative of giving to creation.

SUFISM (TASAWWUF)

Having entered the field of Sufism, now let us elaborate a little while in this realm.

“What is Sufism?” Rumi says,

“To find joy in the heart when afflictions come”

In Ibn al Jalla’s words,

Sufism is “TRUTH WITHOUT FORM”

It is the gnostic way of knowing God, seeing God in all creation. It is the way to seek truth of divine love and knowledge through direct personal experience of God.

As first Khalif Abu Baqr has said

“Not to be able to comprehend understanding is already to understand”

Sufism is not a Doctrine, it is not a rational science, it is a Way. There is no systematic, no logical sequence in Rumi’s Sufism.

But Annemarie Schimmel, a master scholar of Harvard University on Rumi observes a subtlety;

“yet there is a secret order behind this seemingly illogical work”

Rabia al Adawiyyah

Sufism, a word that comes from the root Arabic word “suwf-wool” with reference to the garments worn by early Islamic ascetics, was first formulated by a lady, Rabia al Adawiyyah of Basra at about 800 AD. She said she was not afraid of Hell. She said she did not want paradise, she wanted love of God. She thus added love to classical asceticism and turned it into mysticism with element of love. As one of the most important ladies in human history, Rabia was not alone, on her path, Mevlana also had lady disciples, wives of Seljuk dignitaries even became sufi sheikhs themselves.

Sufism is taught inside a tariqa (order or brotherhood) and has gradual, burdensome stages of rising to Divine love. The pain of the sufi is like that of the reed flute that has been cut off from its bed. This is the famous metaphor Mevlana uses for the Sufi who longs for union with God that he has been separated from.

Mesnevi, the masterwork of Mevlana starts with this metaphor of the reed flute.

Beshnow in ney chun hikayet mikuned

Ez cuda-i ha shikayet mikuned

Kez neyestan ta mara bob ri de end

Ez nefirem mardu zen nalidi end

Listen to the reed flute telling you a story and lamenting the separation:

Since I was cut from the stalk, my song makes men and women weep.

I want a heart split by the separation to fill with the sorrow of my desire. Whoever is far from his source, aspires to the moment when he will be reunited.

And the verse

what does the ascetic seek? Rahmet “your mercy”

what does the lover seek? Zahmet “your pain”

Mevlana resembles sufi's love to a Moth flying around a candle light, in the end casting itself into its flames, burn in it and gain new existence in it. And the summary of Mevlana

I WAS RAW, GOT COOKED, THEN BURNED

AND BURNED, AND BURNED, AND BURNED

As for the principles of Sufism, we can start with its humanism, fraternity, humility and tolerance. Then we should emphasize that it is not an ascetic belief system. As against the life styles of ascetics, sufi lives among ordinary human beings, has a craft, works hard in his daily life, has a family, and earns money for his labor. By practice he tries to be a beacon, a light for his society, his environment.

GUIDANCE

Every sufi must have a master, because the path to union with God has a lot of challenges and if the seeker does not have a guide, he may lose his way spiritually, even end up in psychological breakdown.

“Whosoever goes on the path without the guide,

for him a way of two days becomes a hundred years.”

“I seek pir, I seek pir, I seek pir!

he who has no sheikh will be guided by satan”

WEEPING

For a Sufi, weeping is like performing ablution with shedding tears. Weeping is a door to enlightenment. It shows sincerity and plays an important role for a sufi. Mevlana resembles tears to the blood of the martyr.

JIHAD

The Great Holy War Mainly misunderstood as against the infidel, it is the fight against the greatest infidel, the SELF, “NAFS”, the lower soul, the basic animal instinct. And to tame the nafs, he proposes fasting and sleeping little. He says one must not eat to fill, then he becomes satan’s donkey.

“Only when empty the reed can sing”

TAWAKKUL

Tawakkul is Trust in God, and only the highest spirit can attain a real trust in God and give herself in. And Mevlana hates lazy, unproductive beggar dervishes who sit idle under the pretext of tawakkul, rationalizing that trusting in God is enough to be a saint. He relies on Prophet Mohammads words “First tie your camel’s knees, then trust in god” So tawakkul is the highest order, and not a state for beginners.

SABR PATIENCE

Man is like Joseph in the well of this world, who waits for the rope to take him out

SHUKR GRATITUDE

Gratitude should be the collar of the neck. For,

“Gratitude for kindness is better than the favor received.”

When you hear the voice of gratitude, you get ready to give more. When God loves a servant, He afflicts him; if he endures with fortitude, He chooses him, if he is grateful, He elects him... Gratitude is a sovereign antidote, changing wrath into grace.”

patience shows itself from the yellow face

gratitude from the radiant red face

FEAR AND HOPE

These factors are important in early preparation phase of sufism. After preliminary state, they lose their mission.

“The seaman is always on the planks of fear and hope

When the plank and the man get annihilated,

there is nothing but immersion”

POVERTY

**Sadrudin Qunavi, a contemporary of Rumi, defines him as the
“Majordomo of Mohamman poverty”**

Hadith

“When poverty becomes perfect, it becomes God”

faith is better than prayer

faqih (scholar) knows the form of prayer

faqir (poor) knows the soul of prayer

But Rumi scorns ascetic dervishes for their meaningless abstinence.

“Seek poverty in the light of God,

don’t seek it in the coarse cloth

If every naked person were a true man,

then garlic would be a man too”

MAWLAWI ORDER

Tarikat, order, is the itinerary from observance of law (sharia) to reaching Divine reality (haqiqah). Since Islam prohibits suicide, it is the wish to experience God before death.

Mevlana himself did not found an order himself. But after his death, his son Sultan Weled organized his disciples into sufi order and established rules of mystical dance sema.

As the Mevlevi thought was against anarchy and violence, as it was not involved in daily, worldly politics, it fit the ideology of the state mechanism, hence statesmen from Fatih to Ataturk did not touch them, rather used them as a shield against revolutionary sects. Though by time, this status centralized and aristocratized the order.

Mevlevi order gained an important social status in time, gave the society scientists, poets, composers, and after reaching a certain legitimacy, started giving the Ottoman Sultans investitures. Its leader had the right to gird every new Ottoman Sultan with the sword.

We should note that classical Turkish music is unthinkable without Mevlevi order, which has created the best composers of Ottoman classical music.

Hat, the art of calligraphy was also a gift of the Mevlevi order to the Ottoman classical arts.

SOME THOUGHTS ON MEVLANA'S IDEAS

Three Centuries before Copernicus, Mevlana said, if you can cut an atom, you would find in it the solar system in miniature. He also said Earth revolved around sun, and that there were 9 planets around it. And his cosmic verses

in outer form Adam may be called microcosm

in internal meaning, he is macrocosm

Some chroniclers have written that Rumi had experienced prophetic ecstatic raptures, was able to transgress time and space, or to be present at several places at once. He says that one who has completely surrendered his will into the will of God, is capable of miracles, because everything in the world obeys him who obeys God. And, one who fears God, does not fear humans.

Elaborating on Mevlana's thoughts, perhaps the first thing we can say is that he is **SPONTANEOUS**. There are no forms, no structures, no memorized patches in his brain. All facts, datas, experiences have diluted in his mind, a great divine synthesis, a universal harmony.

How can mortal "I" be myself if I keep other peoples' ideas, even my own ideas as memorized patches in my mind?

I should forget all I have learned. Memorized, classified, individual patches should have no place in my mind.

I should strive to create and recreate my own syntheses; only in this **active** peace and harmony will I be content.

Multiple data and values, or even Dual concepts in mind destroy the harmony of the self. This is what we call **Integrity** in our ordinary life. And Mevlana beautifully teaches the ordinary person with his famous admonition:

APPEAR AS YOU BE, OR BE AS YOU APPEAR

Mevlana takes this personal integrity to the Divine level in his endeavor. And he reaches annihilation, total destruction, non-existence so the SELF is burned and united in divine fire. This is reminiscent of the theory of creation, when all was fire, then cooling and decomposition began, and Mevlana wants to go back to that time or to the future of glowing cosmic union... And the central problem is that only a few humans try to re-establish their previous high rank, or even are aware of it.

As we travel in cosmic time, now let's remember Darwin and dive into the evolution theory of Mevlana. He says:

“Man began during the reign of inorganic things. From there he passed into the reign of plants without remembering his former condition. When he passed into the animal state, he didn't remember being a plant either, he only retained an affection for that state, particularly in Spring when the flowers bloom. This affection is similar to that of a small child for his mother, he ignores the reason why he is attracted to the maternal bosom. It is also similar to the affection of the disciple for his spiritual master. The limited intelligence of the disciple derives from the Universal Intelligence. Then man entered the human state. He has no memory of his first souls and he will be changed again from his present soul”

(Mathnawi, IV, 3637 s.)

Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch, a French scholar on Mevlana says,

“In the Western philosophies, from Plato to Heidegger, thought moves constantly in a field of permanent conflict; that of the duality of the body and the soul, object and subject. In contrast, the Sufis want to establish an opening on a dimension which is beyond all duality, recovering the universal aspect of the inner consciousness. The **underlying unity of multiplicity** is the essential theme of Islamic thinking, be it in the field of metaphysics, or in art and its symbolism.”

As we modernize and as individualism and **awareness of ones interests** grows deeper, as Greko-Roman rational tradition of dualism, conflict and craving for logical standardization reach radical dimensions, as human mind is imprisoned by geometrical borders of intellect, as race, ethnicity and contrasts are the parameters of thought, Mevlana comes back smiling and offering us the divine harmony.

speech delivered

by

Aydm Nurhan

Consul General of the Republic of Turkey

Melbourne, Australia

on the occasion of

86th Anniversary of the Republic of Turkey

Melbourne, 29 October 2009

The Honorable Robert F. SMITH, MLC

President of the Legislative Council,

My Dear Friend Nick Kotsiras,

Shadow Minister for Cultural Affairs,

Ambassador William Fisher

Director of DFAT, Victoria,

Members of the Consular Corps,

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

I thank you all for joining us this evening to celebrate the 86th anniversary of our transition from a dying Empire to a rising Republic.

As many of you know by now, I try to be concise in my speeches. Yet, as diplomacy is a craft of apprenticeship, I asked my Vice-Consul, İsmail Civelik to make a try on drafting our speech for tonight, therefore for the long minutes you will suffer, you should blame him, not me. ☺

The topic we chose for this year, is the pro-active, constructive foreign policy overtures of Turkey in our region and in the global village.

In perfect harmony with Ataturk's motto, "Peace at home, Peace in the World", our government's new policy is "zero problem with neighbors". Since the demise of the Ottoman Empire, our region is in turmoil, blood and tears, and it is time we deal with nearly century old problems in our region, together with our neighbours and allies.

Democratic Overture

Yet to deal with her region, Turkey firstly had to deal with her own internal problems accumulated in nearly a century. First, having the trauma of the decomposition of our multicultural Ottoman Empire, then having passed the trepidations of a newly forming uniformist nation state, now Turkish Republic is confident enough to see its traditional ethnic and religious variety as richness, as was so in our millennial history. Within this context and the new democratic openings of our Government, our Kurdish citizens as well as other colors of our society are breathing more democracy than ever before.

And our government's vigorous foreign policy opening which is watched by our Nato allies with unease is basically the direct outcome of this fundamental, profound internal political transformation.

Our allies should understand that we are in a new Century, their direct counterparts are the democratically elected governments, accountable to grassroots public pressure. Our allies should be prepared to respect the decisions of our governments based on the pursuance of the interests and values of their electorate as with any other sovereign democratic nation.

And our allies should rest assured that, in spite of some short-sighted European leaders trying to push Turkey away from Europe, Turkey has no intention of shifting away from the West, nor break our historical, traditional relations with Israel and our Jewish friends.

Yet they should expect more independent multilateral policy openings of Turkey regionally and globally, because we are surrounded with fire since nearly a century, and we do not want to be surrounded by fire anymore.

We do not want to be enemies with our neighbours, namely Armenia, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Greece. Taking our friendship with Iran and Syria as alienation of Turkey from her Western allies is unfair and unjust. Our friendship with these countries should not harm our traditional alliances, on the contrary, help

build bridges of peace and harmony in the region. We also believe that these countries are vital for the energy needs of the West in 21st Century.

Within this context, we abolished the visas between Syria and Turkey, practically lifting all obstacles against trade and human relations at the grassroots. In Strategic Partnership, we started joint cabinet meetings on regular periodical basis. Similar policies go for Iraq. As our economies merge, the borders between Turkey, Syria and Iraq may, sooner than imagined, be non-relevant...

Yesterday, our Prime Minister was in Iran, a state with millennial, predictable instincts, and we want to engage Iran in our grand energy lines project between the Orient and the Occident. It is good for the West. Moreover, we want to re-establish the historical Silk Road between Istanbul and Beijing, which was broken in 16th Century by the discoveries on the high seas.

As for the ubiquitous EU... ☺

Our EU process is moving slowly but steadily, more based on real-politic than sentiments. We understand the reactions of some European leaders against our accession into the EU, it is not easy for them to unite with their historical “other” and, especially as they come from a historically exclusive civilization, be able to keep their identity intact.

Both sides are playing for time, and we will see what the future brings. Rationally, Turkey wants to join the EU for political reasons rather than economic concerns. Turkish economy is nearing a trillion dollars, and with her dynamic human resources, she is not as dependent economically on EU membership as was the case in the beginning.

With the unexpected global trends and especially energy needs, we believe that Turkey will not be a burden to the EU, to the contrary, an asset for the EU. With her millennial imperial experience, Turkey is among the most reliable and predictable states of international politics. With such historical load, she does not have the luxury of irresponsible tactical zigzagging, and our Western allies know it too well.

USA

After EU, comes the USA. Since Korean War, Turkey and the US are staunch allies and this will certainly stay so. Our common ideals and main policy lines will stay intact, yet, a grassroots democratic Turkey may be more

inclining to heed her own colors and interests within our joint approach to world affairs, and our American friends should try to understand our democratic transition..

Russia

With Russia, we made 13 wars in history, today we have zero conflict. We are cooperating in the Caucasus, Azeri-Armenian conflict, in energy lines, and Russia is our second partner in foreign trade, and our second biggest tourist income is from Russians.

The Balkans

As in the Middle East, since the demise of the Ottoman Empire, Balkans are in continual turmoil and we believe that a peaceful solution would be their re-union under the flag of the EU. Within this design, our procession into the EU would again make borders meaningless soon, with Turkish economy extending into these countries with our EU accession. We evaluate our Greek and Cypriot problems in the same context.

Africa

Apart from our regional openings, Turkey is enthusiastically entering Africa with 10 new embassies added to our former 8 embassies. 2005 was declared as the year of Africa.

Last year, we organized the First Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit in Istanbul with the participation of Heads of State/Government from almost all African countries. Now, Turkey is in constant consultation with African countries in various fora.

Relations between Turkey and Australia

The first encounter of Turkey and Australia was on the battlefields of Gallipoli, the scene of a fierce but at the same time gentlemanly war. This has created a bond of mutual respect, admiration and friendship.

Today, Turkey and Australia, both G-20 members, support each other in nearly every field, including environmental problems. We thank Australia for supporting us in our election for the Security Council, we do cooperate in other UN and multilateral issues. A friendly Australia being an important player in the Pacific, can help Turkey trying to open to the region.

The number of Australians of Turkish origin who call Australia their home are estimated to be around 150.000. We are proud of the contribution they made to political, economic and social development of Australia. They are well integrated to the social environment of Australia knowing that without integration, success will be a far fetched dream.

And now, I have a little surprise for you.

As you may remember, we had started a new initiative last year, acknowledging our award-winning community members and sponsors who helped Turkish Community with their donations and services. Their names are on two placards this evening.

I thank our benevolent sponsors,

And congratulate our award winners, beacons of our community.

And this year!...

We are starting yet another initiative.

As of today, we are establishing

the Cultural Award of the Consulate General of Turkey

And the first ever goes to,,,

Mrs. Hilkat Ozgun

Apart from being a respectable scientist with awards, she is the leading cultural locomotive of the Turkish Community with an unending energy, yet, beyond all, she raises two kids with best manners, and I cannot understand how she balances her time among all these successes.

Thank you Hilkat for what you gave us.

Thank you all for sharing our happiness.

speech delivered
by
Aydm Nurhan
Consul General

on the occasion of the
87th Anniversary of the Republic of Turkey
Melbourne, 29 October 2010

The Hon. Liz Beattie, Member of Parliament, rep.the Premier of
Victoria,

The Hon. Nick Kotsiras, Shadow Minister for Cultural Affairs,

The Hon. Kelvin Thompson Federal Member of Parliament,

The Hon. George Seitz Member of Parliament,

The Honorable Nazih Elasmr Member of Parliament,

The Hon. Judith Madigan Member of Parliament,

Members of the Consular Corps,

Members of the Media,

Members of the Academia,

Dear Friends,

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

I thank you all for joining us this evening to celebrate the 87th anniversary of our Republic, founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk out of the ashes of our collapsed Ottoman Empire.

Taking the opportunity, today I would like to talk to you about multiculturalism, one of the top issues of our global community, and our long story of marriage with the European Union.

Descending from a multiethnic, multifaith empire, multiculturalism has a special importance in Turkish civilization.

And the first question we may ask is; what happened to the millennial multiculturalism of the Turkish civilization as we lost an empire?

Before modernity entered the Ottoman lands, the multiple ethnicities and faiths, namely the Armenians, Jews, Greeks, Arabs, Bulgars, Serbs, Latins, etc. all lived under the “Millet” system, in their own civil jurisdictions under their religious leaders. The communities did not have ghettos, neither physical, nor mental. Some had quarters, yet many were living intermingled with each other, minarets next to church bells and synagogues.

The Ottoman “Millet” system in its hey days was like the Ottoman art of marbling, pastel colors fading gradually into each other. And all groups met at a mental, spiritual Agora, the Ottoman Civilization. All added to it, all took from it.

As positivist philosophy started entering the collapsing empire, all social groups were forced to have distinct, clear cut identities, hence devastating the harmonious, subtle unity among them. With winds of French Revolution sweeping into the Empire, first the Balkans, then the muslim subjects of the Empire started to assume their modern distinct identities based on ethnicity and/or religion, gradually turning into modern nationalities.

As empires curve the zenith, lose self-confidence, and legitimacy, the distinct groups tend to break away, and that in turn pushes the core nation into a more rigid psychology of uniformity due to fear of further decomposition. We lost our flexible multicultural tradition, and this vicious cycle brought the end of the Ottoman Empire.

And today, all uniformist nation states born out of Westphalia system and French Revolution are feeling the pinch of the inflexible mono-culture illness, the greatest threat to our global family, the motto of the supremacists within nation states and in the international arena, being, “You must be like me, if not, you are a threat to be eradicated”. Or say, “I am superior, hence have the right to make you like myself.”

In Turkey, our consolation is that, our maturing Republic is on the rise, having more self confidence, leaving late Ottoman positivistic, uniformist philosophy behind, and as hundreds of thousands of legal and illegal foreign workers are joining our booming economy, re-interpreting our historical heritage for a harmonious 21st Century multiculturalism.

Diaspora and EU membership

Now the second importance of multiculturalism for us Turks: As masses of foreign workers are forcing our doors, we still have a large diaspora, 5 million Turks, majority of them in Europe.

Relations of our European friends with Immigrant Turks among them is a very important test case for the future union of the Turks with the Europeans under the EU project. So this is not only a humanitarian issue, but also a millennial political issue, the Christian European meets her “other”, the Muslim Turk in a new philosophy. An unbearable revolutionary thought for many.

In this relation, the European unease can be evaluated in two aspects, yet one leads to the other. One, how to assimilate the Turkish immigrants in Europe, two, how to digest Turkey in the EU.

Here, one vital point, some of our European friends do not understand, or do not want to understand, is the historical fact that the immigrant Turks of Europe, no matter how undereducated, are the representatives of a millennial civilization that was alone the “other” of Europe. Such a powerful civilization cannot be assimilated. If this is what Europeans want, it is a hopeless case.

Then what to do?

The valid philosophical question is: Is Europe capable of co-surviving with her other?

The EU project would be dwarfed if the dream comes true, and the marriage of the descendants of the Muslim Ottoman Civilization with the descendants of the Christian European Civilization becomes real.

And we Turks are very self-confident for such a marriage, perhaps one of the greatest would be projects of human history.

In a world of vigorous change and uncertainty, the Ottoman philosophy of

“Co-Survival in Harmony”

may be some beacon for our grand dream, Turkish-EU family.

Good for Europe, good for our global village.

Thank you.

speech delivered

by

Aydm Nurhan

Consul General

on the occasion of the

88th Anniversary of the Republic of Turkey

Melbourne, 28 October 2011

My Dear Friends

Honourable Nickolas Kotsiras,

Minister for Multi-Cultural Affairs and Citizenship,

The Honourable Daniel Andrews,

Leader of the Opposition,

Members of Parliament,

Councillors,

Members of the Consular Corps,

Academics, Members of the Media,

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

May I also welcome my former Ambassador to Canberra H.E.Murat Ersavci and his lady wife Zeynep who are back here to enjoy being grannies of a baby boy for the first time J

Dear friends,

I thank you all for joining us this evening to celebrate the 88th anniversary of our Republic, founded by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk out of the ashes of our collapsed Ottoman Empire.

As my Government already asked for an agreement from the Government of Ghana to appoint me as Turkey's Ambassador to Accra, this may be my last National Day speech in my beloved Melbourne, the city of my best days and friendships throughout my 33 year diplomatic career.

To be honest, I did not want to come to Melbourne, because the "Down Under" was too far. Yet it took me only one week to fall in love with her.

The first things to catch my attention in Melbourne were,
Jolly, friendly people,
and an embracing culture.

I never felt an outsider, I was a Melburnian as any citizen in this wonderful town.

From the point of a diplomat,

Economically; a country where some workers live in half million dollar houses and drive Mercedes cars, hence the question of Australia's position in global labour competition.

Socio-Politically; another initial impression and question which rose in my mind was Australian identity between West and the Pacific. In the foreseeable future, did it psychologically intend to belong to the West or to the East?

Turkey too is seated between two great civilizations, and the successor of a great civilization herself, yet lost her confidence for a hundred years, recovering and making tries to harmonize her heritage for a new comeback in between Christian and Muslim realms.

Turkish Republic is on the rise in every field, the more we become a regional power, the more questions of identity shall we face.

I think the same goes for Australia. She is a healthy young State on the rise, I believe, with a bright future as a regional power.

Yet with power, will come serious decisions we both have to make soon.

We both are optimistic rising powers, but what good is it if we are living in a dangerous global village, and the next 80-90 years to come for our children and grand-children are full of unknowns?

If we want to leave a prosperous world to our children, we should work for all humanity rather than thinking of our petty local and national interests. And main responsibility rests with academia, media, politicians and diplomats.

Descending from Ottoman heritage, I have a certain understanding of civilization:

Great civilizations on the rise, have great confidence, and let themselves be affected by their environment. They constantly, spontaneously take inputs from their environment, harmoniously synthesize them, and radiate them back to their environment.

Whereas shrunken, declining nation states are afraid of foreign influence, reject anything foreign, close in and tend to be uniformist, the apex of which is racism.

Today, the best modern example of the Ottoman inclusiveness is the American Civilisation, yet, as its economy falters, this inclusiveness gets more fragile every other day.

Our beloved Victoria I think is among the best, if not the best, in the world, and I hail my dear friends Ted Bailieu and the opposition leader Daniel Andrews for their joint stand on “multiculturalism, a mosaic concept” yet, to evolve into the synthesis of Australian Civilization.

We Turks too, rejecting our Ottoman past and affected by modern positivist uniformity in the twilight of the Empire and dawn of the Republic, are bearing the pains of returning back to our all-inclusive civilization.

With these considerations in my mind, my main concern in Melbourne was harmony in my office, harmony among the Turkish-Australian community, and harmony among our fellow Melburnians.

As my Ambassadors in Canberra had to deal with political issues, I had the luxury of dealing mainly with cultural issues, and we did beautiful things in Melbourne with the Turkish and greater Melburnian cultural community. I am grateful to all my friends, but especially Nick Kotsiras, George Lekakis, Hass Dellal, Jill Morgan, Rob Gebert, Hakan Akyol, Zakir Yildirim, Cemal Akdeniz, Hilkat Ozgun and last but not least, our benevolent sponsors for their support in our multicultural harmony.

As I leave Melbourne, I am leaving behind our new 10 million dollar “Marble Hall”, to be finished by the end of November, to be used for cocktails, ball dinners, art exhibitions, lectures and recitals with a grand Yamaha piano.

MARBLE HALL is a little contribution of the Turkish community to the culture of Melbourne, free of charge for cultural events for the good of our beloved Melburnians.

And lastly, I want to tell you about the “Cultural Award of the Turkish Consulate General” which we founded in 2009 only for Aussies of Turkish descent, and awarded to Mrs. Hilkat Ozgun.

In 2010, we thought it would be more appropriate to call it Multi-Cultural, and include an Aussie of non-Turkish descent too. And the twin winners for 2010 were Mr.George Lekakis and Mr.Cemal Akdeniz.

And now, the winners of this year...

Ms. Rachel Atkinson and the “Nefes Ensemble” ...

They were the ambassadors of Ottoman Classical Music and Sufi Music in Australia.

Please give them a big applause...

And the other prize goes to...

“Harmony Platform”...

who made my dreams come true with their Iftar dinners since the last three years, with 630 guests this year, all the Turkish religious associations uniting in goodness for our Melbourne.

This prize symbolizes harmony, giving us the message that there are no fanatic Islamist organizations among the Turks of Australia. I thank them from the bottom of my heart.

Please bring your hands together for these beautiful spirits who have worked for the harmony of human beings.

And thank you, and farewell my beloved Australia.

| *Iftar of Harmony 2010*

EVOLUTION OF MODERN ISLAMIC UNDERSTANDING IN TURKEY

by

Aydm Nurhan

Consul General of the Republic of Turkey

Melbourne, 11 August 2010

The honourable Minister James Merlino,
The honourable Maria VAMVAKINOY, Federal Member for Caldwell
The honourable Kelvin THOMPSON, Federal Member for Wills and
Mrs. Kerry GORDON
Commander Alan SCOTT, Australian Federal Police
Mr. Paul RAMADGE, Editor in Chief of The Age
Mr. Ashley M. DICKINSON, Victoria Police
Mr. Geoff DOBSON, Mayor, Shepparton City Council
Cr. Selcuk SANLI, Maribyrnong City Council
Cr. Helen PATSIKATHEODOROU, Hume City Council
Cr. Burhan YIGIT, Hume City Council
Cr. Angela LONG, City of Greater Dandenong
Cr. Mary LALIOS, City of Whittlesea
Cr. Chris Pavlidis, City of Whittlesea
Cr. Michael Clarke, Maribyrnong City Council
Members of the Consular Corps
Friends from the academy

Leaders of the Turkish-Australian Community,
Members of the press,

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

As the terms Islam and Islamic Terrorism became the ubiquitous subjects of the global political agenda after 9/11, this evening I want to devote my speech to the evolution of modern Islamic understanding in contemporary Turkish society.

Although we Turks say we are a secular democracy, without us, ourselves, explaining to the world community what really goes on in Turkey, it would not be easy for the foreign policy-makers to make sound judgments on the future of Turkish political direction. This is why the diplomat of a strictly secular country chose such a sensitive issue this evening.

To start with, for the Ottoman Empire, we may speak of two lanes of Islamic living:

1. The official Islam of the bureaucracy of capital Istanbul,
2. The liberal peasant Islam of the rural land.

Official state Islam of the Imperial capital Istanbul had to be flexible so as to rule the vast range of ethnicities and religions within the empire. As it was the religion of State, it had a certain ceremonial protocol.

Whereas in the rural areas, literacy was very low, and it was impossible to expect village imams with Ph.D's. Hence religion was more based on hearsay and tradition rather than Koranic imperatives. Anatolian villages, descending from the heritage of Central Asian Shamanism, interpreted Islam very liberally and flexibly.

For a millenium, villages in vast settlements had their own little traditions, and there were as many simple islamic understandings as there were diverse regions. This was so, both for the Sunni and Alewite peasants.

With technological advances and communication, formal state Islam started breaking into the rural areas, and more so after Ataturk's reforms of the Republic. Ataturk's aim was educated imams in every village, and today Turkey reached that target. In our day, a great majority of the 100.000 Turkish imams are university graduates and some theological highschool graduates, all of them government officials.

This development naturally killed the liberal religious diversity of the rural peasant communities, bringing a uniform understanding and interpretation for a modern, uniform nation state.

And this uniformity was further augmented by the secular needs of the newly emerging Anatolian capital, or bourgeoisie, whose educated conservatives also craved for a formal, uniform religious understanding for their modernising lifestyles.

The much controversial headscarf issue is an outcome of this need of a disciplined, uniform understanding for modern, educated, metropolitan lifestyle of the new emerging conservative Anatolian bourgeoisie.

As official bureaucratic Islam and the Islam of emerging bourgeoisie seemed to contrast each other in the early phases, soon they started approaching each other, beginning to synchronise to fit the secular needs of the newly emerging Anatolian capital with that of the secular state mechanism.

Now, if we make a flash-back to the early awakenings of Islam in modernity, Istanbul Technical University is a good case study. Some of the peasant students who were introduced to logic, empiricism, rationalism, analytical thinking and materialistic approach to life in the 1940s and 1950s by the radically secular republican curriculum, soon fell into an identity crisis.

Trying to search their roots, as they looked back to Kuran, they read and interpreted it as never has been in rural peasant history. Like Archimede's Eureka cry, they took every new verse they saw literally, rushing out with a radically positivist, stiff, inflexible interpretation of Islam.

Hence the unintended consequence of the rational secular curriculum lead to a religious understanding which was more rigid than that of both flexible Ottoman bureaucratic and peasant liberal Islamic understanding, in the beginning.

In the decades 1970s and 1980s, the pendulum went to extremes among a few radicals, yet did not have a wide repercussion in the society, and gradually softened for the modern needs of the state and the emerging Anatolian capital.

Today, the thousands of colors of peasant Islam of the rural fields are quickly leaving their place to a solemn, modern, disciplined Islam. This is more so for the various colors of our Alewite sects, they also tend to fade away and leave their place to a uniform Alewi understanding.

Where are we going to?

As I mentioned earlier, in history, our rural Islam was very flexible, and official Istanbul Islam had also had to be flexible so as to rule a multireligious, multiethnic empire. Today, Istanbul is gradually meeting the country in Islamic understanding, yet in the uniformity of modern needs.

Compared to Western modernity based on reform and renaissance, application of rationalism to Kuran, first stiffened our Islamic interpretation, yet well controlled in Turkish system. As of today, much of the transition has been left behind, and as we have said before, the modern Anatolian emerging bourgeois, trading widely in the global village, would mould the interpretation of Islam for their new secular metropolitan needs, and their interpretation of Islam shall certainly have much more flexibility than that of the Ottoman official Islam and that of the liberal peasant Islam.

The emerging Islam of the new Turkish bourgeois will be peaceful, the religion of a new merchant, capitalist society, based on co-existence and win win for all, and should be no threat to the world, rather a blessing with a new 21st Century ethics of its own. As Max Weber's ethical, pious merchants, conservative Anatolian merchants are spread in the world for a peaceful co-existence.

The political reflection of the values of the new Turkish bourgeois will certainly be peaceful and constructive in Turkish foreign Policy.

And to end,

This evening, I am proud to hail all our Islamic associations, namely,

1. Australian Islamic Social Association
2. Australian Light Foundation
3. Australia Western Thrace Turkish Association
4. Keysborough Turkish Islamic and Cultural Centre
5. Cyprus Turkish Islamic Society
6. Dandenong Turkish Islamic and Cultural Society
7. Fitzroy Turkish Islamic Society
8. Goulburn Valley Turkish Islamic and Cultural Society
9. Ramazanoglu Education Foundation

10. Selimiye Foundation

11. Thomastown Turkish Education and Islamic Society

12. United Islamic and Cultural Centre of Australia

They have come here in solidarity, leaving aside all their diverse views, for the common cause of the brotherhood of the human being.

Their peace and harmony is our peace and harmony.

Their peace and harmony is good for the Turkish community, good for the Australian community, and good for the global community.

I thank their leaders all for making this evening real.

Happy Ramadan to all.

Thank you.

Turkish Consulate General in Melbourne

Speech of

Aydm Nurhan

Consul General of Turkey

AT IFTAR DINNER

Melbourne,

28 September 2008

Dear Friends,

Welcome to the first Turkish Consulate iftar dinner in Melbourne.

I would like to begin thanking our distinguished guests for honouring us with their presence among us this evening, as well as friends who joined us in our iftar dinner.

Taking this opportunity, I would also like to thank ATAM classical Turkish music group, Laila restaurant, our Sufi Music Group, as well as Mr.Orhan Cicek and his friends of the Australian Intercultural Society helping us with their expertise in organization, in realising this evening.

Dear friends,

As you know, we are a secular state and a muslim nation, and we planned this evening as more of a cultural event, a part of Turkish heritage and identity which also includes our religion Islam. Making the first ever, in short notice, we indeed had many shortcomings, so please forgive us, but we promise you a much more colorful one next year, a modern replica of the historical Ottoman traditional ramadan festivals.

And being a diplomat, before starting our cultural program, I want to give you a political message on “Islam and Terror” on the one side, and “Alliance of Civilizations”, an initiative co-chaired by the Prime Ministers of Spain and Turkey, on the other. Both are political issues, and I want to address them.

To begin with, I should firstly mention the “INCLUSIVE” nature of Islam in theory and historical practice.

Hence, Turkish Seljouk and Ottoman Civilizations.

If one definition of civilization is “The ability to live in harmony”, then Ottoman Turkish Civilization was indeed one of the most successful in human history. And as a fresh Melbournean, I am so delighted to see a similar inclusive culture in 21st Century Australia.

Having started with the Ottomans, I would say that the Islam they interpreted and applied was rational and tolerant. The priority of Ottoman civilization was “JUSTICE”. In their six century rule, with the exception of one or two cases, they did not cut hands, neither did they stone women. Apart from political executions and dungeons, they had few prisons until 19th Century, because crime was so low under Pax Ottomana.

As state systems depend on their peoples, the tolerance of the Ottoman system was indeed based on the tolerance of the Turks. Coming from the borders of China, Turks blended their Shamanist, naturalist philosophy with that of Islam, establishing one of the most tolerant civilizations of human history. Religious fanaticism could not take root in Asia Minor. And when it showed up, it was among the theology college students of Istanbul, and the reasons were always political.

Here, should we say radicalism and ideology are babies of educated rationalist approach to philosophy and religion, rather than ignorance?

Why I say this is because today some blame my innocent people saying, if you let Turks alone, they would easily be fanatics, or so-called Islamic fundamentalists. This is an injustice to a people, never in history been zealots or fanatics.

I as a diplomat and a strategist, can understand, and do support the need for psychological warfare against terrorists, and efforts to suppress possible inclination to that end.

Yet I also would like to see academic studies on muslim primary school kids and their non-muslim peers, of the effects of this psychological warfare, the irresponsible political comments and of the manner of coverage of Islam in international media.

Even for the Turks of secular lifestyle, being a muslim in Europe or the US is not an easy burden now-a-days. And few people can make empathy with a muslim in those countries in these challenging times.

To counter this serious challenge, and the threat of emerging identities based on the “hostile other”, “Alliance of Civilizations” an initiative by H.E Zapatero, Prime Minister of Spain and co-chaired by our Prime Minister H.E.Tayyip Erdogan, was launched.

As fear and exclusivity is born out of “not knowing the other”, the initiative of the “Alliance of Civilizations” aims to make civilizations known to each other. We all should support and fill this good-willed initiative with substance at grassroots level for the good of mankind.

Dear Friends,

We live in a global village, and human psychology does need fusion, the need to be part of the group. And we also need fission, the need to be ourselves, and sometimes alone and unique. Same is true for human groups.

Our religion Islam says that God created humans in ethnicities and groups, so that they may learn of each others’ differences and live in harmony.

Here the question is, do we take our differences for richness of human variety, or for fear of the unknown other?

Having been in academic life myself, I would urge our academic friends to contemplate on this subject. The trick is in the “AGENDA”. Even if we are against it, when we put a subject of real-politik in front of our students, they are seized by its agenda. From that point on, they lose their innocence and become aware of the threats in the jungle of human relations. And when they go into politics and media, they always watch for threats from the “others”.

Not to teach them? Yes we must teach them the realities of life and survival. Yet, how to balance this realistic education with tolerance, human goodwill and optimism? I think this is why the heaviest mission is with the academics rather than the media and politicians, because we are the very ones

who open their eyes to the real world of injustices and hostilities in the first place.

Finishing my words, I would kindly ask you one thing. When you put your heads on your pillows tonight...

Sincerely ask yourselves whether our children and grandchildren would survive the next 80 years in peace and prosperity or not.

We live in an age, an era in which desperation is snowballing, and growing number of new generations stop making babies. They fear an uncertain future in which their kids may suffer.

It is time that we, diplomats, soldiers, academics, media and politicians, start approaching international relations from a revolutionary new dimension in this globalised village.

Is there hope?

We may at least start by trying to see beautiful things for mankind, common in our holy books, rather than seeing ugliness in them.

Thank you.

Turkish Consulate General in Melbourne

Speech of

Aydm Nurhan

Consul General of Turkey

AT IFTAR DINNER

Melbourne,

21 August 2009

My Dear Friend Liz Beaty,

Members of Parliament,

Members of my family, the Consular Corps,

Leaders of the Religious Communities,

Friends,

Ladies and gentlemen,

Thanks for joining us this evening.

I also thank our religious community leaders and performers who made our evening possible.

Dear Friends,

After I wrote my speech today, I saw that it was like a preacher's sermon rather than a diplomatic lecture. Hope our preacher friends don't steal my job tomorrow ☺

So..

There is one group of humans who think of themselves as robots with five receptors and a processor. For them, anything this robot cannot perceive and

process, is meaningless.

And then there are others who “feel” something metaphysical. A sense of eternity and hope...

We respect all of them.

This divine evening, we are among the hopefuls...

We all have different paths to hope, and I personally think that all these paths are the paths of giving, rather than taking.

As a statesman who has seen enough suffering on earth in the past 60 years, I believe that the only way to secure the future of our children is by “giving” rather than greed, and raising our new generations in the philosophy of “GIVING”.

And Ramadan is the season of giving. In fact, all religions and non-religious beliefs promote the noble human spirit of giving.

Tomorrow morning, if you do not have something material to give,

Would you please give a pleasant smile to a human being you meet?

Thank you.

Radio Jeddah

Current Events & The World of Islam

First Program

Attacks On Islam

Bourgeoisie

Capitalism & Extortion

Dialogue Among Civilizations

Diplomacy An Institution In Transition

Economic Intelligence

Islam And Education

European Union

Global Economy

History

Human Rights And The World Of Islam

Islam & Terrorism

Management

Media

Modernity, Postmodernity And Islam

Neo-Feudalism

Social Security

Saudi Arabia

Strategy

Science & Technology

War

Farewell "Writing For Pleasure"

FIRST PROGRAM

by

Aydm Nurhan

January 2003

Dear Listeners,

Assalamun Aleikum,

Today we are starting a new program which we named **“CURRENT EVENTS & THE WORLD OF ISLAM”**

This new program will be broadcast once a week, through which we hope to cast some light onto the contemporary issues which our Islamic Ummah faces.

In this new program, we aim to see events through your eyes, put ourselves in your place, and hope that you would say:

-yes, you chose the correct daily issue that I was interested in,

-yes, this was the correct question to ask,

-yes, this was the meaningful discussion I was seeking,

-yes, this stimulated my mind to think again, and deeper.

And where do we get our inspiration?

From our Holy Book Qur'an.

Our very Book which repeatedly admonishes us to THINK.

Dear Listeners,

As we said we would try to see events through your eyes, and try to meet your expectations, we shall try to choose the crucial contemporary questions that deeply affect our lives and demand answers in our minds.

Issues that really disturb our minds, touch our identity and very lifestyle.

Our discussions will be practical rather than scholarly sophistication.

Great scholars and authorities of the Islamic world already do discuss contemporary issues from the aspect of our religion. As a humble muslim diplomat, my try will be to discuss the daily international challenges in a practical manner, and try to shed light into our simple questions.

To begin with, let me give you some idea of our program, some major topics we would like to discuss with you:

Islam and globalism,

Global culture and Islam,

Education and Islam,

Islam, Science and Technology,

Islam and environmental issues,
Islam and global economic race,
Dialogue among civilizations and religions,
Living for this world versus living for the next world,
Koran and Bible,
Common issues of Islamic nations,
Identity Crisis,
Islam and media,
Islam and Terrorism,
History and Islam,
Islam and Youth
etc.

In our future programs, we hope to take these issues one by one and seek answers to them for the good of our ummah, for the good of our future generations, and for the good of mankind in general.

As our Prophet (PBUH) has said, (if I may summarize in English correctly)

“Humanity is like a body, and if one part aches, the whole body feels the pain”

In a highly globalized world, where smallest events affect the remotest corners of the world, we take this hadith as a beacon in all we do.

We realize that our children, no matter how well educated, how wealthy, or how healthy, cannot survive or find happiness with poverty and desperation around them.

And anything we think good and want for ourselves, we also want for all mankind.

As this is our religious duty, it is also a realistic duty which would ensure that we would live in justice and security.

We hope that at the end of every program we would leave you with many stimulated ideas and questions in your minds, make you THINK again and again, as ordered by our Holy Book Qur’an.

May Allah help us in our search for goodness.

Radio Jeddah

Islam and Current Challenges

ATTACKS ON ISLAM

by

Aydın Nurhan

November 2003

Dear Listeners,

Today, I want to talk to you about the attacks on our noble religion, Islam, especially by the Western Judeo/Christian clergy, officials and media.

These attacks, having gained momentum after 9/11, are not being made by ignorant youth on the streets. These are being done by the people of power and influence!

It is the men of highest authority and power who are attacking Islam.

When poor or the ignorant react with physical, violent means, or wrongly chosen words, they may only have a momentary impact, and then these poor and ignorant may be put in prison for their wrongly chosen words or use of their muscles.

But powerful men react wisely, cunningly, strategically. Then they lead mankind to disasters, but they do not get punished.

It is for this reason that our noble religion Islam puts great responsibility on the erudite over the ignorant, praising the sleep of the alim over the labour of the ignorant.

Evaluating the attacks of Western media, politicians and some clergy from this perspective, we can see that there is a grave danger for humanity in what is being perpetrated now.

From my long years of residence in Europe and the U.S., I have seen that the Western Media do not bite or attack each other over essential beliefs.

They, as brothers and sisters, intentionally, benevolently avoid news and articles that would insert hatred, or even misunderstandings among their communities. They also avoid attacking the Jews among them, for historical, psychological reasons.

But when it is the muslims, they leave all precaution aside. They would not care nor realize that dishonouring people, wounding their pride, would implant seeds of hatred among the peoples. Seeds which may sprout perhaps 50 years from now.

Remembering Mahathir Mohamad, I wonder if this is a mistake born out of the arrogance of power.

I would invite you to observe the psychology of Western journalists when they interview Jewish authorities, then with Western authorities, and then acting as prosecutors when they interview Muslim leaders.

Think of arrogant Western Journalists who report from muslim countries with no fear of reaction to their false, deliberate news and comments, whereas how they act with fear of grave consequences from ordinary citizens in Serbia, Israel or Greece, save great powers.

Beyond this general approach of the Western Media to the developing world, a serious, sinister game is being played on our religion Islam.

As the West has interests on every corner of the world, and as these interests clash with the interests of local people, then they coin every defensive reaction as "islamic terror" so as to prevent reaction from the locals against their interests.

Today we came to a point that any nation whose interests are at stake, should not respond to injustice, because of the fear of being an "islamic fundamentalist, or terrorist"

This was the deliberate psychological warfare of the Western Media against muslim peoples so that they cannot ask for justice.

Yet...

This strategic perpetration ended up with the reaction of the 1.3 billion muslims against the West. Coinage of everything as “islamic terror” created a psychology in the Western man that the religion of islam, was indeed, a terrorist religion.

If this was the result what the Western Media wanted, they built it.

But..

Together with this, they also succeeded in building the diametrical distrust and perhaps despise from muslim masses, against the West.

And now the Western politicians ask “why do they hate us?”

Simple,

We muslims begged you, not to coin terror with the adjective “Islamic”. We warned you that this coinage would implant seeds of hatred among Abraham’s children...

Yet you prepared your peoples to see Islam as a terrorist religion by coining every terror as islamic, and now they hate islam.

As a reaction, muslims hate you.

Why astonishment?

If you are sincere, start with pulling off the adjective “islamic” from terrorist activities of individuals.

This may be a good start for you.

My dear listeners,

Although the following quotations are qufr against our religion, I shall, for the sake of ilm, and fearing Allah with taubah, read some words of enmity against our religion and prophet, so that you muslims know what is cooked behind you, so that you leave ignorance and educate yourselves for civilized reactions to the enemies of Islam.

Here we go...

“We should invade their countries, kill their leaders and convert them to Christianity.”

--Columnist Ann Coulter, September 2001

“ I believe it [Islam] is a very evil and wicked religion.”

--Franklin Graham, November 2001

“[Muhammad was] a demon-possessed pedophile.”

--Rev. Jerry Vines, former president, Southern Baptist Convention, June 2002

“I knew that my God was bigger than his. I knew that my God was a real God, and his was an idol.”

Lt. Gen. William G. Boykin,

the deputy under secretary of defense for intelligence and war-fighting

“This is not a war between Arabs and Jews. It’s a war between God and the devil.”

--Televangelist Benny Hinn, July 2002

“I believe the Qur’an teaches violence. It doesn’t teach peace, it teaches violence.”

--Franklin Graham, Beliefnet interview, August 2002

“This man [Muhammad] was an absolute wild-eyed fanatic. He was a robber and a brigand.”

--Pat Robertson, on “Hannity & Colmes”, September 2002

“I think Mohammed was a terrorist.”

--Jerry Falwell, October 6, CBS 60 Minutes

“...You know what we ought to do? We ought to take every single Muslim student in every college in this nation and ship them back to where they came from. And we ought to tell every other Muslim living in this nation, if you say one word, you’re gone. You’re gone.” ‘with a diaper on their head and a fan-belt around their waist.’

--Jimmy Swaggart, Jimmy Swaggart Ministries, November 10, 2002

“Somehow I wish the Jews in America would wake up, open their eyes and read what is being said about them...This is worse than the Nazis...Adolf Hitler was bad, but what the Muslims want to do to the Jews is worse.”

--Pat Robertson, Christian Broadcasting Network, November 11, 2002

Any religion or ideology that refuses to acknowledge the lordship of Jesus Christ could be typified as a war against Satan.”

J. Don George, senior pastor of Calvary Temple in Irving, TX,

Islam “is a very destructive type of faith....They’re a revengeful people...”

Paul Mills, pastor of Arlington Faith Chapel,

Yes my dear friends,

These are just a handful of the thousands of evil attacks against our Prophet and our religion.

But there are others who rebuke these attackers with wisdom...

They say that for some conservative Christians, Islam has replaced communism as the “modern-day equivalent of the evil empire... “

But these unwise attacks feed the widespread perception in the Middle East that the war on terrorism is really a Christian crusade against Islam, that they “jeopardized the safety of missionaries and indigenous Christians in predominantly Muslim countries.”

Yes my friends..

Is this the responsible approach to a peaceful world?

Is this what our Prophet Jesus (AS) wanted from Evangelists?

Anyway...

Let them turn the whole world against themselves by their arrogance...

Now my friends,

I just want you to play one simple game.

Take the words “**muslim**” and “**Mohammad**” from the quotations I read for you,

And replace them by the words “**Jew**” and “**Moses**”...

What would happen to all these arrogant, brave! Soldiers of faith?

And in real cases of justice and bravery, you calculate how honest, justice-loving, and valiant these men and women of faith dare be...

| Radio Jeddah
| *Current Events & The World of Islam*

BOURGEOISIE

by
Aydm Nurhan

January 2003

My Dear Listeners,

Our topic today is Bourgeoisie.

The word bourgeois possibly originates from the Arabic word Borj, meaning people living in a city surrounded by walls. In our day, the term is used to denote the modern, middle classes of cities.

As we all know, in the Middle Ages, there were not very many big cities, economies mainly depended on agriculture, hence land and manpower were the vital elements of economy.

Then came the industrial revolution, center of economy moving from countryside to cities. As the new industry needed manpower, vassals of the local lords were imported to cities, and economic value of the land decreased.

When the peasants came to cities, the first thing was the lack of space for families. Hence, first the families became smaller. Then, women had to start working to support the family, this also lead to smaller, nuclear family.

The city and nuclear family boosted individualism. The social control of rural life was gone. The individual had less responsibilities to his greater family and neighbourhood. Yet, the price was loneliness and helplessness of the citylife.

As the individual had a lot of time to pray and contemplate about religion in the unchanging, constant rural life, the speed of the ruthless fight for bread in citylife, going for the material wealth, he forgot religion.

English philosopher Thomas Hobbes named this ruthless contest as "*Homo Homini Lupus*", meaning "man is a wolf to the other man". Another Englishman, Charles Darwin called this struggle as the "*survival of the fittest*". So the road was being paved first for survival in ghettos, then for the material interests of the new city dwellers, leaving religion behind to the rural people.

Leaving religion behind, Europe had fierce wars, revolutions and chaos, all sides fatiguing in the end. Hence came the secular balance of terror.

And we can formulate this existential balance of terror as;

"if you are dishonest and don't respect my interests, and if I am dishonest and don't respect your interests, we both loose."

"if you are honest and respect my interests, and if I am honest and respect your interests, we both win."

So this secular social contract of "**win win**" was the new social order and balance, and humans thought they did not need religion anymore in their dealings.

Religion was thrown out of social life and shifted to the inner world of the individuals. Religion was to suffice only with its psychological mission, leaving its social mission to the existential social contract.

The inner police, the guardian against dishonesty was to be replaced by the police of the nation states. Ones who disobeyed the social contract were to be punished by the police, whereas divine punishment was up to the individuals to play with.

Now the states did not need religion to prevent vice. In fact, Karl Marx was saying that religion was an opium for the poor, hence to be eradicated. Social peace was to be built on the violent clash of material interests. World happiness meant having material only. And secular social contract was the only base for ethics now.

Yes My Dear Listeners,

Through time, industrial revolution lead to global megapols, magnets of glamor and hope. These mega-cities attracted not only the rural poor, but also attracted international migration. Naturally, no power on earth could prevent massive human thrust towards these mega-magnets.

In this evolution, the developing Nation States did not know how to manage the new eclectic social chemistry of the megapols. On the one side, they were trying to melt the rural subcultures in the national superculture, so as to form the backbone of the nation, whereas on the other hand, they were giving another fight against being dissolved in the ultra-super culture, globalism, which was so powerfully challenging the authority of the states and the local cultures.

Among this crossfire, the peasants who had once lived in relaxed, flexible and tolerant rural lifestyle since thousands of years, were feeling the straightjacket of modernity and the discipline it was imposing on them for a uniform lifestyle.

Slow change, slow pace, stability, security, social solidarity and altruism of tradition were swiftly yielding to insecurity, individual loneliness, violent change and chaos in the megapols.

In this chaotic era of transition, the first generations that moved to ghettos and slums did keep their identity, religion and traditional rural values which protected them from identity crisis. But the second and third generations deeply felt the shock of transition, finally plunging into severe crisis.

As egoism replaced altruism, as traditional social control on the individual was removed, as materialistic greed outstripped religion, with deteriorating income distribution and unemployment, slums became breeding grounds for drugs, prostitution and lawlessness. Not only in Far Eastern and the Latin American countries, but even in the very centers of Western Civilization.

Behind this negative trend was the positivist interpretation of religions in age of modernity. For thousands of years, educated elite had a special, disciplined and scholarly interpretation of religions. Whereas the rural, ignorant peoples had a softer color of belief, much more flexible, sincere, tolerant and instinctive.

When the modern states introduced logical positivism to education curricula of the traditional masses without prior psychological preparation phase, it brought mental chaos to the ignorant. Application of radical logic into holy books, ended in literary interpretation of religions, leading to radical fanaticism.

Soon this fanatic, inquisitionlike interpretation created its own anti-thesis leading to wide atheism in metropol. And many social vices in metropol popped up during this atmosphere of ethical, mental chaos.

My Dear Friends,

In the process of modernization, we were made to believe that what the West did, was always good. And we started abandoning our beautiful traditions for the sake of Westernization.

Although a bit shyly, I want to give you an example of one of the most dramatic, most caricaturized cases in leaving a good habit behind, for the sake of modernization.

As you know, one of the most important tenets of Islam is purity of the body. And within this teaching, our ancestors used to clean their bodies of certain hair. But with some modern muslims, this practice gradually started fading.

Another practice was cleaning with water in toilets. Again with modernity, some muslims abandoned water and started using toilet tissues.

In the end, a growing number of modern muslims started having microbe inviting bodies as of the bodies of the Middle-Age Europeans.

In short, some of us muslims, the descendants of pious fathers and mothers, pure in faith, and pure in body, started taking modernity and Westernization as dirtiness. Stinking, we started carrying deodorizers.

More dramatic is the fact that we are doing this at a time when Westerners are approaching our Islamic tradition of cleanliness.

And I lament the fact that our youth is so shy to practice and defend the very noble traditional values of their ancestors as against the ills of modern life, just to pretend that they are modern, they are civilized...

And I ask them.

Are you so weak to maintain our beautiful traditions, and harmoniously adapt them to our bourgeois life in age of modernity?

Radio Jeddah
| *Current Events & The World of Islam*

CAPITALISM & BLACKMAIL

by
Aydm Nurhan
January 2003

My Dear Listeners,

Our topic today is Capitalism and Extortion.

As you know, Capitalism is a modern materialist economic order which evolved in Europe through centuries. In this order, religion does not have much say, instead, supposedly, logic plays the rules.

This existentialist logic says:

If you steal, if I steal, it would be lose all.

If you are honest, if I am honest, then it is win win for all.

What I want to say is that modern capitalism lives on a contract made among people of existential logic.

It sits on sensitive balances. To survive, it has a delicate system of checks and balances.

As Keynes says, it is a continual cycle of collapse and revival. And when it collapses, it leads to great world wars. Two world wars were the results of economic collapses.

Now we have Globalization, uniting whole world economy, one illness in a country affecting the whole world the next day. This uniformity of world

economy under irresponsible world leaders may lead to a total chaos for mankind.

Capitalism sits on animal reflexes of human beings in the sense that the existential human runs after his interests, hence works and creates. And the rigid straightjacket of statist controls on economy, impedes entrepreneurship. So what modern man needs is freedom of entrepreneurship and ownership. To let people free and have them produce more, and consume more.

For capitalism, a person working for the state does not show the same care to state business as he shows to his own business. Hence state sector can never be as efficient as the private sector.

Also implicit in wild capitalism is the permit for legal tricks businessmen play for profit.

Yes dear friends,

There were great thefts, robberies in the evolution of Western capitalism. And a special phrase was coined for big robbers. “**Robber Barons**”, they were called.

Then these robbers turned into honest business practices, reconciled with the state, and developed the modern economic laws and practices. Yet.. as they put their houses in order, it was like a mafia order. As they started acting lawfully at home, they saw it fitting to bribe for earning bids in other developing countries.

But as the corporations of the developing countries started flourishing, and started giving more bribe than the Western corporations, then the Western global corporations started crying out that bribe should be outlawed throughout the world.

Hence, what Italian Mafia lived 20 years ago, is being lived by developing countries in our day. Italy’s fight against Mafia is being fought in developing countries now.

But this development towards law and order should not mislead us to an ideal order. Even though the logic dictates the terror of balance against petty interests, the individuals and states still see it fit to cheat each other, as long as it stays within the actual legislature which has many holes to infiltrate. Then

you see an Enron company collapsing, destroying 80 billion dollars at one instance, together with hopes of its shareholders.

Yes my dear listeners,

In medieval ages, people worshipped religion, and now, they worship money. And 21st Century developed a special method for these money-worshippers.

To control these masses, give them something to lose!

So this principle started being applied to individuals, as well to states.

First came the assertion that democratic states do not fight each other. Then, as Roman Empire tamed the barbarians, the underdeveloped countries had to be supported by the IMF and World Bank to be integrated into global economy, at the same time put under heavy debt to be under control.

Once addicted to debt, these countries went under control of the wealthy states.

Ottoman Emperor Sultan Murad IV, giving aid to Poland, said to his minister centuries ago, “one who gets money today, gets orders tomorrow”. Words of this visionary statesman rightly fit in our times.

Now my dear friends,

Let us come to extortion, the second topic of our chat this week.

The real evil of our day.

The scientific extortion which creates cowards of the greedy materialists of our day.

But to note one thing first.

One who fears Allah, does not fear humans.

One who fears Allah, does not steal, does not harm others. Then he does not have any faults to be afraid of.

But someone with greed of money, luxury, status, indecent lifestyle, may contemplate immorality.

And once in immorality, then that person does worst things either to hide the first sin, or get addicted to it, impossible to get out of that mud.

Rejecting divine religions, they do not even give an ear to Plato, who says:

“The point is not to have much...

Rather;

To need as little as possible..”

In modern capitalist society, the greed of modern man, is seen as an asset for the system.

He should consume, so that he has to work like a slave to pay for his consumption.

And technical, scientific methods are developed to control the consumption addicts, best to manipulate, the overgreedy cheaters.

In classical state intelligence, there is a rule. The easiest preys to foreign intelligence services are the indecent people. Indecent people are also the most coward in the society. Once hooked by extortion, they become ready to sell their values, families and their country.

Now, this classical method of intelligence has also found a field of application in the world of commerce and politics.

Especially the lobby groups such as political, ethnic, religious, and industrial interests, developed very fine, sophisticated methods to keep intelligence files on prospective politicians and businessmen seeking success in future, together with the records for their family members.

The archives only states used to keep on persons, are now started being developed by private interests.

In our day, this trend is growing to such levels that the Big Brother of George Orwell of central state mechanisms would soon be innocent compared to evil private/corporate interests.

In this new world of intimidation and extortion; politicians, businessmen, intellectuals, fearing to lose their lifetime, hard earned lifestyles, start closing their eyes to double standards, injustices, and immoralities, as long as the approaching evil does not touch them yet...

And they get more timorous and apprehensive with every new day. Democracy of cowards leads to Fascism and Nazism. Democracy is the regime of brave peoples.

And bravery fits honest peoples. Greedy, materialist people who are the slaves of mundane material comforts, should know that if at one point they do not obey the wild capitalist order, they would be forced to toe the line with their records of misdeeds.

So my dear listeners,

Just listen to your conscience for a moment...

Is it worth committing a sin, or a crime for material greed?

And be slave of powerful evil people who may threaten to use your crimes as extortion against you, your family, your fatherland?

How was that saying?

“If honest people cannot be as brave and shrewd as the robbers, the world cannot be safe”

Yet, how many god-fearing humans do we have today?

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DIALOGUE AMONG CIVILIZATIONS

by
Aydın Nurhan
1 January 2003

Dear Listeners,

Today I want to talk to you about Dialogue Among Civilizations, a vital item in current international agenda.

We humans cannot establish real dialogue among ourselves. It is because we are not trained for dialogue in schools, neither in family.

No matter how modernized we are, contemporary education, including ones in developed countries, does not teach many vital, practical needs of life necessary for harmonious human survival.

And Dialogue is the most important among them.

Dialogue is what differs us humans from animals.

Animals, or primitive humans use force when their conflicts clash.

But civilized, mature humans and societies talk to each other for co-survival.

Let me try a definition for Dialogue:

Perhaps we can say that **Dialogue** is the **exchange of information or ideas, fully and correctly comprehended by the reciprocating parties.**

If we call the starter of the dialogue the “addresser”, the first thing is that “He should know himself”. And he should know what he wants.

After being certain on what he wants, the second most important thing is that he should know his counterpart.

If a person knows himself and his partner, then he can put his message in the easiest possible wording for the receiving part to fully and correctly comprehend it.

Then we have the listener, the addressee.

The first imperative for the addressed party is sincerity. Even if he is listening to his enemy, he should try to get the most accurate message and comprehend the genuine intent of the addresser.

He should try to put himself in the shoes of the addresser, and try to get the feeling of the message from the position of the sender. Then correctly evaluate and process the message received, and prepare the reply that directly matches sender's intent...

Only then, a real dialogue can start, and if carried in the same logic and sincerity, can it produce intended results.

Otherwise the parties send confused and wrong signals to each other, many a time not listening to each other, but sending cacophonous signals into empty space. In fact not wanting to understand each other, but be listened to and to be dominant..

This is what is mostly happening in our daily personal lives, and pitifully, in international relations.

Ideally, only the educated, and above all, good willed, optimistic people can be in a better position to understand others.

We are human beings, and our perceptions are affected by deep formation of our character from family, school, environment, nation, history, sex, race, religion and even geography. But our perception is also, perhaps even more affected by momentary impulse and reactions.

We tend to purport what we see or hear, as to our like or dislike. Mostly, mistakes of our beloved do not mean the same as the mistakes of the disliked.

So humans are prone to deep prejudices on the one hand, and reflexive momentary anger or love reactions on the other.

Still yet,

If you are in transition personally or in group, you are in identity crisis.

Hence your perceptions, judgments and objectives will be blurred, most probably reactive, rather than proactive and constructive.

My Dear Listeners,

This is the most crucial point of our theme.

Technology and globalization has put the world in such swift, incessant, unstoppable, uncontrollable transformation that every single society has gone into identity crisis, all identities and ideals blurred.

This is the greatest threat to dialogue.

Because, as we said in the beginning, the health of a dialogue depends on real, genuine intents, correctly comprehended by the parties.

If parties do not know what they want, or do not comprehend what is asked of them, how can we have a healthy dialogue?

Dialogue is the first and foremost instrument of peace!

Peace, in its very meaning that our religion Islam wants for humanity.

Without healthy dialogue, humanity would turn into a fierce jungle where only brutal force would solve all conflicts. This would turn humanity into primitive stone age.

A primitive dialogue is face to face, and most probably momentary, instinctive, reflexive, with a high chance of reaching a physical confrontation for survival.

In higher form, it is an **intellectual sport**. It may reach certain protocols, symbolizations and may engage messengers in between.

In modern sense, dialogue is global in essence, covering civilizations and religions as parties or the “other”s, not necessarily instant in results, and through distance media such as telephone, tv, books, internet etc.

The more it is globalized and symbolized and technical, the more it needs education of the parties.

Whereas ignorance, low level of intellect, and ill will are the enemies of healthy dialogue.

So dialogue is a process of civilized education.

An education to see others as they see themselves...

Yet,

Besides education, Dialogue needs intelligence. Clever people can win in dialogue even if they are not right. In this case, intellect would become devil's instrument.

So,

Intellect should, and can only be controlled and tamed by goodwill, love of God, love of mankind, and religion.

The clever, wealthy, successful, hardworking persons or groups may earn power as against not so gifted. And they may earn everything in the halal, legitimate way. Still yet, Allah gives these gifted the highest responsibility to use their merits and power to reflect their success to the powerless.

So we can say that dialogue is not an ideal saver of humanity by itself alone. It is just an instrument, either used cunningly in devil's service, or for peaceful co-survival if tamed by love of God and mankind.

This is particularly important for dialogue among religions and civilizations, because relations between materially and mentally powerful and the less powerful are not on equal basis.

If dialogue can serve evil if not tamed by love and good will, who will restrain himself from outsmarting and exploiting the other, weaker party?

Speaking of Dialogue among Civilizations, we especially need sincere, responsible religious leaders. Not enemies of each other, but who work hand in hand for peace among humanity.. A mission religions were really sent for..

Yes, we do know that religions have universal missions. But they should not be used as an instrument of hatred and bloody conflicts among human beings.

States, groups, societies did use religious and cultural differences for conflict of interests in history. They still do it.

For a dialogue for peace though, a revolutionary thinking and mindset is needed. Evil, bloody interpretation of religions and civilizations should be banned from earth. This is much more than banning religious discrimination. This is changing what is rooted in the minds of diplomats, academics, clergy and statesmen who control the destiny of humanity...

They should leave the application of scientific method, the laboratory classification, to sociopolitics. We do need **classification method** of modernity for understanding nature and excell in technology. But using classification to force mankind into a monolithic culture of robots, and aiming to clean the

world of differences is a devilish, impossible utopia against Creator's will.

Sometimes such simple realities are overlooked by billions, and humans run after vanity.

Within this context, I also would like to elaborate on Tolerance, a rather new, modern concept in Christian Western culture.

Yet tolerance, or toleration in modern western sense is also foreign to our Islamic culture. We muslims lived on **coexistence** which is light years ahead of the concept of modern tolerance.

Tolerance comprises opposing, irritating differences. Humans get irritated, perhaps get angry, but keep their feelings under pressure for co-survival. By time, feelings explode.

In Islamic culture, we co-survive. We accept all nature, all mankind as they are, as creation of Allah, and love creation because of our love for the Almighty Creator.

Then do we need to tolerate?

Would there be a better gift of our noble civilization than this concept of co-survival and its historical practice to the dialogue among religions and civilizations?

| Radio Jeddah
| *Current Events & The World of Islam*

DIPLOMACY **an institution in transition**

by
Aydm Nurhan
19 January 2003

Dear Listeners,

Today I want to talk to you about Diplomacy, an institution in transition.

Diplomacy is one of the arts most affected by swift globalization.

History of known diplomacy dates back to Mesopotamia as early as 3000 BC.

Today, the oldest texts of treaties we have, are from about 1280 BC, between Ramses II of Egypt and his Hittite counterparts.

Literally, Diplomacy is **the art of managing international relations**.

It is composed of two Greek words; **diplo**, meaning “folded in two,” and **ma**, “an object.”

It once meant a folded paper granting or authorizing someone for some favours, or some privileges. Afterwards it took the form of agreements among sovereigns.

Later in modernity, persons authorized to negotiate on behalf of a state, were called (“diplomat” or “diplomatist”) in French.

In classical and modern times, diplomacy was bilateral and secret.

As distances were long and transportation was primitive, the sovereigns could not meet and talk to each other to resolve problems. So they had to send their trusted men, empowered, even to declare war or sign peace treaty with other states.

This is why ambassadors are still called **extraordinary and plenipotentiary** in our day, meaning they have the full trust of the Head of State, and can bind their nation by their signature.

Because of this historical trust concept, it still is the exclusive right of Kings and Presidents to appoint Ambassadors. This traditional exclusive right of the Head of State, is also acknowledged by elected Prime Ministers of our day.

And yet, the revolution of communication has reduced the power of classic diplomacy, as it has affected other traditional crafts.

In our day, a prime minister can have his breakfast in one capital, have lunch in another, and dine in a third one, discussing problems with his counterparts.

It is this technological facility, together with the growing awareness of the peoples of the world, that is revolutionizing the classical diplomacy.

Classical diplomacy served the interest of states. Then consulates were opened, and it started serving commercial interests. Yet it was the state diplomacy carrying the relations.

Then came multilateral diplomacy, as the United Nations and World Trade Organization, followed by NonGovernmental Organizations, so-called NGO's by acronym.

Until recently, and perhaps still, in many countries, diplomats did the negotiations lets say for the rights of national textile exporters. Diplomats were like lawyers for the textile industry. But diplomats did not know enough. Then textile industrialists started joining official delegations, and the world saw that they were more efficient in defending their own cause.

Same thing happened in fields as variable as environment and labor rights. Hence the NGO's and interest groups gained prominence and legitimacy in

global community. They also took their legitimate place at UN forums now, and they check and counterbalance traditional secret state diplomacy.

Traditional state mechanism works in vertical hierarchy and in secrecy. With modern societies, this vertical state mechanism started to be checked and balanced by horizontal method, by the pressure groups.

In old times, a powerful state could force another state, behind closed doors, for concessions. In our day, civil pressure groups force their leaders not to accept things against their interests, especially economic ones.

And in time of difficult negotiations, some Western states secretly manipulate masses to pour on the streets in support of their government, against foreign pressure.

This is a great departure from classical secret diplomacy.

If diplomacy is the art of managing international relations, then we have to ask;

Whose art?

Is it the monopoly of career diplomats?

Politicians?

Industrialists?

NGO's?

Interest and Pressure groups?

Take negotiators of transnational corporations who bargain with states...

Aren't these negotiators educated in the same international relations schools learning same negotiating techniques?

Yes, diplomacy is greatly mixed with civilian colour in our day, and this new international system of horizontal checks and balances, is what's revolutionizing classical diplomacy.

Now, my dear listeners,

I want you to think about primitive clans, who depend on brute muscle power to protect themselves in wildlife.

And pose a question:

Who is the hero of a clan?

Can we say he is the one who is ready to sacrifice himself for the values and interests of

his clan?

And for this hero, values and interests of the “other” clan are **bad**.

Then come to modernity and go up to the level of Nation-State..

Who is the hero of the Nation-State?

Same reasoning may apply here too.

And now, pose the same question for the global family..

A Hero is the one who is ready to sacrifice himself for the common values and ultimate good of mankind.

And here is the ethics of post-modern diplomacy.

In the global family, you cannot have the double standards of the past.

In the global family, you cannot discriminate.

In the global family, you cannot hide hypocrisy.

In the global family, you cannot have dirty, secret diplomacy.

In the global family, you cannot carry injustice very far.

What if you do?

First, you deny your very own values.

And, as you deny those very values for mankind, then you start corrupting!

Then You lose legitimacy.

First at home, then in global community.

And a lesson of history..

Even if you develop the deadliest weapon,

Legitimacy is the ultimate power!

History is a junkyard of the losers of legitimacy...

My dear listeners,

In classic diplomacy, we had two main schools.

Real Politik and Ideal Politik.

Macchiavelian, unethical, hypocritical Real Politik always was dominant in the jungle of international relations.

İdeal Politik, standing for ethical values was always inferior, its clients labeled dreamers...

Rather... In our day, only Macchiavelian fools dream of fooling the international community for false causes.

Trying false reasons to hide real intentions is an insult to the intelligence of the world community. Intentions are evident the moment they are declared by false slogans.

In our day, hiding real goals and policies behind false pretensions, will promptly fireback. Any diplomacy using this traditional method will lose legitimacy in the globalized family of nations.

In history, only a centralized elite held the monopoly to information. Today, there are brilliant brains all over the world waiting to be convinced by mediocre politicians about their hypocritical policies, unethical for mankind.

Dear Listeners,

The more we become a global family, the more we become aware of our common values.

And we are growing a new **global common sense**.

If the elitist diplomacy of the past ignores this common sense, what is left of it, will bankrupt...

Today's hero of the global family is the honest, honourable man who is brave enough to deny double standards and hypocrisy.

And never to forget that "mankind is like one body, and if one organ pains, the whole body feels it."...

| Radio Riyad
| *Islam and Current Challenges*

ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE

by
Aydm Nurhan
July 2003

Dear Listeners,

Our topic today is Economic Intelligence.

A vital field which states and commercial companies allocate fortunes.

As we know from general culture, intelligence roughly means collecting information and evaluating it.

Until the second half of the 20th Century, Intelligence was in the monopoly of the States. And the local, national private sectors were too small to need scientific intelligence.

Then with globalism, many corporations reached sizes bigger than the incomes and budgets of many states, and became players of international diplomacy. As they were greatly vulnerable to political instabilities affecting global economic balances, they started hiring diplomats and intelligence officers. In powerful countries they had to lobby, in powerless countries, they sought ways to manipulate.

My Dear listeners,

Intelligence experts say that 98% of information is open, and only 2% is secret in our world. As 21st Century is called the Age of Information, we can easily collect tens of thousands of pages of information on a given subject, if

we really search for. With the bombardment of information from media and internet, the ocean of information is under our command.

BUT!!

And this is a big BUT...

This ocean is also a trap of mesmerization. This is called **Information Pollution**. And too much information is also meaningless and useless as no information. Add to this disinformation techniques, and moreover, manipulations to make people doubt their convictions blaming them for conspiracy theories.

Then you can realize how hard it is among this chaos to get healthy information, to analyze and evaluate it.

And yet another BUT!

If you take this helplessness personally, again you are wrong. Same problem is valid for the states and corporations... They are also bewildered.

To process such oceans of information and make them eligible for application is a science for them. Even superstates cannot do this satisfactorily in our day.

This is the **intellectual overstretch**.

With increase in information, probabilities increase geometrically every other day. It is nearly impossible to keep pace with this challenge.

Just imagine how much of millions of data can reach a prime minister's or a corporate executive's desk?

As against all means at their option, leaders also have a limited brain capacity. Then which information can spark a light in their brains? And force them into action?

And which experts will supply this info to them? What information will aides deliberately, or mistakenly eliminate or hide from the leaders? What would their mental and ethical capacity be like? Would they be the ones who have learned to ask the correct questions?

Still yet, even the best equipped, and best willed experts will have to drop many valuable ideas and info on the way to the executive's desk.

To face this desperation, again information technology comes to help. Computers help with storing, sorting, indexing, and electronic analysis of data. States and corporations spend billions of dollars to this end. Still yet, technology is in toddler phase now.

In fact, 20th Century, the era of Modernity, passed away with the motto **“Information is Power”**.

This was correct at a time when human intellect was capable of processing a little information.

Whereas the Postmodern era of the 21st Century will close this logical calculation era and start the new era of assessments with **insight** instead of logical, binary calculations.

Yes My Dear Friends,

After this lengthy general evaluation, let's return back to our subject and talk economic intelligence.

Yes, economic intelligence is one of the most important subjects of the agenda of globalism.

Systematic information on markets, consumers, technology, finance, etc. are vital for corporate strategies.

In primitive, closed economies, it was easy for an artisan to steal limited information from competing neighbors. And this process did not require scientific intelligence techniques. But with globalism, crushing all walls of borders, any company needs scientific ways of getting the correct information and processing, converting it into a meaningful and fruitful application.

In this world of fierce competition, to be the first to invent, to turn this invention into profit before others copy it, to break price against competitors, stock strategies, etc, bring ten to one, even hundred to one profit. Hence business community steal information, and use intelligence with same science as the states.

Within this mentality, transnational corporations, moreover, universities and research institutions, both to collect info, and do defensive, counterintelligence against rivals, transfer intelligence experts from governments and rival corporations.

At this juncture, interests of these corporations both overlap and contradict interests of states. In global economic wars, states are deeply involved in economic intelligence to remedy unemployment. And interestingly, greatest rivalry is among the industrialized Western economies, who in fact are military allies. And they try to rob each other in fierce economic intelligence.

As robotization increases production exponentially, it leaves millions unemployed. As unemployment surges, it means less consumers, shrinking middle classes. Then kings, presidents and prime ministers tour the world begging other countries to get international bids for their corporations and unemployed masses. Within this context, they also furnish their companies with intelligence support.

But the real problem pops up at this point.

As we said that the most important part of intelligence is to turn it into action, the state intelligence is confused in transferring economic intelligence into its national industry.

In our global village, a company grows in one country, then its stocks are sold on international markets to international capital, then it establishes plants in another country, imports raw materials from another, recruits workers and pays taxes in the host country...

What is the nationality of this company?

Country where it started and grew?

Country of the majority of its stockholders?

Country where a certain plant is, where local workers and taxes are paid?

If this company is recruiting local workers and pays the “Holy Tax” to the local government, would it not be eligible to get intelligence from that state?

Now the second confusion..

Let’s say the government received an important technological intelligence..

The aim, as we said, is to turn this information into profit for national economy.

Now...

How to distribute this information among national companies? According to which law? How just can government be in avoiding some and preferring others? If, within this process, one company goes to court suing the State for injustice? Who will decide for the eligible company? According to which criteria?

Another point..

Developing countries protect their baby industries during their rise. But as industries grow to international sizes, their interests many a time break away from the interests of their home governments, and even conflict with them. And once entering the global family of capital, they turn their backs on their mother countries which have nurtured them to that level.

Global capital then establishes its own hierarchy, its own intelligence networks, evaluating system, global mechanisms, and then the antiglobalists protest them.

So, my dear friends?

Are you confused by all this info?

Just do what our noble book insistently and repeatedly admonishes..

Read, read, contemplate, and reflect...

| Radio Jeddah
| *Current Events & The World of Islam*

ISLAM AND EDUCATION

by
Aydm Nurhan
1 January 2003

Iqra! (Read!)

(Ayah 96/1)

Yes! Our religion started with this divine command.

And in verse 20/114, our Prophet PUB was ordered to pray as

“O my Lord! Advance me in knowledge”

And we have 750 verses in Qur’an encouraging us to observe, find the facts and laws of existence, reflection, rationalization, thinking, and using our intelligence to understand them.

These Qur’anic Verses coming through 1400 years, justly fit in our global era.

Yes, today the greatest strategic asset of the 21st Century is **“Human Resources”**.

For Islam, it was always so...

In this global era, no physical or natural resource is more valuable than an educated human brain.

As technology and communication crush the old geographical borders; information, goods, services and capital travel at lightning speed; it is highly

educated, skilled human brain that will adapt to this tremendous technological speed and manage new challenges.

But what do we mean by educated humans, or human resources?

It has two dimensions.

The first dimension in human education is the **cultural** one.

And the second is the **economical, technical** dimension.

Let us take the cultural dimension in the education of the modern man.

This education covers language, psychology, sociology, religion, aesthetics, ethics, politics, civilization, etc.

We get this basic, general education first from our mother, then from schools, then community, and later from responsible and irresponsible media.

Cultural education should build identity, lead to self actualization, give a sense of belonging, solidarity and sacrifice, ideal of coexistence in peace for mankind, and with robust, unwavering character building, protect the individual and his group against the ill intentioned.

So, our aim should be intellectuals who have synthesized local and global values harmoniously and in balance, in their culture. Modern intellectuals who are aware of their history, traditions, religion, culture and solid in identity...

We should envisage individuals who are proud of their past heritage, yet pursue the novelties of the millenium, open to global family of nations, with bright minds and faces, who realize that anything to harm mankind would include them, affect the future of their very own children.

We muslims come from an **Inclusive Civilization** which cares for the peace of the whole mankind, knowing that any pain in one part affects the whole body of humanity. This is why Islamic Empires have always considered all their lands home, accepted their peoples as they were, not touched their religions, traditions and lifestyles.

This **inclusive, peaceful, tolerant heritage** of Islam is the best gift to a global education philosophy.

This experience of Islamic history is especially important today for Europe which is trying to figure out how to cope with immigrant foreigners it has received within the last 50 years.

As we are a global family now, it is imperative to make a comparative evaluation of the education philosophies of Islamic and Western civilizations. It

is important now a days, because our Islamic Civilization is blamed for wrong education policies by the very West, demanding reforms in our systems.

Doing this, the West clings to its historical fault, thinking its values are perfect.

Perhaps we may ask this question:

Does the West really believe that the Western civilization and values are the best and that they should be imposed on the whole world? If so, changing the historical education philosophy of the West is nearly impossible, and co-survival of civilizations is but a distant dream..

Though, as far as a **peaceful curriculum for a global village** is concerned, Islamic Civilization is much more flexible and eligible for a “global society” than its sister Christian heritage.

As against **exclusive** philosophy of West, Islamic heritage is **inclusive**.

Spanish Inquisition, Extermination of American Indians, Imperialism, Hitler and Stalin are the results of an **exclusive philosophy**.

Yet there is something deeper in this discord.

Could it be between **spirit and matter**?

Between the ancient, mature civilizations of the East, and that of the young, technological Civilization of the West?

The real clash of **Spiritually Advanced Civilizations** of the ancient East with the **Technologically Advanced Civilizations** of the young West?

We, the conscious intellectuals of the developing and Islamic countries, may counsel the West on the importance of the spiritual aspect of our global civilization, and that if neglected, it would leave mankind lame with only one leg, the material leg.

But we should also criticize ourselves.

We should oversee our curricula too. Our job is simpler compared to Western burden to transform. All we have to do is to modernize our curriculum, to make sure the education given in school is applicable, efficient and useful both for spiritual needs, and also for worldly material needs and achievement. And we have to clean our curricula from memorization, backwardness, chauvinism, and inferiority complex born out of poverty and desperation.

So the new Philosophy of the Global Education Curriculum shall be born out of cooperation observing these defaults in the mentalities of Eastern and

Western Civilizations. Otherwise we will leave a desperate global village for our children.

Now Let us take the second dimension of education.

This dimension is the material, **technical dimension** aimed at earning **science** and **technology** for economic production for our living.

Here again, lets remember a verse from our holy book 2/269

“He granteth wisdom to whom He pleaseth; and he to whom wisdom is granted receiveth indeed a benefit overflowing; but none will grasp the message but men of understanding.”

And our religion says that seeking knowledge is the right to every individual, moreover, obligatory for every muslim, even to be sought in far away China.

Globalization’s greatest effect is the ruthless competition it has brought upon the workers and the farmers of the global village, due to crumbling of all economic walls in the swiftly integrating global economy.

Today, every nation can produce almost anything. A refrigerator, a tv set, even a car, can be produced nearly in any country today.

But..

Which technician can produce the best at the lowest cost and highest quality?

Which farmer can present the highest quality crop at the lowest price?

Yet the manager on top of this production.. Which schools educated him?

Global Marketers of these produces..

Which elite schools did the marketing managers graduate from?

What are the education levels of the politicians who are to provide the correct climate for the success of these investments? How open are they to the world, how much do they understand of economy, how aware are they of the tactics and strategies of the fierce global competition ?

Yes,

We are talking of **“Human Resources”**.

And remembering verse 62/5

“The likeness of those who are entrusted with the Law of Moses, yet apply it not, is as the likeness of the ass carrying books.”

So we come to application of our sciences in a world of **education wars** aimed at earning our worldly welfare, our living, earning our bread.

An education war to train technicians who would lead us to economic welfare in the global competition.

Yet one of our biggest mistakes in developing and Islamic countries is that our youth look down upon technical, assistant professions, and make this a cause of social status. They want to be only professionals such as doctors, engineers, lawyers, etc. Though what we need is assistant, technical personnel.

In fact , in Western countries, a skilled carpenter or a plumber can make nearly three times the salary of a teacher.

Nurses, sergeants, construction technicians, technical school graduates in fact are the backbones of modern systems and economies. Interestingly, even the Western countries have vacancies and shortages in some of technical fields.

So we all need to make serious projections and calculations on possible required fields for lets say 20 to 30 years, and prepare schools, families and curricula for those needs. Technical education will start first at schools, then in work places, continued as a lifetime personal upgrading ones self even at home.

Books will not be burnt on graduation day. Rather.. Graduation day will be the beginning of the new era of entering the realm of reading.

Man will **compete with his own self for a lifetime**, challenge his limits, surpass himself, not others..

In global challenges, to be different from the ordinary, continually upgrade himself, just as pedalling a bicycle, never get tired of pedalling. The slowing bicycle in the global challenge will fall down and leave the race.

In this new order, there will be a supernational elite. A pessimistic picture, yet to cope with, we have to know that the postmodern mechanization and computerization seems to eradicate the middle classes, pushing them to the lower income classes, leaving millions jobless.

We are heading to an international era where there will be **“the Best and the Rest”**.

On the one hand, we will have the best educated, perfect cream, who have earned the quality **to upgrade their knowledge for a lifetime**, and on the other, the rest..

Graduates of perhaps two or three schools from some countries, added to the elite Ivy League schools of the USA will be the new princes of the global economy.

These princes will invest global capital in countries that will give them the best bargains, best environments. The greatest omen of the new millenium will be unemployment, and the politicians will beg global entrepreneurs to invest in their countries, provide job and bread to their millions of youth. And Western unemployed masses will be no immune from this fierce global competition.

Our religion Islam says that “Working is praying”

We can expect all evil from idle people. Idleness degenerates and corrupts societies into desperation.

Then what should we the Muslims do?

Very simple!

Put all our resources into education!

An education that fits our culture, civilization, harmonious with our identity, yet endowing us with the best technical, professional skills to earn our bread, and make us the economic leaders of the world.

Then we, every individual among us, will try our best to keep elusive capital in our town.

Otherwise we shall be among the rest...

We know that our religion Islam does not want this from us muslims...

Let's close our program with the most pertinent verse (39/9) on our subject

““Are those equal those who know and those who do not know? It is those who are endued with understanding that receive admonition.”

Wassalamun aleikum.

| Radio Jeddah
| *Current Events & the World of Islam*

EUROPEAN UNION

by
Aydm Nurhan
25 March 2003

Dear Listeners,

Today, our topic is the European Union.

A Union that is one of the most important experiments in human history.

An experience that will affect the political landscape of the 21st Century.

This experience will particularly affect the Islamic world, because Islam was the religious, cultural, civilizational “**other**” in defining the identity of Christian Europe. Shall it remain so? Or not?

We might remember that due to European geography, vast empires as China, Russia, India, Ottoman Empire etc. was not feasible in European geography, hence the continent had too many ethnic and religious divisions, little states, which had constant wars and competition among themselves.

Still yet, having a common religion, when asked the question, “from whom, are we different?” the answer was neighbouring Muslims.

So we should first know that European identity was built on difference with the Islamic world. So we can say that Christianity as against Islam was the glue that united Europe in concept and culture, especially since crusades.

Europe lost its “other” early in the 20th Century with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Then with two bloody world wars, it exhausted itself and went under the dominance of the USA.

They lost economic dominance in the world, went under Marshall aid plan, and under American protectorate against the new power Russia.

Under American umbrella and security, taking their lesson from their bloody history, European leaders first agreed on cooperation on coal and steel, two strategic minerals of war. They founded the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951.

At that time French foreign minister Robert Schuman, advised by Jean Monnet, proposed the integration of the French and German coal and steel industries and invited other nations to participate. The result was Coal and Steel Union.

This Community turned into European Economic Community (EEC) in 1958, then into European Union (EU) in 1967.

THE Union took its present format in 1992 with the Maastricht Treaty.

Through this process, Russia took the role of the “other” from the Ottoman Empire, ideology replacing religion in defining identity.

After the collapse of the Russian Soviet Empire, Europe went into its second identity crisis.

After the collapse of the USSR, the Russian host, speaking to his American guests said to them, “Now we really harmed you. We rid you of an enemy”

Hence a new enemy had to be created in the ebb of the 21st Century.

In fact, there were two glooming rivals for the USA. The first one was its economic and political rival European Union. And the second one was China with its gigantic economic potential.

But these two rivals were too powerful, and it was strategically too early to declare them as rivals.

Hence so called Political Islam was chosen as the rival power!

What a power with economic, military or political might to match the USA or the EU..

But it sure was a myth grand enough to bond the Christian West, just for a transitory period to their grand rivalry among them.

Yes, my dear friends,

As this was the reality, the European Union met in Kopenhagen to decide to expand into 25 members. This perhaps was the most crucial meeting of the European Union.

Because this was the crucial meeting where two contrasting alternatives, those of economic and those of the political, clashed, and a solution had to be found.

The first one was the imperative of capitalism. That the European oversupply needed an expanding market. Hence 10 new members were added to the Union.

Though there was a parallel, opposing political trend against this economic imperative. And that was the concept of a European Union expanding further into more countries, including Turkey and perhaps even Maghreb.

This strategy proposed by England and supported by the USA, was met with suspicion by France and Germany. Because, the smaller the Union, the more homogenous and strong it might have been. And the greater it was, the more diluted and heterogeneous it would have been, loose its identity, and dissolve shortly.

And the first suspicion was that the former Soviet satellites might act as American Trojan Horses in the Union.

Moreover, American initiative and pressure to the EU for accepting Turkey into the Union was met with greater suspicion by France and Germany.

The matter of the fact is that today, even though they deny it, the two greatest economic and political powers, and therefore rivals on earth are USA and EU, the virtual NATO partners.

They compete for the same tight world market, their interests and policies conflict in so many issues from climate change to Middle East solution, to international justice.

In fact, economy in itself, cannot be the only logic for the expansion of the EU. Yes, the more the local market expands, the more its geography expands, the more frontiers and barriers fade, the economy would grow, act more freely and develop. Therefore the expansion of the EU is a logical and realistic policy.

But.. And this is a big but!

Because of robotization and manual power, the blue collar class of the European society is swiftly loosing jobs. The European traditional middle class is loosing menial jobs to the workers of the emerging Asian economies.

Here the EU has a dilemma. Why should a German worker accept Turkey or Poland into the Union, donate his tax money to a Polish or Turkish worker and make them rivals to himself?

Here, the defenders of expansion say that, if the Union expands, it means that its market also expands, and that it may have more buyers for its goods. So that it would be a win win situation for all sides.

The opposition though, give the example of a movement in wealthy Northern Italy, which wants to secede from Italy, saying they do not want to share their wealth with the poor Southern Italy.

Here you may remember the Marxist local wars of secession where the poor want to break away from the state saying the state is exploiting their wealth. But in the postmodern movement of Northern Italy, the rich want to secede from the poor.

As we think in this trend, it may not be prophesying to precast that the EU may disintegrate sooner than we may think of. Add American effect into this game, and start thinking..

Now, my dear listeners,

After economic elaboration, let us delve into the philosophic aspect of the EU.

As we said in the beginning, the EU is a goodwilled identity project. Still yet, it is a lame, short visioned project. It is a reality that for the majority of Europeans, it is contemplated as a Christian Project. Jews are an exception in the project. Their dominance and power in the USA has given them leverage in Europe, drastically changing thier historical minor status in Christian European politics. Hence today they are a major player in European politics, and the once fascist Europe considers European culture Judeo-Christian culture.

I wonder if muslims gain enough power in world economy and American politics, and if the EU would beg muslims to join them and call its culture Judeo- Islamo-Christian Culture? Just a joke..

Although it is a joke, still yet there is a serious question in it.

Either the EU shall accept the capitalist imperative of expansion into new geographies, or else, bringing religion to the forefront, build a cultural and economic castle and lock itself into it, closing to the global community.

This self-sealing would bring with itself a social moribundness.

While Europe turns inside, a cozy, comfortable and secure lifestyle but heading into implosion, the dynamic, risk taking East is awakening to world material wealth, and working desperately to get a larger piece of the global economic pie.

If the “Old Europe” in the American definition, wants to regain dynamism, in a wildly competing world, it must expand and get new members. Not only economic, but also cultural, to infuse new life into its aging civilization.

A good example for the EU is the Ottoman Empire which has locked itself to the world, moribund, and when woke up, to see the world has surpassed it.

The USA seeing this threat, is taming its entrepreneur, worker and peasant with immigrants, perpetually competing with them, moreover, with open borders importing competing goods to its own internal production.

EU has a lot to learn from the USA in this aspect.

Above all, is the cultural reality.

Europe should realize that its thinking is more affected by Islam than Judaism. It has received ancient Greek and Roman thought through Islamic filter. A Europe, in tribute to Jews, calling itself Judeo-Christian Culture should not be ashamed of saying Judeo-Islamo-Christian Culture.

Colonialist Europe of recent history should open again to the East, but this time not racist, double-standardist or colonialist, but as friend and equal partner.

But I have some ticking feeling that Europe is afraid to approach Islam as if they learn more of Islam, their faith may falter? As if they do not have full trust, full assurance in their faith, in themselves?

Well, you may ask how I came to this feeling.

I lived long years both in Europe and the USA. I saw that they virtually know nothing about Islam or Qur'an. They do not want to approach it, they do not want to learn about it, they try to shun it. I do wonder why they escape from learning if they have confidence..

The sunlight, having anchored in the West since the last 200 years, is swiftly moving to East, to the Pacific.

At such a juncture of history, would it not be wise for the West to approach Islamic World?

Islam wants divine religions to cooperate.

| Radio Riyad
| *Islam and Current Challenges*

GLOBAL ECONOMY

by
Aydm Nurhan
September 2003

Dear Listeners,

Our topic today is Global Economy.

You know that we are a global village, and all nations produce and try to sell to each other.

As production grows with technology and automation, paradoxically, unemployment grows. Because robots replace humans.

And as unemployed masses were rivals to workers in 20th Century, now in 21st Century, robots are the competitors especially to manual labour.

20th Century had abolished the need for animal power.

21st Century shall abolish the need for human manual labour.

What this means is the eradication of the buyer middle class of the Western Democracies.

Can you imagine a world where 4-5 super brains have made robots which churn out millions of modern tv sets, but there are no more bread earning workers who can buy them?

Meaning, producer cannot sell, unemployed masses cannot buy.

This is the dilemma of the 21st Century.

You can minimize production costs to miniscule rates. But how can unemployed workers buy them?

European overproduction, i.e. the butter hills on the one side, and African starvation on the other, but due to weird economic logic, they cannot synchronize! This example is the precursor of unemployed middle classes of Western industrial societies losing purchasing power!

This is the dark point in future global economy, which may trigger decomposition of the European Union and further leading into deeper crises in world economy.

Now my dear friends..

Think of the modern metropolitan life where nuclear families ignore their elderly, the grandmothers and grandfathers.

With this fear, people try to save money for elderly times, and invest their savings in secure businesses. Governments also put retirement funds into stock markets and bonds.

Now, fierce global competition brings instability to companies, and it is not uncommon now-a-days to hear a multibillion dollar corporation collapsing, vanishing with it billions of hard-earned savings of ordinary, old people.

This brings us to the need of powerful corporate leaders who can sustainably steer their companies into the future with security and reasonable profits.

But not everybody can be successful businessmen.

According to statistics, only ten percent of new businesses survive in the USA, meaning 90% go bankrupt in about a year!

Then if we have too many savers, but too few businessmen, then the rule of supply and demand plays its imperative, and shares break from the real value of the companies into a fictive value, just as national currencies broke away from gold standard.

This is why a global economy producing only \$200 billion a day is gambling with \$2 trillion on this \$200 billion production.

World economy is heading to dark times...

Yes dear listeners,

This is the economic aspect.

But more important is the aspect of the states.

The states, trying to close their irrational budget deficits, enter the money markets, give irrational interests, leaving real, rational businessmen without financial resources.

As a state says I will pay 30% interest as against the businessman, then the banks put their money in state bonds.

This kills production. As factories cannot give such high interest, they close, leaving millions of workers unemployed.

Moreover, as factory owner closes factory, the state loses a taxpayer, together with him his workers laid out, they also stop paying tax to the state. In contrast, as the states get loans, they employ more useless workers, and instead of taking taxes, they start paying more salaries to their inflated civil servants.

And as production fades, its money and tax circulation in economy fade too.

Now my friends..

The archaic state system plays in world money markets, but it cannot bankrupt.

This is medieval, irrational, this is against science.

There is no future to this irrationality, this eerie economic anomaly.

As we call our civilization as the greatest ever, states are not serious, they print useless paper money.

As world leader US prints more, other countries print more, so to devalue their money and sell to US market. So everybody is inflating.

The result is, global locomotive is speeding to the cliff.

So my dear listeners,

To summarize,

1. There are not enough preprofessional entrepreneurs in the world to turn savings into productive investment.
2. Therefore states get these resources with high interest rates and abuse them.

Within this global context, what is the future of the Workers Unions?

In defensive reflex, the unions may be the inns of fanatical, radical racism, nationalism, religious fundamentalism in the 21st Century.

Globalism especially hits the workers of Western Unions. The Western workers have too much to lose. Against global competition, the Western Unions will have to assume the duty to convince their workers for less, if only to keep what they already have.

Union strategists do have a tough time.

Technological advancements and elitist education shall lead to marginalization of manual labour and hit the industrialized middle classes in the forthcoming 25 years, leading to social upheavals.

This may lead to terrorism in the West, from its unemployed masses. I have a feeling that the war on so-called Islamic Terror is a warm up to radical, fundamentalist Christian terror that will arise in Europe and Northern America. And it may affect foreign policies, more than trade policies.

In the coming competition and global rivalry, western unions may request custom barriers against competing nations, leading to a collapse in global trade, results of which may lead to 3rd world war.

As you may know, until 21st Century, one way to force a rival state was to put economic embargoes against it. Now, it is the peoples going after their group interests, start putting embargoes or start boycotting rival goods.

This initial, toddling phase of boycotts may turn out to be a serious threat to global trade in future.

If we remember 1960s, developing states protecting their baby industries with high walls, but their publics had to buy very low quality of goods from their own industrialists, hence being cheated, turned into international goods.

This phase of reaction to national low quality goods is coming to an end, because many countries can now produce reasonably competitive goods as against foreign goods. Now, if they turn inwards to national goods, this may bring disaster to world trade. Putting gas unto this fire by workers unions and political leaders would lead the world to chaos.

So, what should the politicians do?

What is right, what is left in 21st Century?

Dear friends,

Now think of national economy as a company.

Rightist parties say

“lets invest the profit and expand business for future wealth”,

meaning postponing social welfare.

Whereas Leftist Parties would say

“Reinvest a little part of profit, but take a big portion for the poor masses”.

Now, think of the state which desperately begs international capital to come to its country, invest, build factories and provide for its unemployed workers.

If the state asks too much tax for health, education and social welfare from the companies, if the unions ask too much, of the investing capital, then simple cost-profit equation plays its rule.

In global competition among national worker unions, capital stays in a country as long as the offer is competitive enough, supported by political stability.

This is important in the sense that, as in the example of Scandinavian social state, the companies would end up paying the luxury of highly spoiled wealthy workers, one day moving business to developing countries.

See the bleak future for industrialized middle classes?

Yes, Dear Friends,

I intentionally painted a grey picture for you today, to trigger some thoughts in your minds for our future, for the future of our children..

Just think..

If the Western nations lose their wealth, what would they do to their developing rivals?

| Radio Riyad
| *Islam and Current Challenges*

HISTORY

by
Aydm Nurhan
30 June 2003

Dear Listeners,

Our topic today is history.

English Historian Eric Hobsbawm defines history as:

“Research of the past according to certain academic criteria”

As history and historical data go back thousands of years, Western academia accepts Greek Historian Herodot who has lived in the 5th Century BC, as the patriarch of history writing.

The greatest historian of the Islamic, even perhaps of human history, is Ibn Khaldoun.

These great historians and their followers have tried to give meaning to what they found about the past. They have tried to systemize the data they found, studied them, reasoned, and tried to make projections to the future from them.

Their inputs were monuments, tombs, bridges, archives, paintings, songs, sculptures, dresses, architecture, weapons, jewelry, religious documents, and anything that earlier societies used. Yet a lot of these data were lost due to natural disasters and wars. These catastrophes took away collective memory, the heritage of mankind, the libraries, archives, information and documents together with their secrets, never to come back.

Within this context, one cannot refrain from remembering the vandalization of the libraries of Iraq in 21st Century, supposedly a century of high civilization, as a sad page in human history.

My dear friends,

As we can carry history writing back into 5th Century BC to Herodot, modern historiography has started in 19th Century. In fact, Realm of Islam has a rich heritage for historiography. Muslims have developed advanced archiving systems. The Ottomans, knowing the value of documentation, have even called their archives as “Hazine-i Evrak” meaning “Treasury of Documentation”. Still yet, we muslims have not been able to utilize these treasures for a scientific, systematic historiography in the modern sense.

Modern historiography, starting in Germany in the 19th Century, has later covered Eastern societies, and with the colonial Eurocentric approach, has lead the way to Orientalism.

We the muslims have been very late in modern historiography. Even today, many of our archives are closed to universities, authorities do not want to share their information with universities, academics, scholars, researchers, intentionally or ignorantly blocking science.

The result is that they have to read their own history from foreigners! They gain their identity from the eyes of foreigners! This is the sad situation of the Eastern Societies.

Today, for the West, there is either ancient Greece and Rome, or the Imperial, Colonial age.

The Islamic Civilization in between is absent.

Ages of Arab, Persian or Ottoman History are absent for the Western dominated international, intellectual realm, leaving a vacuum to be filled.

This creates such a psychological vacuum that it may lead to physical, geographical occupation of our lands with historical or religious arguments. Palestine and Cyprus are the results of this intellectual lapse, the vacuum we left in time.

If you go to bookshops in the West, you would be saddened to see the absence of the Orient in the shelves, whereas you would see sections, even halls for Jewish and Western history. If we cannot put our recent history to the fore, then the ancient history of other peoples will step forward, and the world will psychologically accept their claims. And since we, ourselves deny our

history, then we ourselves will legitimize the dreams of other communities on our lands and heritage.

What a shame, what an ignorance, if not betrayal...

Yes my dear listeners,

History is a branch of social sciences. But as other branches of science, it is also manipulated for ideologies and political ends.

In reality, every state develops its own ideology of history according to its own needs, and tries to use history for its national interests. This was especially so after the French Revolution, as nation states were born after it, and the states wanting to build nations, had to pump up special historical causes to build national unity.

In fact, priority of the statesman is the real interests of his state or nation. For him, state is not a charity organization. It only survives, as long as it is eligible to survive in the lawless jungle of international relations.

This realism of statesmen is understandable to a limit, as long as they do not slide into injecting fascism, racism, hatred, and enmity under the consciences of their youth. But the problem does not start and end with the statesmen either. We should not forget that they are educated by teachers.

We have a beautiful saying in our religion, which perhaps may be translated as;

Worst of scholars is he, who goes to the ruler.

Best of rulers is he who goes to the scholar.

Our religion sees science untamed by faith, as the instrument of devil. Hence scientists should ask themselves whether their results would bring good or evil to humanity. They should always pass their results through the filter of their conscience to avoid use of their findings against human disasters.

Let me give you an example. Famous historian Arnold Toynbee is a very shocking example of a scholar who has used his science to lie, creating false documents for politicians.

These kinds of irresponsible scholars may even generate zealous leaders who may end up thinking they have divine missions, that they are the vicegerents of God on earth to recreate the world in their own image. And we know the horrible examples...

Yes, my dear listeners,

History is for us humans.

A beautiful garden of knowledge.

Especially national history, our collective mind, is the sum of our past experiences. For taking lessons. Perhaps the greatest value in reading history is to gain identity and insight into our future. We make estimates, and try to catch trends. Here I remember the novel and its movie “Roots” by Alex Haley, both masterpieces of art, about American slavery. In one instance the black boy asked his mother “why didn’t you marry that man mother?” and the black mother replied “Nobody has told him where he came from. So he does not know where he is going...”

Yes. Our new generations must know where they come from. But! We must balance the dose of national history delicately in our curricula. If students are boosted with overdosed history, they may see the ruthless realism in international jungle, leading to materialism, clash of interests, pessimism, racism and chauvinism.

Whereas if we give them an unrealistic picture of the past, neglecting realities and hard earned lessons of mankind, in the hope of building a peaceful world, that would not be constructive either.

And now the question.. Can we reach a level of spiritual nobility to work and pray for the common good of all mankind, and use our past experience to leave a better world for our children?

Radio Jeddah
Current Events & the World of Islam

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE WORLD OF ISLAM

by
Aydın Nurhan
April 2003

Dear Listeners,

Today, our topic is Human Rights.

As you may well know, the term “Human Rights” is a modern term. In primitive ages, humans were living in wild nature without security. To counter threats, they united, and got organized. This organization brought them hierarchy, and they had to give up some of their liberties they had in natural life.

The oldest known secular laws of the organized society are the laws of Hammurabi, king of Babylon who lived around 1800 B.C

The systematic continuation of secular Hammurabi laws can be traced into Ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome. Aztecs, Inkas, Africans and Asians also developed their secular and religious laws.

What I want to tell you in short is that you would be mistaken to think that Christian Europe has monopoly in the evolution of human rights.

All religions and civilizations contributed to this ideal.

And efforts to this ideal were crowned by the herald of Islam.

We may say that the modern concept of human rights developed through

industrial revolution. Later on, humanity took deep lessons from two World Wars, founded the United Nations in 1948, and Declared Universal Human Rights.

Still yet, this goodwilled document was corrupted in the hands of powerful states and Macchiavelian politicians.

Especially the Western States used this noble cause for interest politics as a new tool of interference into the internal affairs of the weaker states. They created new concepts as **“Failed States”** meaning that some states were not eligible to be states, could not keep security in their countries, hence had to be put under some kind of postmodern mandate.

Although the West had a lot of shortcomings in human rights, accusations always came from West to the East. Inspections always was on the East, and the East could not even dream of sending delegations to inspect the West for their shortcomings on human rights.

These relentless accusations confused and bewildered the Muslim and developing countries in the beginning. How could they deny a noble concept both praised, sanctified by their religion, and also by secular ethics?

It was such a confusion that even some muslim intellectuals started saying that West was correct in interfering in the so-called **“failed states”**, and that Islam was not compatible with human rights...

When they woke up, it was too late. Interference in internal affairs was the new international order in the name of human rights.

Now it was a natural, in a way, **“divine right”** for the West to control the rest.

For application, it was deemed suitable to pass the mission to NGO's secretly manipulated by the states.

Labor Unions were one example.

With the effect of wild global economic competition, investment escapes from the West, to countries where labour is cheaper.

Seeing this threat, Western Labor Unions said capitalists were abusing poor workers with low salaries. It did not work. Then they came honestly declaring the cheap labour of Asia as **“Social Dumping”**, and that products of this cheap labor should be banned for imports.

But as you see, this war was first presented as a noble fight for the poor workers of poor countries. Hiding the real rivalry against poor workers of the other world.

My Dear Listeners,

What do I want to tell by this?

We muslims behave in the **psychology of defense**, we are **apologetic** as if we are always defective, and the West always faultless. We do not have self confidence, because we do not have enough science, we do not have faith in ourselves.

Intellectuals of Islam could not recreate their modernity from their own culture, tradition and civilization. Incapable of affecting the trend of history, they found it easier to adopt wholesale agendas prepared by the West.

Once trapped in it, they either had to like or dislike the **“Western Agenda”**. And they started **defining themselves from the Western man’s eye**. This was what Edward Said pointed out in his thesis Orientalism.

And our own intellectuals started blaming our religion and civilization for our backwardness. Yes, we have abuses, but not due to our Religion. Due to our ignorance.

Yet, how about the West?

Their’s are educated, intentional, deliberate abuses, mostly blessed by state policies and directed towards outer world and the guest foreigners in their countries.

And this is inherent in Greko-Roman culture.

You know that the West aspires to **Greko-Roman** civilization. A **civilization of double standard**.

I long wondered if the Christian duality of the **“Realm of Ceasar and Realm of God”** also affects this double standard and injustice.

This duality, or rather dilemma may have created a **double, contrasting identity** in Western mind, leading to double standard approach to life.

Again I wondered how Christianity became so strict a straight jacket in medieval times that people had to explode and make a reform.

Was it the centralized clergy monopolizing and standardizing Christian religion into one certain format and force this straightjacket into the brains of individuals?

And why did we muslims always have a flexible and tolerant world view? Was it because there was none between us and Allah?

Dear Listeners,

As we speak of human rights, both in theory, and in practice, Islam is inclusive, and was.. inclusive throughout its history.

Whereas Christian West stood **exclusive** in practice. It failed in homogeneity. West lived side by side, in exclusivity, heterogenously, just **tolerating the “other”** in perpetual tension. This was so both **in theory and in practice**. This culture was based on rejection, repelling the “other”.

So when the secular idea of human rights was developed, it was based on “tolerance”, another traditional Western concept. **In tolerance, there are opposing identities who live side by side in a delicate balance of interests.**

Whereas in Islamic Civilization, it is **co-survival** with muslims, and with nonmuslims. **Justice and harmony** are the key concepts.

And above all, there is the definition of the human being in Islam:

Sura Baqara, Ayah 30 says “Behold thy Lord said to the angels: “I will create a **vicegerent** on earth.”

As Human being is the vicegerent of Allah on earth,

a baby is born innocent.

Whereas for Christianity,

a baby is a sinner by birth.

This perhaps is the profound difference between the two religions in their approach to human community and world politics.

Now I ask you my dear listeners?

With the divine treasure we have, should we be defensive and apologetic in the cause of human rights?

Yes we should!

I surprised you. Did I not?

Yes we should be apologetic to our children we abuse!

Yes, we should be apologetic to our wives we abuse!

Yes we should be apologetic to our brethren we have abused.

And we should be apologetic to any innocent human soul we have abused..

But... NEVER to politicians and state policies using human rights as political weapon for their sinister agendas.

Rather..

We should be on the offensive!

Can we?

Add ilm to your eeman, and see...

| Radio Jeddah
| *Current Challenges & Islam*

ISLAM & TERRORISM

by
Aydm Nurhan
April 2003

Dear Listeners,

Today, I want to talk to you about a current subject, Islam and Terrorism.

We may define terrorism as, to “Shock and Awe” civilians or soldiers with violence for any end.

And in our day, Islam is taken as synonym with terrorism in Western Media.

When a bomb blasts in America or Europe, we muslims get shy, and say “I wish it is not a muslim who’s dunnit”. We get ashamed, we get afraid, and get in reflexive defence.

This tragic state of us is the victory of the Western media.

This is a psychological warfare that the West has won with its media, academia and think tanks.

We the believers of Islam, a religion in very essence meaning submission completely to Allah and finding peace and bliss through it! Are we happy with our state?

Some of us, outrageous and ignorant in knowledge declare innocent Western people as enemy, some of us lose all hope, become desperate, get

into terror, and some of us accept defeat and find solace in escaping from our identity and troubles.

And this state of ours, benefits some Macchiavelian policy makers in the West.

Perhaps you would remember the visit of the American delegation to Moscow right after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The Russian host had told his American guests “Now we really harmed you. We rid you of your enemy!”

We can translate this phrase as:

The common enemy, the glue that kept the West together, is gone now. You may disintegrate any time.

Right after this warning, Western think tanks, strategic institutions, and academies went into a busy study and swiftly created two new enemies to replace Communism. They were China and the so-called political Islam.

As Western economies stalled, as social security systems were collapsing, as unemployment was climbing towards 20%, rage of the Western jobless masses had to be directed to outside so the governments could escape their anger..

Here you may remember them saying Muslim governments were directing rage of their youth against West! In fact it is done much more flagrantly by Western politicians.

Anyway, this was the new plan. Yet, the Islamic world did not have the military, economic, political nor technological clout to counter the West by any means.

As for China, it was too big and too powerful for a frontal and imminent assault, hence special long term strategic plans were developed for it.

Now my dear listeners,

I would like to take you into the journey of globalism of the 21st Century.

Let us have a short background of the evolution of the industrial society into the 21st Century.

Before the industrial revolution of the 18th Century, the empires did not interfere much in the affairs of local communities. But as technology developed,

so did the control of the central governments on local communities, strongly bringing them under national central control. This process gained global momentum with information revolution.

And it is in this new world order that even states are being brought under strict control of the global hierarchy. As governments are put under more foreign pressure, their angry peoples boil underneath. It is as a pressure cooker where the valve is locked, and ready to explode.

As the angry, unhappy masses throughout the world might, at one point explode, classical armies may not be able to control them.

This is what is called the new “Asymmetric Warfare”.

This new warfare is not going to be fought among classical, organized armies under state monopoly, but as Western strategists assume, is to be fought among the new hierarchical global order and unorganized local guerillas.

Now here is the big trouble.

The menace to the new global order shall come from within West.

Unemployed masses of the West shall start real, substantial 21st Century terrorism.

Why? Because they have so much to lose.

As for poor peoples of East and South, they don't have much to lose, hence their revolts would not be substantial and sustained.

Now my dear listeners,

Let's look at the issue from the point of view of the ones who use Islam for political terror.

As all ideologies died as we entered 21st Century, the oppressed youth of the Islamic world looking for an ideological support for their cause, retreated into religion, and loaded a new meaning, a heavy political one, to the word Jihad.

As Western Media was looking for a slogan, they jumped on this term, saying “Hey look. Don't blame us. Muslims are using this term Jihad for war against us.” So they put gas into fire among the Christian and Muslim dialogue.

They pumped up an image of a militant Islam, a religion which in essence was much more egalitarian and peaceful in message than their own Testaments.. Only if they read Qur'an and knew...

My Dear Friends,

The new international order developed three responses to deal with possible unorganized violence from poor countries:

1. To hit directly, the state that supports terror,
2. To threaten the State where terrorists may find safe haven, and have the terrorists punished, (As telling a father to beat his son),
3. To go directly into a country, calling it a (Failed State) with military, police and intelligence and take command

With this policy, the West aimed to keep solidarity within itself, whereas on the other hand, tried to protect the global order it has designed.

But this was a short-visioned strategy.

The real menace, to put once again, is from within the West itself.

My Dear listeners,

If we do not delve into the concept of Jihad, our analysis would be left incomplete.

Jihad generally is known for its external meaning. Simply the defensive war against a nonmuslim aggressor.

But the greater Jihad, as we all muslims know is the inner challenge against our own self, the nafs.

As religion is the overall dominant factor in the psychology and identity of a human being, any soldier going to war, undeniably takes refuge in his religion. Soldiers of every religion want martyrdom in religion, above any worldly national interest. What I mean is that religion is always there in war, present, in an undeniable way. This is why all armies take special caution to treat religion with care in sending its youth to death. Also our boys going to war should always think of martyrdom and keep it in their hearts, never to forget Allah.

Now, my dear listeners,

I come to the heart of our issue. And I directly charge the Western policy makers!

Do you want to destroy the religious, spiritual support of the muslim soldier?

So that they would not defend their fatherland and values?

Do you also accept us attacking your values of martyrdom?

Do not attack our faith!

This is not a fair game.

Neither atomic bomb is a weapon of mass destruction, nor French resistance to Hitler is terrorism for you.

Rather.. They are patriotism and valiance.

It is only when muslims intend to use them, they are threats against humanity!

This is nothing but unethical double standard.

Yet my dear listeners,

This psychological warfare is so successful that even for the legitimate defense of our countries, some of our appeasing intelligentsia try to convince West that Islam is against violence. What they lose in defensive psychology is that they cannot separate the nuance in between simple killing and just defense.

Our noble religion restricts us in war. Prohibits us from touching civilians, orders us to treat prisoners humanely. Shuns terrorism and torture. But it does order violence when attacked. Defense of fatherland **is** a form of violent response.

And it is nothing but honourable.

West talks too much about ethics and human rights. They talk. But they should try to improve their record in these noble issues rather than talking. And treat other human beings equally.

And we shall wait, keep hope and extend our hands for peace and friendship..

Perhaps they would learn someday..

| Radio Riyad
| *Current Events & the World of Islam*

MANAGEMENT

by
Aydın Nurhan
January 2004

My Dear Listeners,

Our topic today is Management.

One of the most expensive arts taught in the elite universities of our day.

The dream of the aspiring global princes, the international meritocracy of our day.

And knowing this, I will not dare tell you the scientific intricacies of this art.

As an administrator with legal background, or rather an old style man who has missed the opportunity to have an MBA after law school, I would like to give you a bouquet of my experiences from the 35 years in business life starting with government, international corporate business, lawyer practice, diplomacy and international political organization, as a man in hierarchy who has taken orders and given orders.

As you work your way up in hierarchy throughout the years, you understand your lack of knowledge in management and tend to refer to textbooks to do your job professionally. Doing so, and integrating it with your years of experience, you may pull yourself up from among the ignorant, oldstyle bosses.

Also, if you are one of those lucky who work for a modern state mechanism, or privileged to work in modern multinational companies where you get

continual training and refresher courses, you also improve your management skills into a bright future. If not, you just squeeze in with the losers, having to use your oldstyle, instinctive, feudal methods.

Here, I hear you murmuring “there are famous tycoons without much education”. Correct, but you know that they are exceptions, exceptional artists of the business world. And their success mostly depends on their wisdom in choosing the top class business professionals of ivy league colleges for their executive posts.

Dear Friends,

In business books, you can find various definitions of a manager. My definition of a good manager, from my own personal experience of 35 years, is that he is

a professional who solves problems swiftly, without panic.

A skilled manager is someone who breaks down the problems to their smallest details, analyses them, then gathers them again harmoniously and intelligibly into sound solutions.

So management is an art. And not everybody can be an artist, no matter how much science and effort they employ towards it. And a pity that many a people cannot say, “I am not eligible”.

Many people do not accept their limits...

This mentality, leading businesses into bankruptcy, becomes especially catastrophic in civil services, leading to grave consequences for the society.

The golden rule for the manager, rather for all of us is, “**Know Thyself**”. This universal wisdom, coming through all religions, and philosophers as Socrates, is in fact the key to a healthy psychology. It comes through introspection, and further, the education of the soul to know its limits, which would lead to the control of the very self, the **nafs**.

Whereas a perfect rule for good governance comes from our religion Islam.

In Qur’an, Allah orders us to trust the job to the competent. (Ayah 4/58). And our Prophet PBUH, also admonishes us with similar hadiths, and warns us with grave consequences if not abided by.

The first handicap of incompetency is lack of self confidence, inferiority complex, and the anxiety that comes with them. Incompetence brings with it the

tendency of a slavish devotion to superiors, and to oppress the knowledgeable subordinates. An incompetent manager may also develop health problems as ulcers, cancer, and heart attacks.

Uneligible managers, with the negative atmosphere they create around them, pass their ills to their subordinates and family members, knowingly or unknowingly ruining their lives, sometimes even to death.

This behavior which we may call **incompetency syndrome** may lead to severe cases as paranoia where one may see his boss as an enemy, or subordinates as fatal rivals in coalition against him.

Many of these troubled managers seek sychopants, flatterers around them to soothe their troubled souls. And some cunning foxes which are skilled in getting these types of managers in their spell, can manipulate them into disasters just by playing the yes man.

As we are all human beings, we can be addicted to these cunning foxes who soothe our complexes by flattery.

Now, Friends,

Let's note some of the deficiencies with incompetent managers:

Firstly,

Their greatest concern is failure. Hence, to make up for incompetency, they tend to entertain their superiors with a slavish devotion, at the expense of their dignity..

In parallel to this, they also worry about the competence of their subordinates as potential challengers against them. They would be afraid to get opinions of powerful aides.

Young professionals, in excitement and enthusiasm to serve their company or state, may end up in direct confrontation with their superiors, attracting severe reaction, sometimes hitting the wrong nerve to hatred. Hence it would be proper, especially in early stages of their career, either to be tacit, or, even if asked of opinion, not to be assertive, nor confronting in their counsel.

Thirdly, in traditional business, what the ignorant bosses like are statistics and data to test the knowledge of their subordinates. They, being incompetent, hate ideas and counsel. So the ladder to success and promotion is memorization of facts for the boss. Same is true for incompetent teachers who also resort to the ease of memorization as an education policy.

Fourthly, the incompetent manager is elated by the quarrels among his subordinates, sometimes result of his calculated manipulations, who direct their discontents towards each other rather than to the boss himself.

And when the employees go to the boss for mediation, this means solid acceptance of the supremacy and legitimacy of the manager, hence easing his pains of competency. The manager gets great pleasure from this role, sees his subordinates as little souls quarreling among each other for trivialities, and in a high spirit, complains to his wife and friends how little people are, around him, thus elated with the feeling of fictive greatness.

And we may add many more ills born out of the incompetence of a manager. Yet, it is not so easy to blame them in poor contries, with barely survival incomes in old-fashioned business practices. In such environments, when someone is offered a managerial position, it means a few more dollars in salary, to get a little more bread back home.

Hence, even if a person is decent enough to reject a position knowing the limits of his capacity, even if he is not power hungry, still, it would be extremely difficult for him to reject the material privilages.

Yet, the least to be expected of a manager should be honesty. He should be honest to himself, and to his environment. Then we should expect him to be just, with commonsense, one who can distinguish the most important from the important, a good listener, predictable, rational, with sense of emphyaty, optimist, constructive, open to novelties, creative, erudite, etc.

These are what popped in my mind in an instance. And you can enhance this list with your own observations in your careers, harmonize them with your experiences, and develop your own methodologies.

And now,

Let us give some humble advice to our manager who has the minimum qualities we seek in him.

So the first duty of an manager should be to educate his assistants. Both with transferring his personal experience to them, and scientifically through training and refreshment courses in business.

To see business life as an unethical race and seeing the young assistants as rivals, locking documents in drawers thinking information is power, hiding information from colleagues, are cheap, dirty tricks. Yes, information IS power.

But that which is shared, and enriched by sharing. Monopolizing information would be the worst betrayal to job and to citizens.

To memorize laws and regulations to use them as weapons against colleagues or people, or to gain power, is another sinister behavior.

In short, first priority of a manager is to share information with his colleagues, and then transfer them to young generations.

My dear friends,

Now, think of our youth, how wrongly we educate them. The day they graduate from school, they see it as a right to be millionaires, without the science, effort, risk and sweat of decades it may take. Think of the ethics they sidestep for the material goods of mundane life... The cunning tricks they try to play to reach peaks as quick as possible...

Think of our education which makes our youth hate books and burn them on graduation day. And never to open pages again... Producing generations who are unaware of self improvement through books, choosing a life idling with friends in vanity.

And we cannot blame our youth, our very children who see from us, their fathers and mothers, that our societies **eliminate the worthy, and promote the foxy**. It is through this **“negative selection”** that they see their future. It is us who are breaking the hopes of our children by being bad examples, and leading them to tricky, cunning ways for success in life.

In this age of technology, we do not care about the modern methods of evaluating performance on duty. We avert the science of Human Resources in modern business. Why are we so?

In fact we are in such an era that all modern technologies are at our option, ready to be exploited. Many of us send our children to the best schools of management all around the world. But when it comes to the application of modern science into our business, our mentality rejects the logical methods. Why so? Is it our civilization to blame? Certainly not.

Today, as against the wrong belief of the many old style competitors, those who base success on race and rivalry with peers, modern success is not based on rivalry with peers. In our postmodern 21st Century, success depends on our race with our greatest rival, which is ourselves.

Yes, I can feel you remembering a tenet of our noble religion here... **The Great Jihad**. And now, the Great Jihad against the self is what the global society came to realize for success in business, in family, in sports, and you name more. Now the world is talking of **self-improvement**. Libraries are full of such recipes, so-called New Age books. Now, we have to surpass our ownelves, perpetually, never fatiguing.

21st Century will not give chance to ones who do not perpetually update themselves. Static ones, ones who are not changing, creating and renovating shall be left behind, and collapse.

Look around yourselves..

See people who walk with grave pride,

Who pose serious, but in talent, trivial.

Who pose as indispensable, but worthless..

Thousands of them..

There are some, who give honour to their office, raise its esteem.

And there are some who get honour from the office,
exploit it and defame it.

There are managers who see business as an unethical contest among peers..

Chasing prominence and fame, they climb the ladders of power and wealth..

As a side-product, their company or people may also gain some trifle...

And there are managers who work for their people or company,

their people and company prosper,

and if recognized by chance, they may also get a nod of approval,

and that is all the prize to make them merry.

There are managers whose priority is the satisfaction of the boss..

And there are managers who aspire to protect the needy and the oppressed,
and work to earn the warm affection of their people to their beloved state.

A good manager builds a bridge between theory and practice. As he functions, questions arise in his brain, then he goes and refers to books, and comes back with sound solutions. Then from experience and applications, he

creates his own theories. And this enlightened circle is the mother of innovation, which in the finale, may evolve into a doctrine.

Management in fact, is to rise to see the forest from counting individual trees. Yes, when needed, nuances, the smallest details, are vital. As the saying goes, **the devil is in details**. But a manager spending a lifetime in details, loses his vision. A good manager is the one who delegates authority and responsibility to his subordinates in a balanced way, and who does not interfere except in extraordinary cases.

A good manager asks facts and details from young experts, and opinion from senior aides. To expect senior aides to master the minor details of the files of the departments is either not realistic, or not good-willed.

The best capital for a good manager is to have experts who know better than himself. As you may remember, the question posed to Bill Gates, as if he felt inferiority complex working among the genius brains of the world, and he has replied that it was for their genius that he was paying them.

In modern management, bosses pay millions of dollars to consultants to criticise themselves and their companies. Still yet, as humans, they get upset with the constructive critique of their brightest subordinates. This is human vanity.

Anyway,

Now let's look into the manager's talent in guiding his team. The first things he needs are sincerity, honesty and justice.

These are the essentials of convincing a team to harmony and success. And convincing cannot come through a one way monologue. Hence a good manager knows how to listen. Moreover, he knows how to make his team feel easy, and speak their mind out to him.

The manager should be wise enough to ask intelligent and learned questions to pull creative ideas from mouths. He should make his assistants feel that he listens with full attention and respects their ideas. He does not cut their words, rather, in the case with inexperienced young officials who cannot compile their ideas in a sensible way, helps ease their anxiety.

A wise manager, trying to gain insight into his business, can get the best intelligence at informal social occasions, from the very hearts of the human beings, speaking their subconscious sincerely, at an eased atmosphere.

By sincerity, he also convinces every member of his team that they have a part in the final decision, and feel the pride for it. And making sure that the team has understood and acknowledged by heart the mission, applies it with full spirit and resolution, without faltering.

Yet if, for a zealous manager, priority is to satisfy his superiors, then entertaining clients, subordinates or citizens is secondary in his aspiration to power. He knows by instinct that if he gives priority to humans at his door, he cannot rise. For him, clients and subordinates do not seem as humans, but spiritless letters and numbers as mathematic problems on paper.

And it is a pity that in underdeveloped countries, the human resource evaluation system assesses subservience to the boss rather than treating clients or the citizens.

My Dear Listeners,

You may remember that we said, a good manager was a good listener. A good listener means an enthusiast for learning, yearning for new knowledge. But what we see around, is that when somebody accidentally becomes a manager, he thinks he now became the wisest man of the world, that his colleagues expect him to know all secrets of the universe, hence he is delighted to preach them in almost every field of knowledge.

In a few days, he builds such a self esteem that he evolves extraordinarily into a wise man, thinking his subordinates are all but ignorant. First thing for a bad manager to lose, is the **ability to listen with attention and empathy**.

An ignorant is someone who does not know he does not know. He does not take counsel, he rejects new knowledge. And most regretfully, after a certain age, we lose our chance to learn from others. Because as we grow older, we learn to accept people as they are, not try to change their faults, we learn to be politically correct, and not gain enemies. Hence, reciprocally, we all lose the great opportunity of being corrected by each other, whereas it is the duty of the muslim, at any age, to be true to his brothers.

We tend to think, "If this man has not learned until this age, why should I be the arrogant preacher and insult him, rather than having a sweet chat and pass nice time with him?" And mind you, this is especially the approach of subordinates to bosses at ranks of power.

So, a good manager should be very sensitive against this natural psychology, and try to get as much input as possible from his friends, colleagues,

and subordinates, provided, not to be seen as too humble and ignorant to be abused.

Again, to compensate for the reluctance and reservation of the environment to tell bitter truths, a mature person can take books as true friends. Books are real friends in need, they teach without insulting and injuring the pride, and they are good guides especially for those who reflect, and ready to get lessons.

I think it was in Peter Drucker's book, that some brains are better on reading, they can concentrate on pages, and understand better by reading, and there are some who can better concentrate in listening, and understand better by listening, rather than reading. Can you imagine someone who can be none? Not reading, and not listening to others either? What a poor ignorant they would make...

In reality, as a teacher cannot know everything, and does not have to know everything, a manager, in the same logic, does not have to know everything. His subordinates may exceed him in many fields of life, and he should take it with grace. Yet, it is human weakness, and the greatest war is against the nafs, the very self, as I repeatedly remind you from our noble religion. Perhaps to tame the nafs, we should put special lessons in schools as the American army is doing in a technical way.

Dear Listeners,

The difference of a manager from an ordinary clerk is his ability and courage to take calculated, realistic risks. We should know that if it is written for our fate, every bad fortune may meet us some time. And a manager can never be sure that every single signature he puts on paper, no matter how much he scrutinizes, is foolproof.

Hence, he must work with aides who have gained his trust in time. An atmosphere of inconfidence cannot be resourceful. A manager should never expect loyalty from the people he disrespects and oppresses, and should be on continual alert for betrayal.

He should always keep in mind that his aides are his best supports. If he does not respect them, hurts their pride especially in front of their subordinates, then the junior staff promptly get the message and start disrespecting the second man. Then the skeleton of hierarchy, the vertical order of command collapses.

Honor and pride are still sacred values for humans. Attack on these values cause irreparable damage in the souls, and bring eternal hatred. A manager who does not want enemies, should be careful in attacking the pride of his assistants.

Praise may be open, public, but rebuke should be strictly confidential, personal. A manager should always have empathy with his subordinates and say, **“How would I feel if my wife, children, or parents watch my boss scolding me?”**

Especially young employees, to have audience with their bosses, get very anxious, and some try to memorize all their files against the possibility of not being able to answer questions. A wise manager who cares for the education of his young staff, eases their tension, and cares not to damage the personality of prospective bright leaders.

A boss should act as a fatherlike figure to his young assistants, knowing that if a father oppresses and kills the willpower of his children, they become weak personalities in life, preys for strong characters raised by wise fathers. The A manager with self confidence, shows affection to personal and professional problems of his staff, and where needed, protects their well earned rights even in cases of dispute with higher echelons of power.

He does not ask the reasons for permissions, not to force the employees into dishonesty and telling lies. In modern business, it is very proper to cut salary for short leaves. But a good manager is the one who has not lost his human side, and knows the human moments of support, without thinking of the mechanical business laws of modernity.

The first and foremost right of the employee, is his salary. So his salary should be paid before the sweat dries on his forehead. A manager who makes his employee beg for his honestly earned salary, is an evil. This behavior has no place either in religious, or secular ethics. One who does not respect human dignity, has no right to expect honesty from his counterparts.

One who does favouritism to his flatterers, go for nepotism, divide the workers as manager’s spy, assistant’s man, superintendent’s boy, and chooses the policy of **divide et impera**, cannot get efficiency in such evil atmosphere. In private business, this is a sure way to bankruptcy. For civil service, it is an oppression, and again a sure way to earn hatred of workers and discontented people against the state, but many a case, a manager does not get any punishment for such devilish conduct leading to betrayal of fatherland.

Yes my dear friends,

As you see, I am sprinkling my experiences unsystematically, randomly, as machine gun fire, what I lived personally in different levels of hierarchy, what I saw around me, what I have witnessed with friends and business environments through my 35 years in business life.

Jotting down your experiences, memoirs, perhaps one day, you may also write your own practical experiences as a little booklet, if not for big audiences, at least for your own children who, if wise enough to learn the lessons, would not have to live the same hardships in life, gaining perhaps 30 years of experience at a very early age.

Can you start tonight, before you go to bed?

My Dear Listeners,

we can say that a manager should be conscientious and sound.

A desk clerk, is conservative in nature. With his marginal skills and his marginal budget, he is scared of change and instability. So he rejects change. So a modern manager seeking continual improvement and change, has to make a psychological preparation with his workers before launching a novelty in business.

And in this process, he may have to be ruthless too.

Against Bad Intention.

Workers are not uniform in capacity. Allah has given different skills to every person. A lowly talented, but sincere, hardworker is much higher in value than a highly skilled, but lazy and evil character.

Perhaps, here we can make a slogan:

Don't load a little donkey too much weight,

Load a mule, as much as he can carry.

Pay them justly,

Do not torture your workers overstressing them.

Do not ridicule your good-willed worker for low capacity.

Humility should be your guide, for one day you may lose your intellectual or physical capacity too. Or your children... They too, may be mentally or physically retarded. Always remember Allah when ridiculing the weak.

Yet..

Cut out the cancerous, devilish spirits from your team.

So the cancer would not spread around.

Do not be afraid to cut their bread-money.

If you fire them, another hungry mouth is waiting to take over anyway.

If they do not care about the bread of their children,

It is their own responsibility.

Your duty is just to warn them once.

When grading performance, think wide. There are good bosses, and there are bad bosses. And there are good workers, and there are bad workers. Sometimes bad workers are lucky to work for good bosses, and get undeserved grades, whereas good workers are unlucky to work for bad bosses. Hence, a good manager should think of the future of his worker and assess him after comparative evaluation with relative departments.

An experienced manager does not give full score to his employees in the first year. Because a sudden and big drop the next year would bring in the question of his consistency in grading.

Be very careful about sensitive characters, especially with female workers. They break very easily, even your cold look may send them to hospital with ulcers, or heart attacks. Be afraid of hurting humans. This fear is a sign that compassion has not died, and is still warm in your heart.

As you leave your office, say a few sweet words to your office boy, he goes home jolly, spreading positive energy to his wife and children, and you have made a home paradise that night.

As a young manager joins a new office, some subordinates may try to test his youth and inexperience. Foreman may test a new engineer, sergeant may test a new lieutenant. Be patient, take it with grace, do not forget that life is a continual school. Respect the elderly experts who have given a lifetime to business, do not scold them. Yet, do not let them ridicule you, keep the magical distance in between.

Especially if you are a freshly appointed manager, speak little. Do not crave to prove yourself to your employees, do not go into self praising. Let them weigh you by what you do. Self praising in front of a subordinate sends a message of insecurity, and an appeal for approval and legitimacy.

Yet, it is not a shame to ask subordinates for knowledge. You can never gain insight by searching data in books. You have your aides to give you their experience and knowledge. You are trained as an orchestra conductor. Your job is to lead and keep the tunes in harmony. And to do this, you need legitimacy in hearts and minds.

A good manager seeks efficiency through harmony. He puts realistic goals, and works with small, committed, competent teams. He starts harmony with the selection of new team members. He lets his team members choose their colleague. He cares for the chemistry among the natures of team members.

He applies constructive, positive pressure on team members, feeds them with perpetual objective, never let them idle into indolence and corruption.

Management is a science and an art,
oscillating between democracy and despotism,
never one of them,
but approaching one when circumstances call for.

But, even in extreme moments, a manager does not have the luxury of being brutal and cruel. Politeness and decent distance always brings in respect. Cruelty calls cruelty and despise.

A good manager thinks much and decides once. Once deciding, he stands behind it, does not falter changing views every day. Especially people who can easily be influenced by others, never make good managers and decision-makers. And nobody takes them seriously.

If a manager shall speak bad, or act bad, he should swallow his word, and reflect for 24 hours. This golden rule of military, protects a manager from vital wrongdoings in extreme emotional moments.

Again a golden rule from the military, the defects and deficiencies in a new environment offend the eye just for the first week in office. If the manager fixes them then, he is a good manager. After one week, he will get used to them, and will not be annoyed by them anymore. And the deficiencies may have to wait years for a new manager to fix them.

Dear listeners,

Success in business life also depends on proficiency. The delay and indecisiveness of an officer creates a lot of harm and loss in business life. As

experienced officers know best, among the incoming documents, the first to be finished are the easiest ones. But if the official does not know what to do, then documents get delayed, then pass to lower part of the stack, and perhaps, after some long procrastination, with fear of punishment from the boss, documents may get destroyed and find the waste basket.

Here, we may safely say that procrastination mainly arises out of ignorance, inexperience and indecisiveness, not knowing what to do, and how to do, rather than laziness. Here again come the necessity of lifetime training.

Perhaps a civil servant does not mean harm to people, but his lack of efficiency harms his performance. But he gets his legitimacy not from the laws, but from the public conscience. So, even if he is incapacitated, he should be good-willed. A soul who can not make thrones in hearts, becomes ugly. And ugly souls do ugly things.

And the teaching of our religion:

Don't make harder, make easier!

Any better guide to a civil servant?

Yes my dear listeners,

Let us finish this week's chat with the following yardstick:

The best indication of the civilization and family quality of a manager are,

Cleanliness of the toilets in his workplace, and

Prompt answering of the telephones in his business.

Any person who cannot secure these, should not ever dream of being managers.

And I would like to finish our talk by asking the question..

Listening to me, did you say "This is exactly what I see in life!"? If so, I was successful. Because this is the aspiration of a journalist, or any columnist, because our main duty is to reflect real lives, problems and aspirations of our people.

Wish you a lucky and wise business life dear friends.

Radio Riyad

Islam and Current Challenges

MEDIA

by

Aydın Nurhan

24 June 2003

Dear Listeners,

Our topic today is Media Wars.

The hot item of the global agenda.

Let's start our topic with reference to Plato's famous book, "Republic".

In this book, Plato speaks of two main classes in his ideal society. The Rulers, and the Ruled. First come the wise, uncorrupt, philosopher rulers. They have no relatives, no connections, and no interests. They have devoted themselves fully to the State. For these wise rulers, who are to rule the ignorant masses, there is no bribe, nor betrayal of the State.

Remembering another famous book, "Brave New World" of Aldous Huxley, again we see a certain class of rulers, code named "Group A", with highest I.Q. in society, again ruling people of lower intellectual level.

And we would be at loss not to remember George Orwell's famous book "1984" depicting totalitarian communist regime.

What is common among these thinkers is "Social Engineering".

In other words, defining a group of intellectuals who think they know the best for the society, who can mold society into uniform formats, something even our religion Islam does not accept.

Still yet, we should not ignore the fact that throughout history, every state and society has tried to survive by passing its values, traditions and cultural identity to its successive generations. And they try to design their school curricula accordingly. This is a very natural, understandable reflex, provided it stays within the limits of common sense.

But a social engineering to condition humans into robots of Hitler Nazism, is an unacceptable human defect.

My dear listeners,

In history, states did not have the powerful technology we have today. So they could not, and did not control the rural communities, and they were living mostly in their natural environment, in peace with their own identity.

But with powerful weapons of technology and information, first the states gained the capability of strict central control over distant rural communities, then power started moving up into global centralization. And soon a global power may centralize all communities into uniform robotic units.

And the means to this process is Weapons of Psychological Manipulation – WPM,

aiming individual and mass manipulation by means of psychological technology. Weapons of Mass Destruction as nuclear bombs and biological weapons will soon be obsoleted, and replaced by Weapons of Psychological Manipulation - WPM.

Scientists of conscience do question the ethics of these researches, warning that neo-Hitlers grasping these new methods could lead mankind into unimaginable catastrophies.

Modern society is ripping 2 year old babies from their mothers and putting them in nurseries. Then these kids are indoctrinated by an education whose curricula are imposed on states by the new international global order.

This education is crowned by the mass conditioning of television, movies and internet.

The result is an army of perplexed local elites, who have been stripped off their indigenous identity, yet tragically, not have been assimilated into the cosmopolitan global identity either.

Here, perhaps we should be happy to stay illiterate but common sensed citizens, living content with our traditional harmonious identity, rather than having a corrupted double identity of an international curriculum.

The globally educated elite knowing the motto “Information is Power”, opt for power, run after world material, and end up with slavery to the materialist lifestyle. Once becoming the pions of the international order and hierarchy, these alienated elite break away from their religions, values, traditions and national sentiments. Then comes the ethical void, the last phase, readiness to sell all sacred values for wealth and power.

After this point, the global hierarchy appoints these mesmerized power hungry elite to head their national media, capital and power centers. And these elite are encouraged on the one hand by carrot, the material goods of this world, and if gone out of line, threatened by the stick, by devastation into dust.

Yes my dear friends..

As you know, Media is called the Fourth Power, now even towering above the first three, namely Legislation, Execution and Justice.

In the past, media was under state monopoly, and although primitive, it was local, indigenous, and national in character. As it shared the same fate with the local state and nation, its interests were overlapping with those of the state.

As local capital gained power, firstly the media went from state control to the control of local capital. Then as international capital ripped off borders, media promptly went under international cosmopolitan command.

If we leave aside several closed regimes today, it is nearly impossible to speak of national media in our day. All media get their news from the same international agencies, and you can see the uniformity in world coverage.

The international order decides on the agenda of the day, and the world has to watch that agenda for a designated time span. So, our vigilant, alert journalists have to do two things. Number one, to be skeptic, look beyond the reasons of why a certain news has been brought forward to the global agenda, and how long it is kept there for what purpose, and secondly, at least not to directly translate the news in laziness, but filter them, put them in our own cultural format and wording.

Yet what we see today, is exact translation of global news into our language, with content even against our vital causes. This is ignorance, if not betrayal. With a media and especially editors and columnists in such indolence, it becomes impossible for us to stay national and indigenous.

It is at this point that we need vigilant citizens and intellectuals stout in faith and conviction.

Intellectuals who fear Allah, and don't fear the powerhouses, intellectuals with strong identity and integrity, intellectuals who always side with the oppressed, have passion for their helpless, intellectuals who are aware that once their fatherland collapses, they have nowhere to go, whatever the omen, it will affect their own children and grandchildren.

We need honourable, honest intellectuals who do not work as the local branches of foreign television stations and newspapers. Intellectuals whose souls and consciences are not for sale. We do not want to see greedy intellectuals, becoming preys for blackmail or bribery.

And beyond them..

We mostly need citizens, masses who can identify these sold out spirits, and not believe in their agendas.

Yes my dear listeners..

Perhaps many of you may not be much educated. But you are more trustworthy than the wrongly educated so-called elite. For you do not have double identity, you do not have identity crisis, hence your common sense is purer, uncorrupt, and more innocent than the wrongly educated. You understand the artificial agendas cooked in faraway lands of foreign interest with insight, and meet them always with a philosophical skepticism.

Yes, you have these noble merits.. But what next? Nothing..

If you do not become as knowledgeable, courageous and powerful as these power centers, then what good are your merits?

Therefore I still say education.

Unrelenting education.. Do not falter.. Read, read, read... And contemplate a lot.

Then try to put your ideas into a systematic. Especially ladies, mothers.

If you read a lot, think, contemplate a lot, and be able to systemize what you think, then nobody can manipulate you anymore. Children of such mothers cannot be corrupted by false curricula or media.

It is for this reason that the first responsibility and duty is on the mothers in the international media and manipulation wars.

Paradise is under the feet of mothers..

Add to it the dream..

If one day all mothers would be alims...

What would their children be like?

Just think..

Radio Riyad

Islam and Current Challenges

MODERNITY, POSTMODERNITY AND ISLAM

by

Aydın Nurhan

October 2003

Dear Listeners

Today I want to talk to you about a very contemporary topic that you would find interesting to listen, and I hope, enjoy.

Our topic today is, Modernity, Postmodernity and Islam

As we may remember, the timespan of about a Millenium between the collapse of Rome in 476 AD and 15th Century Renaissance, is called Europe's Dark Ages.

That millennium roughly corresponds to the Age of Enlightenment of Islam.

Then we had fatigued, lost spirit, especially slowed down in science and technology, and Europe picked up the flag of science from us. In between, we assumed the mission of transferring Greco-Roman civilization to the West.

In fact, early European enlightenment started around 12th Century, when Europe contacted Islamic Civilization and wealth through Crusades.

As distorted Bible was interpreted for the inner self and too much other-worldly, and as the church interpreted it too rigidly, especially during

inquisition, it was not compatible with the needs of this world, hence was seen as a straightjacket against European development.

So the phrase alleged to belong to our prophet Isa (A.S.)“Give unto Ceasar what is due to him, and give unto God what is due Him”, was used to get church and religion out of daily, social life. And interestingly, Ibn-i Rushd is said to have had an important effect in such interpretation of the Bible with his infusion of Greek rationalism into Christian theology.

Once breaking its chains from the darkness of the inquisition, Europe went to the other extreme, the dictate of logic. With Reform and Renaissance, Europe learned to be skeptical and doubtful of religion.

Yet, this time, Europe became the slave of the dictate of logic and positivism. Now, faith lied in the absolute truths of empirical science.

This was the new door opening to the Age of Modernity, which in Foucault’s description, was the era of logic, between 1660 and 1950.

Perhaps we can shortly describe the age of modernity, apex of which was Russian Nihilism, as the age of the **dictate of logic which processes what it receives from the 5 senses**, and rejects everything beyond our five senses. Hence **existence was only what we could get from 5 senses, and nothing beyond...**

Yes my dear friends,

As Europe broke its chains from the inquisition, and started taking humans like robots, it plunged into a metaphysical, moral, social chaos. So it had to reshape the order of the world according to logic and rationality.

In this process, Religion, church and metaphysics was out. This was an era where human logic and science was exalted, science was going to elevate man, but command him.

Divine dogma was gone, human brain was supposed to be utmost free.

Yet...

Supported by Newton’s undoubtable laws, and as everything was empirical and scientific, no sane person could question or doubt scientific truths. To go against the new scientific order would have been illogical, irrational. Anyone to nonconform was the heretic, now was the era of scientific inquisition.

This philosophy, which was supposed to free human brain from the chains of dogma, lead to totalitarian regimes in Europe. Slavery again, but this time not of inquisition, but of so-called absolute scientific truths..

In the words of British philosopher John Mc. Gowan, **Modernity** was a try to seek legitimacy based on values, it, itself created. It rejected divine revelation and external force.

My Dear listeners,

Enlightenment, in a way, is like the childhood stage of the Western European society. As you know, for a child, reality is only what the 5 senses give to the child. A child cannot conceptualize. Therefore children want solid descriptions, even with wrong examples as starters. Whereas conceptualization starts later on the way to maturity.

We can use same analogy for the young European Civilization. Modernity is the childhood phase of Europe. Simple ideas and principles of Newton and Descartes influenced intellectual life in Europe for centuries, empirical approach to life exploded technology.

Application of science to real life in the form of technology, brought wealth, which fed art and culture leading to new, modern European Civilization.

West felicitated this lame, one legged, materialist civilization as a victory against the old, mature, spiritual civilizations of the East.

Now to ask this question:

Can we say that the Western Civilization has surpassed the old, mature, spiritual civilizations of the East? Would technological development mean the supremacy of a civilization?

Take **harmony and balance between material and spiritual.**

Would East, or the West... be in a better position?

Or take the denial of material for the benefit of spiritual?

What are our criteria for a high civilization?

Closing technological gap is a matter of one or two generations, as was the case in Malaysia and Korea.

Yet, can the industrialized world earn back its spirituality? If so, how long would it take?

In modernity, Western man rejects religion in material interest relations. But the same man, in moment of psychological collapse, goes to church, and assumes a second personality, displaying a split identity. So Renaissance man is living a double identity.

To sum up, the problems of Western Civilization may spring from the double identity born out of the dictate of 5 senses and logic.

Yes Dear Friends,

Among all this, what was happening in the realm of Islam?

Both, Scholars of Islam, and adversaries of Islam agree on one same point. Islam is universal, it brings inclusive norms both for temporal and eternal. From marriage to commerce, crime to ethics, it prescribes rules for practical life.

Now, when Western Modernity, commanding separation of logic and spirit, progressed into the realm of Islam, muslim intellectuals went into a deep identity crisis.

As modernity saw logic and spirit as two opposing poles, Islam saw them as one, unseparable. Muslims trying to de-link them were plunging into psychological problems and identity crises.

So muslims needed an exit out of this identity crisis.

And the vital question was,

Was it really necessary for the logic to be separated from spirit?

Especially with the Ottoman Tanzimat, transformation/modernization efforts of the Ottoman State mechanism, the **Ottoman thinkers went into deep conflicts and crises trying to apply European split identity into Islam. It did not work.** They wanted to discard the old, yet still unable to implement the Western double identity.

This continued until the age of nuclear physics and the theory of relativity.

POSTMODERN

So, dear listeners,

With relativity, replacing Newton's mechanical axioms, the base for scientific certainty, we enter the age of Postmodernity.

Postmodernism, entering the stage of art early in 20th Century, started first with architecture as functionality. Together with Quantum Physics, Heisenbergs uncertainty theory, Goedels Theorem and Einsteins Relativity theory, it turned into a new philosophical trend in 1970s.

As a revolution against the logical dictate of modernism, Postmodernism was starting a knowledge, based on probabilities and relativities, destructing the age of certainty.

There were no universal truths. Truth was limited by time and place. Unpredictability was the rule for existence. Hence it was a cry, a revolt against robotization and alienation of human mind.

Postmodernism asserted chaos, unpredictability, undeterminism, and discontinuity. It was denying the age of certainty. Science and philosophy of modernity were blocks against the advancement and freedom of mankind.

Postmodernists rejected all classification and social engineering efforts for society, saying they would limit freedom of humans.

For postmodernists, man and society could never be classified. Marx's historical determinism, applying mathematics to human society, could not be presented as science.

They tied the backwardness of humanity to **social engineering** of modernity and totalitarian regimes it lead to.

Postmodernizm also rejected capitalism, because it was a chaotic system, continual system of going into crises and coming out of them. Economist Keynes was saying that in modern global economy, there was always going to be surplus production. Demand was always going to be lagging behind supply.

Karl Popper was hitting another blow to modernist understanding of science by pronouncing that unexperimentable, undeniable knowledge was not science.

Whereas Niels Bohr asserted that the scientist in laboratory, himself was in fact a part of the experiment, questioning relation of subject to the object in experiments. He also did assert that relations of particles were not determined, but random.

Within the concept of unpredictability, Heisenberg said that it was impossible to locate places of electrons and their speeds in an experiment.

In short, Quantum physics dealt a heavy blow to positivism and scientific causality.

So, unpredictability, relativity, randomness was the new skeptic approach of postmodernity.

As 20th Century physics was hitting a heavy blow to the dictate of Newton Physics, positivism and cartesian logic was also losing their base. And together with them, fascist, totalitarian social engineering.

Postmodernism broke down the dictate of logic, proved the need to question logical absolute truths, rendered materialist social engineering which was leading to slavery and unhappiness of humanity, baseless.

ISLAM

Yes, dear friends..

After this lengthy comparison of modern and postmodern, now let's come to their effect on Islam.

As we said in the beginning, modernity was born as a reaction to religion and metaphysics. It was the **revolt of logic against spirit**.

Naturally, modernism had a war with religions, because it had a mission of social engineering. Modernity was questioning religion, but not questioning its own truths.

Whereas, religions, by their nature, also did not question their truths. This tension continued into our day.

At this point, postmodernism entered the stage questioning all absolute truths, questioning both modernity, and religions.

And yet...

Postmodernism did a great service to religions, especially to Islam.

As postmodernity was against all absolute truths, its power did indeed dethrone modernity, the absolute enemy of religion and spirit.

But Islam survived the attacks of postmodern.

Defeating modernity, Postmodernism did not propose a systematic world view, further leading humanity into chaos, desperation and void.

The reason?

Postmodernism itself was a baby of reasoning and logic games too...

So the Western man entered 21st Century in chaos, aimlessness, disbelief and void.

It is a pity that against all these games of logic, Western man rejects looking into Islam which harmoniously unites logic and spirit in a cohesive unity and harmony, temporal and eternal happiness.

Moreover, some see it as an enemy.

And we the muslims...

If our statesmen had read a bit of philosophy, a bit of modernism, a bit of postmodernism...

Looking down to the world, their countries, and to themselves from above...

And say

Where are we?

What are we doing?

Would our world have been like this?

Would we muslims have been like this?

Radio Riyad

Islam and Current Challenges

NEO-FEUDALISM

by

Aydın Nurhan

December 2003

Dear Listeners,

Topic of our day is **Neo-Feudalism**.

To put in modern jargon, **Localization**. The offshoot of **Globalization**.

As you may remember, we had defined globalization in our previous talks as “equilibrium” in global dimension. And that theoretically, under pure economic competition, peoples of higher economic levels were to meet people of lower economic levels at the middle level.

We had also said that the peoples to lose their higher level at global equilibrium were to be the middle classes of the Western industrialized countries. Hence the protests against globalization were mostly seen in Western countries rather than underdeveloped countries.

Yet we had based our analysis upon the macro-economic competition of nations.

What I intend to do today, is to glance at globalization, and its offshoot **localization** from another angle.

Leaving our macro national approach behind, let us take a look at the competition among cities and towns, both against their neighbouring dwellings, their metropol, and other towns in the world.

But first, let's refresh our minds with what industrialization had brought to the world, especially in early 20th Century.

You may remember Henry Ford's Assembly Line which made a management revolution with using human beings as disciplined robots at the assembly lines. Using human muscle in organized way, yet this revolution did not require of human brain more than what was required before it. Human muscle was what was needed for the assembly line, with a little skill added to it.

Yet, industrial revolution created massive unemployment in the world. Both in Europe, and in the Eastern realm, artisans felt the pain. But as colonial powers reflected some revenue from colonies to their peoples, Western workers could better cope with the pain.

And as more businesses closed in the Orient especially in textiles, the more West could export, hence employing more workers.

The development of the **culture of consumption** also helped in creation of mass production, beyond that, the emergence of **services sector** also lead to more employment.

At the dawn of **Knowledge Economy**, muscle power started losing its economic clout dramatically. Even factories evolved into services sector, with most of their professional staff in services, letting robots do the production work.

So unskilled, lowly educated muscle power of a Western country lost all its advantage in the global equilibrium as against its rivals in developing countries.

Fighting for the leftover of the bread in the international labor wars, Lenin's so-called brotherly **worker unions** became rivals against each other.

So my Dear Listeners,

After this memory refreshment, let us see what the unemployed masses can do in the 21st Century, the **Age of Knowledge**.

As I had emphasized in our earlier talks, there is too much savings and capital in the world to be invested, but very few successful entrepreneurs.

As the law of supply and demand also works here, every single state on earth, trying to feed its people, run after entrepreneurs to come and invest in their countries and create employment for their hungry masses.

But the global capital is very sensitive, and like the birds on the telephone wires, they gather very slowly. And with the faintest disturbance, they all fly away at once.

Then what do these birds want?

First and foremost, they want political stability and commitment, so that they can see their future and make strategic plans.

If the risk is high, they come in with high profit and interest margins. And they come for short term gains, just to snatch big money, take it, and leave the country as soon as possible, draining the poor economies of the world.

So the first lesson for the developing states is that half-hearted incentives and half liberalism is worse than closed economies, because it calls in corrupt businesses and let them drain the national economy in short time.

Hence, if countries decide to open once, then they must open in full liberalism, give full security to capital, so that it may strategically stay long time, live with decent margins of profit and interest, and above all, reinvest in the same country, without feeling the need to invest its profits in other countries.

Then we need a robust law system. Judges with high culture, judges who read a lot, judges with wide knowledge of the global developments.

Then we need the infrastructure of banking and energy for healthy economies.

After these essentials, we need the **human resource**, the top economic value of the **Age of Knowledge**.

And My Dear Friends,

With this infrastructure, we enter the concept of **Neo-Feudalism**.

As we all feel, life in metropol is very expensive. Both for municipalities, and for citizens.

So the businesses, especially to avoid high taxes and high salaries to compensate for expensive city life, are gradually moving to smaller towns and suburbs.

The small localities catching this trend, started a fierce race for inviting the investors to their towns offering unbelievable incentives.

And once the business starts in town, modern feudal system starts acting.

Especially with heavy industries, or headquarters of big corporations, towns become one service towns, forgetting agriculture or other fields of business. And now you can imagine what happens to such a town if the business leaves it.

This is the point where the business can impose all its will on the politicians and the people of the little town, just as the feudal lords of Medieval Ages.

As industry is getting lighter and more mobile everyday, the workers get scared of losing their business to the neighbouring town, hence feel too weak to impose their terms upon the employers.

And this is only one side of the story. The rivalry from other societies.

Yet a more serious threat is the rivalry of robots against the White Collar college graduate professionals. The **second wave** of threat, the first was against the **muscle power**, now this second wave is against the **brain power**.

The unemployed banking and finance professionals are the precursors of massive layoffs in high-skilled services sector.

So quo vadis?

Where are we going?

Firstly, we know that technology will mass produce ever more quantities for ever cheaper costs.

But...

And this is a big BUT..

As middle classes will shrink, there will not be buyers to buy what the robots will offer to them... Even for dirt cheap prices...

This will be just the global scale repetition of the sick economical irrationality of Butter Hills of Europe on the one side and starving millions of Africa on the other.

In the coming 50 years, the world material production will fully be robotized, leaving billions unemployed, Europe and America included.

Especially Western world is prone to massive social upheavals. We cannot guess the possible reactions of the consuming, materialist Homo-Occidentalis against massive unemployment.

OK..

Any solutions? Any strategies?

National governments and workers unions are in real trouble.

They have to figure out the limits of entertaining the neo-feudals, new local barons, the local branches of global international capital, without losing

their sovereignty and dignity, yet making sure they do not lose the business to neighbouring towns.

They shall have to redesign their education strategies according to the Age of Neo-Feudalism.

They will ask the question:

What kind of worker do the new barons want?

Obedient, modest, disciplined,

or

Materialist, greedy, undisciplined?

There are some nations who reflect military discipline such as Germans, Japanese, and Koreans. When they apply modern management techniques to their military discipline and social devotion, they may master the global markets in the future.

So, can we think of making military compulsory and modernising it to discipline younger generations for the global economic competition?

Then there is the problem that strict discipline kills creativity and innovation. So should we have a special track for the elite, bright youth preparing them separately for management and creativity?

Oops, where are we leading to?

Heading to a future of Aldous Huxley's Brave New World, or an Orwellian world?

When intellectuals massively lose their jobs and cannot afford living in metropolises any more, should we encourage them to go to villages and urge them to start simple lives?

Boost arts and philosophy in villages, in some way resembling what communist regimes did to keep stability against widespread poverty?

Or, remember Plato to educate enlightened generations who may **"need less, rather than have more"**?

This type of man may also mean the soul that religions opt for.

How about ageing in Europe?

Perhaps they will not even have a young generation in 50 years, hence why worry about the competition from robots?

What else?

Come on! Force your brains. Make futuristic wild guesses.

Try to be creative in search of a bright future for our children, for mankind of our global village.

| Radio Jeddah
| *Current Events & the World of Islam*

SOCIAL SECURITY

by
Aydın Nurhan
26 January 2003

Dear Listeners,

Today, our topic is social security..

The modern solidarity of the materialist society....

Before proceeding into how we muslims see social security, let us go into the background of this modern institution in industrialized countries.

Prior to the industrial revolution of the 18th Century, majority of populations lived in rural areas, mostly agrarian. They were either big families, or clans living together in big houses or tents. They had many children, and since three or four generations lived together in the same house, the elderly were respected.

These agrarian families had a very strong solidarity and sense of sharing.

As industrialization and urbanization accelerated in England and Europe in the 19th Century, people started pouring into metropol, became workers and civil servants living in packed ghettos.

In the beginning, big families tried to squeeze into small apartments in cities, still in need of solidarity and sharing. But as later generations started earning their own incomes, they started rejecting the solidarity and restrictions of the traditional rural culture.

The families started to lose contact with their home towns, then with rural values, transforming into the bourgeois of city life.

The city life brought first financial, then cultural emancipation. Being able to survive materially and on their own, young generations started breaking off from their elderly, forming their nuclear families.

Swift transformation of the 19th Century broke them from traditions and religion, and there was no ethical value to keep them in psychological and social balance. So masses went into material and psychological unrest.

As revolutions broke up, Karl Marx tried to formulate the new godless laws of justice for the new materialistic life. And the First European statesman to see the looming trouble from the secularized destitute masses was Prince Otto von Bismarck of Germany.

To persuade the workers away from political radicalism, he granted them modest pensions, accident insurance, and medical coverage.

As it was the age of Imperialism, there was relatively excess wealth to compensate for the labourers, the European States could develop a better social security system through the 20th Century.

Especially in the second half of the 20th Century, Europe could secure a lifelong insurance for its citizens, covering health, unemployment, maternity, schooling and housing.

This social system brought financial emancipation to every single individual in the family, hence no one had to depend on one another for material need. This was a further blow to traditional family solidarity, marriages could decompose for minor conflicts, children reaching age 16 started leaving home.

Education was tailored to fit this new society, taking the individual as the center of universe. Individual rights replaced communal duties and solidarity of the traditional agrarian society.

Modernism and materialism praised the individual, gave him freedom and authority on his destiny, yet left him vulnerable and alone, and psychologically fragile.

As grandmothers rejected babysitting, working mothers left their babies to nurseries, then in late age, grandmothers and grandfathers were placed in

geriatric centers as the final stations to their destinies, only to be visited on anniversaries.

Remembering starving billions of the world, even this material well-being was acceptable, though up to days of globalism.

As globalism entered the scene, crushing all economic walls and bringing full competition among nations, the social state of Europe started faltering.

Global investment was flying away from countries of high tax and social security premiums.

As workers and entrepreneurs of the developing world started taking wild risks and crushing all barriers to earn worldly fortunes, and the Europeans too accustomed to the comfort of the social security, new generations of the West lost their will to compete with the awakening world. Unemployment surpassed 10 percents trying twenties, still yet European workers could not accept lower lifestyle and incomes.

On the other hand, European societies were getting old, and birthrates falling, actuarial calculations showed that states could no longer sustain the current level of social welfare systems.

Even the most advanced state of America, California, had to eliminate child care subsidies for 55,000 children and cut temporary cash grants by 6 percent in the welfare-to-work program.

While globalism forced the classic state mechanism to privatize almost everything, private social security started to take off in many countries.

A giant problem for the state was the management of social security funds. If kept idle, they faced being worn out by inflation. If invested in financial markets, they faced huge risks, some already bankrupt.

My Dear Listeners,

After this gloomy picture, lets go into the social aspect of retirement, our real concern.

As we said in the beginning, when babies once left to the kindergardens grow, then it is their turn to place their parents to geriatric nursing rooms...

In modern Western society, elderly are broken from the nuclear family, they will not be welcomed back.

The genie is out the bottle, it can't be pushed back.

If the social security collapses, what shall the elderly do?

Spiritual family well-being was lost a century ago. Now comes the second blow... Threat of losing the material well-being...

If isolated, it may still be bearable. But a deeper, graver concern is the loss of faith and hope of the young generations for their future, leading to decomposition of the social fabric...

Now, my dear listeners...

Where are we muslims in this global picture?

Until recently, modernists snobbishly asserted that Religions work well with traditional agrarian societies, but not with modern city life.

That city emancipates the individual and his need for religion lessens.

This is a grave mistake.

Modern city man needs God more than ever.

Nuclear family, divorces, individualization, and atomization of society has left humans lonely among millions around them.

They are rich materially, but poor spiritually.

For them, it is acceptable, scientific and modern to visit a psychiatrist, but unacceptable and backwardness to turn to Allah for spiritual light and hope.

For them, it is acceptable to fill libraries with New Age books for spiritual recovery, but backwardness to turn to Allah to recover and start anew.

My dear listeners,

Remember our glorious Quran that brings us so many verses to take care of our elderly and the needy...

Many know, but do not realize the importance of good treatment of parents, especially in late age.

In our noble religion Islam, as in many previous religions, it is a great sin to misbehave against parents. Hence leaving our parents in their last days in lonely rooms is against our faith.

Worst yet, is closing our eyes to our needy parents and relatives as we prosper. It is unthinkable for a sincere muslim to forget the monumental institution of Zakah.

Yes, technically, if fully implemented, Zakah can eradicate poverty from earth.

But more than that, first, it would enlighten the donor with the bliss of giving, helping.

Then, it gives a light of hope to the desperate, earning him to the community.

After all, Zakah has more than enough power to strengthen and stabilize the global society.

And they say Islam can not meet modern needs..

Then let them do their homework..

How much is 2.5% of the global wealth?

And, think once again of the modern society where elderly are abandoned to the mercy of social security institutions...

| Radio Jeddah
| *Current Events & the World of Islam*

SAUDI ARABIA

by
Aydm Nurhan
November 2003

My Dear Listeners,

Today, I want to make a little surprise for you.

I am Turkish, and alongside our English program, I also make weekly programs in Turkish language for our Turkish audiences in Turkey.

And my surprise for you this week, is to translate one of my Turkish programs into English and let you hear what I told my Turkish audience about Saudi Arabia.

I hope you would enjoy this little game.

But keep in mind...

I am addressing Turks in Turkey. OK?

Here we go.

My Dear Turkish Audience,

Our topic today is Saudi Arabia.

Our sisterly country which has been a home to me for nearly ten years, and has honoured me by trusting its microphones to me.

Saudi Arabia is one of the most important countries in the world.

Our Holy Kaaba, to which 1.5 billion muslims turn their faces for prayer, is in these blessed lands.

Allah has also blessed these lands with the greatest oil reserves in the world.

This country, like Turkey, is one of the most strategic countries in the world, hence stability is the first priority here, just as it is in Turkey.

Saudi Arabia is a country with thousands of years of history. According to our belief, Prophet Adam has descended from Paradise to Seylon, and our mother Eve has descended to Jeddah, then met in Mount Arafat and had children there. Today, old Jeddah people show the cemetery near Balad saying our mother Eve rests there.

As we know, our Holy Kaaba, built by our Prophet Abraham (AS) and his son Ismail about 4 milleniums before our day, is another jewel of Saudi Arabia making this country a paradise of ancient history.

But it is a pity that many Turks who come to this land for Haj or business, miss the opportunity, in the words of my friend, Turkish Historian Prof. Ilber Ortayli, "They do not look at the ancient treasures of this country from a historical perspective, and leave this country without such magnificent experience."

And it is not Turks only. Masses of Hadjis and Business people from the Islamic world miss the opportunity of such experience. Saudi Arabian Government, having recognized this indolance, started giving serious importance to tourism, and gained some way to this effect.

What I observed within the ten years in this country, is the genuine sentiments the Saudi people have for us Turkish people. And if we remember the sentimental feelings of Turks throughout history to the citizens of our Prophet (PBUH), the Arabs, what we need is the support of our intelligentsia, media and politicians to turn this historical common treasure for a bright future both for the good of our peoples, and for the Islamic ummah.

My Dear Listeners,

Official foundation day of Saudi Arabia is 18 September 1932, uniting the Najd and Hijaz provinces under one unitary kingdom. I think the most important success of the founder of the Kingdom, King Abdel Aziz, and his sons King Faisal and the present King Fahad, is that they have been able to build a very strong central state bureaucracy, pillar of a nation state.

Saudi statesmen and bureaucrats have long experience of statehood, toured the world, men of vision and horizon, highly skilled in diplomatic negotiations, and are expert technocrats.

Many Turks may not know, but Saudi Diplomacy is one of the most efficient diplomacies in the world. This diplomacy is especially efficient in International multilateral diplomacy, i.e. in Arab League, Gulf Cooperation Council, Organization of the Islamic Conference, OPEC and other fora. And they have an undeniable clout and influence in world affairs. And the task of running this diplomacy is given by the King to Prince Saud Al Faisal, the Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia.

Prince Saud is the son of Iffet Hanim of Istanbul, wife of King Faisal. He, his brothers and sisters, as the whole family, are sincere friends of Turkey, and it is my duty to mention here that Sheikh Ibrahim Adham, brother of Iffet Hanim, was the benevolent donor of the very valuable land of the beautiful Turkish Lycee in the best district of Jeddah.

Now, my dear Listeners,

Coming to the social and political life in Saudi Arabia, we can see the traditional people of Hijaz, the harmonious blend of muslims from all around the Islamic World, who have overstayed in this holy land after Haj or business in the course of history. And parallel to this historical Hijaz bourgeoisie, we see the Bedouin Aristocracy, representing the historical nobility of bedouin life.

Observed from an anthropological view, Bedouin Aristocracy gives one of the best examples of tribal democracy. In this traditional democracy, a bedouin can claim justice, in person from his tribal chiefs, even from the king, and this is still practiced in our day. But the rule is that this democracy is the solemn affair of brothers behind closed doors, and it is counted as a matter of honour not to reflect claims to foreigners in pomp proclamation.

As for the historical bourgeois, merchant class of Hijaz, they, like their counterparts in Europe, also form a modern middle class, having its own democratic mechanisms evolved through history.

Both bedouin aristocracy, and the Hijaz bourgeoisie, through their historical evolution, are reminiscent of European democracy in their high skill and ability for negotiation, bargaining and diplomacy, the basis for democracy and dialogue, rather than resorting to force.

This historical, conciliatory nature of Saudi society is a treasure both for its foreign policy, and its internal political future.

And due to this national asset of the Saudi Society, the enhancement of the mission of the Shoura Council appointed by King Fahd to discuss national

matters, and the forthcoming municipal elections, seem to land softly as against negative expectations of many in the West.

We can, perhaps even make a prophecy that, as some countries who are in the process of democratization from historical central despotisms, lose time with futile rhetorics, Saudi society, with its historical participatory nature in common causes, may surpass the despotic states sooner than expected.

Another efficient instrument Saudi Arabia wisely conducts in governance, is the employment of foreign workers in the country, as the European governments do. The 6.5 million foreign workers, forming about a quarter of this country's 23 million population, both contribute to the economic development of Saudi Arabia, and beyond that, as in Europe, foreigners help in Saudi nationbuilding, making the national feeling of "us", as the common identity.

Saudi Arabia is swiftly urbanizing. Roughly 75% of the population lives in cities. With government credits opened in 1980s, most citizens have had decent housing.

The Government puts great emphasis on education, and its universities invite very good professors from around the world, including Turkish professors. This country has tens of thousands of brains educated in the USA and European universities. And as private universities are on the debut, Saudi Arabia wants to cooperate with Turkey in the field of education.

Especially in Hijaz region, masses speak English, average Saudi families tour the world, and as Hijaz is a window to the world through trade and haj from time immemorial, the intelligentsia of this country has a wide horizon and vision of world affairs.

My Dear Friends,

Coming to the economy of Saudi Arabia, aside from religious and historical treasures, Allah has given many other riches to this blessed land. Not only petroleum and gas, but this country is also rich in gold, silver, titanium, platinum, etc.

Yes, a large part of this country is a desert. But few people know that this country has high mountains, green forests and dairy lands, various fruits, and even wheat.

As we all know, Hijaz is a historical commercial center. Our Prophet (pbuh) was also a merchant, and our religion encourages trade. So Hijaz today, the Makkah, Madinah, Jeddah triangle, is also a thriving axis of trade, supported by Haj.

Saudi Arabians are skilled business people, and around the world, more than one billion dollars worth of Saudi capital is floating. Recently, big leap forward in industrialization is started. Especially after 9/11, a big amount of Saudi Capital has returned back home, and is being invested especially in construction sector.

Seeing our individual trades with other countries, and even conducting trade among us through third parties, one wishes that the thriving economies of Turkey and Saudi Arabia meet each other at common denominators and complement each other.

As our leaders said in Malaysian Islamic Summit, we should, and must encourage trade among the ummah. We have the opportunities, but we cannot make good use of them.

Another case is tourism as I mentioned earlier. Again, in tourism, we see approaches that do not fit the economic rationale. Some Turkish media is cutting its own branch as it writes irresponsible articles about our Arab guests, and also some restrictions in Saudi Arabia discourage Turkish tourists from coming here. We have so much to gain from mutual tourism...

Yes my dear friends,

Foreign relations is seen from a Macchiavelian point as a game of material interests. But there is a plain reality, that any policy that does not reflect the genuine sentiments among ordinary people are doomed to fail.

The historical, religious, cultural ties among our people are a very important treasure. We wish our leaders, politicians, intellectuals, and media give an ear to the commonsense of our peoples and turn their mutual sentiments into action.

If our leaders can do this, we all win. Otherwise, we both lose, and the winners would be our enemies, who have tried to throw in seeds of antagonism between us in history, and who still try the same game today.

Yes my friends..

Is it that hard for us muslims to cooperate?

And my dear Saudi audience...

This was my message to my Turkish audience about our beloved Saudi Arabia.

I, as a muslim, believe in the fraternity and cooperation between our innocent, ordinary ummah, and pray that Allah gives encouragement and energy to our leaders to work to this end.

Radio Jeddah
Current Events & the World of Islam

STRATEGY

by
Aydm Nurhan
8 February 2003

Dear Listeners,

Today, our topic is strategy.

The art of efficiently organizing concepts and resources (i.e. political, economic, technological, military and moral power) of a nation to achieve certain selected goals.

Speaking of Strategy in history, we see it generally in its military connotation. In this sense, we can name first and foremost strategist among all, our Prophet (PUB) as a political leader and commander of the faithful.

Other examples may be the strategist Sun Tsu from China, Khulefai Rashideen(RA), Tareq Bin Ziad, conqueror of Spain, Fatih Sultan Mehmed, the Conqueror of Istanbul, Alexander, Julius Caesar, etc.

In modern times, concept of strategy was articulated by the Korsikan General Napoleon Bonaparte in the field of military.

Then in the 20th Century, science of strategy was developed further and widely applied in nearly all fields of life.

In classical sense, geopolitics was the central theme in strategy. In the game of “Balance of Power”, The Heartland, meaning Central Europe was vital for any aspiring commander in his strategic calculations. Istanbul was also a vital geostrategic point in Eurasian axis: For Napoleon, Istanbul was the key to domination of the world.

You may also remember our Prophets's (PUB) wish to make Istanbul a muslim city, and his praise for the muslim soldier who would conquer Istanbul, more than a millenium before Napoleon.

Coming to our day, strategy is not in the monopoly of military any more, neither of states.

It is taught in business schools, and applied nearly to all fields of life, especially economy, energy, information, culture, environment, population, immigration, pandemics as AIDS, etc.

My Dear Listeners,

After this lengthy overture, now lets ask the question:

“Why do we need strategy, anyway?”

This is the crucial question for us Muslims!

We, the Ancient, Eastern Civilizations, like to leave everything flu.

We do not like determinism and predictability.

We do not like strict borders, time limits,
classification and standardization.

We do not like empiricism and robotization of human mind...

We want to keep contrasting colors which make us humans, rather than robots.

This is an instinctive, reflexive reaction of the ancient Eastern civilizations to modernity.

And we are right in our apprehension...

Anyway, leave it at this point for the time being, because this is the topic of a deep philosophical discussion, perhaps we can take later...

But what I want to emphasize is the approach we have towards life.

What made West dominant over the Rest, is the use of empirical logic, science, and its application, the technology.

They used Strategy, a systematic method of analysis which calls for knowledge, intuition, and vision. A set of integrated actions carefully articulated.

They disciplined their minds and bodies!

Then they set up institutions of Strategy and International Relations...

To classify and study every single society and field on earth...

They developed doctrines!

Because, without a multitude of competing doctrines, the decisions taken by decisionmakers would be ignorant, arbitrary, and full of deficiency.

To build doctrines, they had to build institutes of strategic studies...

So that they would decide by a solid pyramid of competing doctrines they could safely rely upon.

Doctrines which would protect them from arbitrary decisions based on personal satisfactions and random choices of human nature...

Yet my dear friends,

Building institutions of strategy and doctrines is expensive...

It requires a lot of money...

Yes, only money...

Millions of Dollars to be thrown into air...

First, to build the institutions..

Then, to collect a couple of best educated, thirsty brains in this institution with very high salaries.

Just for a casual atmosphere of reflection and creativeness..

Then inviting the best brains of the world for lectures and research...

Then encouraging the best brains of the country to open to the international symposia and meet the global family of experts in their field, for interaction...

Then...

The atmosphere of free evaluation and application of the created ideas from this expensive investment.

Strategic Institutes are like fashion shows. Many a time, they produce luxurious, wild, creative ideas, not to be applied. Yet just to enhance vision and open new horizons for the executives.

And who would buy creative ideas?

The state and the business world.

Then we should have executives who should feel the need for these productions.

Here we face another hurdle...

We muslims do not know how to use counsel.

We do not know how to transform expertise into action.

In the Islamic world, when we say counsellor or consultant, or expert institution, we mean deposed bureaucrats waiting for a second turn, just getting salaries for sitting idle.

Whereas Institutes of Strategic Studies are too expensive a luxury if not transformed into action.

Worst yet!

Initially, especially in the field of international relations, the Strategic Institutions would serve as the best sources of spying for the powerful states who have the capability of evaluating their inputs!

Can you imagine an institution, sucking millions of dollars from the private and official resources of a poor country, but the executives cannot utilize its research?

Rather..

Foreigners getting the fruits? Processed information?

This is the dilemma of the developing and Islamic countries in establishing the centers of strategic studies.

In the beginning, they will be the preys of the advanced countries.

Best buyers and appliers of their products will be the advanced countries.

These centers will also be the reflectors and importers of the ideas and ideologies of the advanced centers into their societies.

Then should we stop establishing them?

Certainly not!

This is how knowledge starts.

We muslims will import first, then mature, and then by infusing our own spirit, radiate our genuine ideas to the global community of strategists.

We must start at one point.

Yet, keeping in mind...

Any strategy contradicting our identity, inherent cultural values and goals is doomed to failure.

| Radio Jeddah
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SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

by
Aydm Nurhan
11 March, 2003

Dear Listeners,

Today, our topic is Science and Technology.

Reading H.E.Mahathir Mohammed's books full of wisdom, I crossed two simple definitions, those of Science and Technology.

Science was the "Know Why"

and

Technology was "Know How"

If Science is "Know Why", searching for the meaning of existence, then it does not necessarily have to be productive, nor bring material welfare.

This is crucial for our starting point, because we tend to mix scientific backwardness with technological backwardness.

Technology is primarily interested in the mechanical, material wellbeing of humanity whereas science is the mother of both social and technical wellbeing of the mankind.

So perhaps we should start by

asking the correct questions, to find correct answers.

In systemic approach, our starting point would be wondering what went wrong that we lagged behind the world in science, let alone technology, instead of retreating into our glorious past, to treat our trauma.

This may be one area of elaboration in our quest for an answer.

My Dear Listeners,

Science and Technology need empiricism, statistics, classification, critical-analytical mindset and deterministic projections.

Whereas we Oriental Societies hate the straitjacket of classification and determinism.

We Orientals love flu areas, we want vagueness in our lives. Our philosophical approach is for freedom of variety and randomness, without time or place limitation. Our bodies are not disciplined, and our minds are not disciplined.

As this natural state of freedom has its merits, and it seems to make us merry personally, it leads us into poverty and destruction as societies.

It is understandable for ordinary, undereducated people to have their minds and behaviours unorganized. But for the leaders, industrialists, academics, technicians and people of science, systematic, disciplined mindset is a must. Time management is a must. Concept of place and geometry is a must.

Then there is the world of doctrines, some of our people and even our leaders have not heard of. We take momentary, arbitrary, random decisions for our crucial strategic, historic moments, just as it comes to our minds.

Whereas modern management and governance depends on a choice from several alternative doctrines developed in time by experience, and by experts, research departments, think tanks, institutes of strategy.

Hence the leaders are wise enough not to make momentary, arbitrary, random decisions of their mood.

As we are speaking of Science and Technology, our cultural tendency is a crucial point in our approach to modern development and welfare.

My Dear Listeners

Now let us take a closer look into the realm of technology...

The instrument which brings us power and material wealth.

We may say modern technology is the outcome of Reform and Renaissance of Europe.

As medieval Christianity of dark ages denied material gifts of this world, it could not answer the realistic needs of mundane life, it collapsed, leading to Reform in Christianity. This sharpened the double identity in the Western man,

the one for divine, and the other for material world. The realms of Caesar and God.

Once unleashed from the medieval chains, the Western man of Renaissance and later of Industrial Revolution, went for the material satisfaction of this world. As necessity is the mother of invention, the more he demanded, the more technology and innovation followed. So Europe put all its creativity and energy for production of material goods, while in serious contest and rivalry among them.

With competition, material and economic power, came industrial military power leading to world dominance.

As industry demanded more technology and innovation,

It received more technology and innovation.

This was one story of Western accomplishment.

Now, what was our story?

Among many tries, one theory is that Oriental societies had Grand States instead of small states competing, and that stability, rather than competition and creativity, was the priority of central authority. Hence lack of competition and innovation brought their collapse..

Another approach is that Islam, unlike Christianity, had claimed remedy for both worlds.

It had praised worldly gifts Allah gave the humans, though without abuse, in perfect balance with spiritual wellbeing.

Since Islam was for both worlds, Muslims did not have to split their identity, nor make a reform or revolution in religion to go for the material wealth of this world, because it was already halal for them.

If our religion blessed material wellbeing alongside spiritual wellbeing, then why did our material desires not call for innovation?

I think this is a crucial question to be answered, because no matter what we say or do, technology is the answer to the call of worldly needs and desires.

As the saying goes,

Innovation demands praise.

Without praise, innovation fades.

Here, can we really say that our societies with grand central state mechanisms were too stable to look for innovation?

That our peoples suppressed their worldly desires in favour of a dominant mysticism?

I ask these questions because it is mainly human material hunger, that triggers technology, and its mother innovation.

The West woke up to material desire 200 years ago, and now with a two century delay, the rest of the world is following suit.

In fact, the newly awakened peoples of the developing World are ready to sacrifice much more than the Western worker and peasant to get the material wealth of this world.

Chinese and Indian workers work for a percentage of what a Western worker works for. Just to snatch a piece from their bread, their material welfare.

This awakening will boost technology in the Orient, and its engine, innovation and creativity.

Great, mature Civilizations of the East coming through Milleniums are being challenged by a new world of economic, materialistic wars, unleashed from spirituality.

We muslims are already in this boat, and sooner or later, our craving young generations, sucked into global consumption, will also have to work hard and innovate...

To pay their credit card debts for their material hunger.

But here is the question..

Can we muslims catch this trend in balance with our spiritual balance?

May Allah give us wisdom to balance our material desires with our noble spiritual selves.

| Radio Riyad
| *Current Events & the World of Islam*

WAR

by
Aydın Nurhan
May 2003

Dear Listeners,

Our topic today, is war.

To start with, lets see what the famous German Strategist Carl von Clausewitz has said of war.

“War is violence to coerce our opponent to accept our will”

War is not an end in itself: it is a way of carrying out political action by other means.

Clausewitz has also defined peace.

“Other means to carry on hostilities”

What he simply means is that humans are in constant struggle against each other.

This Prussian has said other things too.

“Aim of International Relations is to gain power.

Power is gained by violence, and kept by violence.

All aggressors use the justification of defence.

Peace is the equilibrium of power. War aims to restore disturbed equilibrium.

Although Clausewitz says so, still yet, unless just, honorable peaces are made, equilibriums stay distant dreams. Armed conflicts do stop temporarily.

And we all know the saying “war is homicide, if not vital”

Yes my dear friends,

As we said in our earlier discussions, the realm of international relations is a lawless jungle.

Sentimentality and miscalculation leads to heavy defeat and disasters in international relations.

It is for this reason that international relations is a science, and an art.

The art of survival and retaining power in a lawless jungle.

Again back to Clausewitz, he defines war as a rational instrument of politics.

Anyway,

Allah has created humans as the most honourable of creations.

But mankind, the noblest of creation which Allah has endowed with intelligence, approaches animals with fierce wars. But mankind is a slave of its passions.

The difference between savageness and civilization is the calculation of cost in killing and dying.

Primitive and savage die and kill for very minor material and spiritual values, and count human life very cheap. Whereas the so-called civilized at least give their lives at high cost to the enemy. And make good calculation in cost-profit.

The so-called civilized also use legionnaires, paid foreign soldiers for cheap human muscle to be spent.

Yes dear friends,

After this introduction, lets see why states cannot refrain themselves from wars.

A simple example for you.

If you were a little mickey mouse, would you have liked to live in the same cage with a hungry tomcat?

No state on earth would like a giant state emerging next to it.

Power itself, is a threat in itself, a cause for war by its very nature.

If a state starts growing militarily, economically and politically, no matter how sincerely its politicians say they are for peace, and in fact peace lovers, its neighbours take its power as a threat, and call for precaution.

This is why states try to cut the possibilities and means of their prospective regional and global rivals from the start. Try to put buffer states in between, and create regions of influence, plus contemplating preemptive strikes among policies.

Hyper powers are not immune to these worries, and even the US allocates \$400 billion for keeping a distance to its aspiring rivals in military spending.

My dear friends,

War can be declared for honour, xenophobia, geographic gains, religion etc. But in our day there are two rational causes for war: Deterrence and economy.

So this is the technical approach.

As societies organize, they tend more to base their relations upon mathematical calculations.

Accordingly, when they cannot realize their interests peacefully, they resort to force.

Now..

Who will decide on the threat?

Some theoreticians of war say that before French Revolution, rulers decided for war for their own interests. After French Revolution, it was the interests of the peoples that replaced the interests of the rulers, hence after World War II, the victors held the German nation responsible for not deposing Hitler.

After the horrors of world wars, modern nation states, the children of industrial revolution, started basing wars on logical economic calculations.

Furthermore, they likened armies to insurance companies, calculating the ratio of expenses of a military campaign to the spoils it brought.

Some gave the example of Lion chasing a rabbit for dinner: The lion had a brilliant logic in the chase, calculating the energy it would spend to catch a small food, hence if it cannot catch the rabbit quickly, then it would let the rabbit run away. But in the case of a big reward as a deer, it kept chasing.

Because once caught, it meant more meat, and more energy compensating for the spent effort.

You may remember American thinker Paul Kennedy who, with his thesis of “military overstretch” said that empires declined due to the high economic expense of their military campaigns without returns.

As empires could not find more geography to spoil, they could not feed their armies, hence collapsed.

Modern, democratic societies of our day do not want war anymore unless vital economic needs dictate. They find war illogical and inhuman.

Because wars hit economies badly. As against a capitalist global economy trying to expand into new markets for its overproduction, wars impede economic expansion of global economy.

Merchant mentality works as, “You earn, I earn, both of us earn” Hence merchant nations do not want quarrels which impede their win-win business, until unless they go into deep losses.

Especially Western peoples do not want their children die in unnecessary wars. Because life in those countries is very valuable. If taken mathematically, education in a modern country costs \$100.000, hence one bullet can ruin an investment of \$100.000.

Western mind sees this extravagance illogical. So some tend to use legionaires from poor countries as cheap flesh. Or else, the undereducated, poor youth who may have inclinations to drugs and robbery are taken into military and sent to wars. This also serves as a social function for them.

My dear friends,

In the age of globalism, an unjustified and illegitimate attack may bring gains in the short run. But it would bring pain in the long run. As Chinese strategist Sun Tsu said, “the best general is the one who wins a war without fighting it”

Classic wars were made among organized armies. And history says that some Europeans even watched the soldiers of Napoleon as they were fighting. It was because the civilians were out of wars.

Our religion also orders us to obey war laws. Prohibits the soldiers from harming civilians and surrenderers. It tells us to defend ourselves against attack, but not to harm innocent people.

But modern technology cannot discriminate civilians, women, children. Weapons of mass destruction are being used without least ethical shame.

My Dear Friends,

Any state which gives importance to a field, allocates resources to that field, gets focused in that field. And if its army gets bigger, it faces sliding into militarism. And if it is a super power, then it may face internal threats, leading the world together with it. And dreams of short term victory would remain empty.

Remember Genghiz, Alexander, Napoleon, Hitler etc. all of whom spilled blood of hundreds of millions of innocent lives for a false dream of a world in their own image. Some of their empires crumbled even before their death, right in front of their eyes.

Was it worth?

Yes my friends..

A lot of crazy dreamers passed from this world saying they would give humankind a paradise in this world. These greedy, ambitious unwise aspirants thought they would speed the water of the river of history. But the river of history did not change its pace.

Come my friends and give an ear to our noble religion.

Killing one soul, is as killing all humankind...