

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN TERMS OF THEIR APPROACH TO TURKEY AND MUHSIN YAZICIOĞLU'S MULTINATIONAL PROJECT IN THE 2000S: CASPIAN COMMON UNION

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INTRODUCTION

Historically Modern Turks reached the lands in Anatolia in 1071. However, it was not the first attempt for Turks to live there. Before that date lots of Turkish clans are told to have lived in those lands throughout the history and some archeological researches support this idea. Pioneering Turkish groups who came and settled before their communities left their marks. The oldest Turkish traces in Anatolia are seen as pictures on the rocks. These documents are spread over a wide area and show the oldest inhabitants of Anatolia and provide information about the life of the Turkish people lived there. Researcher Muvaffak Uyanık discovered thousands of pictures, depicted on the rocks in Hakkari's Gevaruk and Tirşin plateaus, which prove Turkish existence across the Anatolia in the history (Gürler, 1997).

Seljuks, in their late periods, Ottomans, from the beginning of their history always turned their direction to the West not only just by wars, but also in peace times and so has done Turkish Republic, the follower of those. However, according to the Westerners' point of views Turks were not a part of the West. Sometimes they pleaded the geographical position of the capital city, sometimes they confessed the religious difference. Besides, they wanted the strong military force of Turkey to support them when they fought against powerful enemies. After finishing the problem by Turkish army's support, they put special rules not to defend Turkey against enemy attacks except Soviet or Bulgarian forces. A double standard approach has been shown to Turks who have been their historical friends and historical enemies.

Alternative leagues have to be found by the governors. One-sided regimes have been affected negatively. Turkey has tried to be a part of the Western world for nearly 200 years. Some advantages were reached like the participation to NATO when Stalin threatened Turkey. However, there were disadvantages of being a NATO member because of being at the first border of the Soviet Union, too. The need of defence was the most important motivation of both sides; however, NATO did not guarantee to defend Turkish people except Soviet or Bulgarian attacks. EU has never accepted Turkey to the union as a member and Turkey could not improve herself in terms of economy, industry,

education and science. These kind of problems required finding new alternatives. Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, who was the leader of a small party, proposed an alternative league in Caspian region where brother Turks were living and a big potential of hydrocarbon resources need to be carried to other regions before his suspicious death.

In this study the biggest leagues which Turkey has attended or applied will be evaluated by giving an alternative proposal in Caspian basin revealed by Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu.

League of Nations

Most of empires could not maintain their integrity against the nationalism winds of French Revolution and those great states began to collapse one after the other before the end of the Great War which broke out at the first quarter of the 1900s.

During the destroying war, in which more than 65 million people were recruited, 8.5 million were killed and more than 7.5 million people were lost or captured, the President of United States of America T.W. Wilson introduced 14 principles in 1918 and started a movement aimed at ensuring all nations to have their own land and to set up peace among humanity. This idea, which was motivated by Wilson, turned to be the first multinational union under the name as “League of Nations” in 1920. This league was “a peace society that protects the territorial integrity of large and small states”. However, those 14 principles, which were edited by Wilson to stop the dominance of great powers on the weak ones, were integrated to Versailles Treaty (Polat, 2020). That treaty was a text for the sake of winners and not taking care of the losers’ rights. By the way, League of Nations did not have sufficient sanctions on its members. The first attempt of establishing a peace league was collapsed in the minds of small countries. There were some achievements of the League like finishing the problem between Bulgaria and Greece who occupied the Bulgarian territories in 1925, the border problem between (British) Iraq and Turkey, another border problem between Lithunian and Germany.

The participation of Turkey to the League of Nations took 9 years after the Lausanne Treaty. The process of not accepting Turks as a member of the League was organized by the British politicians. Because Turkey and Britain had a conflict on Mosul Question after the Great War. British side’s representatives did not want the opposing Turkey to be a member of the League till the end of the negotiations. According to those politicians, if she was accepted to the League, Turkey would have found more rights and compromises in the Mosul Question. As not being a member, Turkey was not able to get power in diplomacy and had to accept the British claims in Lousanne and League of Nations drew the border between Turkey and Iraq according to the demands of powerful Britain. Nevertheless, Turkey, who was not accepted as a member to the league for 9 years, was informed about the contents of the international developments and was invited to most of the assemblies of the league after Lausanne. Turkey got an acceptance invitation to be a member in 1932. By approving the invitation Turkey decided to be a member and she joined the League on

18 July 1932 (Uluslan, 2008).

This league was established by the ideas of U.S. President Wilson, but American Congress did not confirm the membership. One of the most powerful country's disapproval was a very big problem for the league. U.S.A. did not join the workshops because of not being a member and so, Britain and France took the leadership and also the advantage of the league. In 1929 Japan army occupied the Chinese territories and League of Nations could not stop strong Japan Empire (Bennet, 1995). All these problems made the league a discredited society. Contrary to the peace societies envisaged by the League of Nations, totalitarian governments with fascist or communist characteristics continued to drag the humanity into another disaster with a bigger and more catastrophic war than the first one 20 years later. The League of Nations could not prevent the new disaster and collapsed.

United Nations and Turkey

The first attempt for multinational societies was League of Nations. However, it has not been the unique. After the II.nd World War United Nations was established. The first step to set up this new league was Atlantic Declaration. It was signed between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and U.S.A. President Roosevelt. This declaration contained 8 basic rules like Wilson's 14 principles in 1918. After the announcement of this declaration America lost its neutral position. Following her join to the war, in 1943, U.S.A., China, Great Britain and U.S.S.R. gathered in Moscow and announced another declaration talking about the necessity of a multinational community which was going to be ruled by peaceful dominant countries and open to all countries (Hasgüler & Uludağ, 2012). After long assemblies, the establishment of United Nations was announced on 25 June 1945. The difference between United Nations and League of Nations was forming a military force (Altiner, 2014).

Instead of reinforcing the discredited League of Nations, United Nations was established by 4 Dominant countries which formed the Atlantic Declaration to stop the German Nasism, Italian Fascism and Japan Militarism and gave the veto power to 5 dominant countries in Yalta Conference on 11.February.1945. The first rule was dictated to the countries planning to join the new league as Declaring war to there hostile countries until 01 March 1945. The establishment conference was held in San Francisco on 25 April 1945. Turkey, like other 46 member countries, accepted the rules and joined the conference. The conference went on discussing the right of veto power of the strong and dominant countries. However, it was not possible to make them give up their veto power. At last, 110 principles of the United Nations, named as "Chart", was signed by 50 countries and the new league became valid (Kocaoğlu, 1997).

Even though both of these multinational leagues were formed to preserve the peace among the nations, they acted to maintain the benefits of the founder states or dominant states (Uluslan, 2008). By adding some different rules United Nations has survived so far.

There have been hundreds of international and multinational leagues on different issues from health to economy. By the way, setting these kind of leagues generally has two sides. The first one is political, the other side is economical. In time, some economical unions could have some political point of views and vice versa.

Like French Revolution another great development of the history was Industrial Revolution which took place in the 19th Century. The states which produced and directed the machines in this era were able to direct the nations and the world. This period was also the base of the technological and social improvements (Yıkıcı, 2020). The states which were not able to adapt the process could not survive in the following decades. They collapsed economically because of being consumers, not producers.

Throughout the history European countries could not get on well with each other because of some religious problems or sometimes colonial occupations. They have been rivals to each other to get more advantages. Catholic Church started wars against Orthodox Christianity. Portugal and Spain were the first samples of Colonialism. Britain and French armies fought several times. French and German troops invaded their lands mutually. British Kingdom founded a different sect against Catholicism. Martin Luther and his pursuers announced Protestantism against Vatican Church and religious fights emerged in Europe. All those fights and wars made the European countries lose power. The biggest and catastrophic destructions for all humanity and European countries were The Great War and II.nd World War.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Turkey

In order to protect its territorial integrity Turkey did not get into the catastrophic II.nd World War. Western countries and U.S.S.R. beat the Nazi Regime together and won the war. After winning the war roles changed and the block against urgent enemy decomposed and they turned to be enemies to each other. Getting a side was an obligatory situation for young Turkish Republic. Turkey had to join the westerner powerful organization not to be occupied by the Soviet army. Because just after the II.nd World War the Soviet armies occupied many states in the north and east parts of the Black Sea which were away any kind of protection against U.S.S.R. .

Soviet Union was not eager to maintain non-aggression treaty between Turkey and U.S.S.R. which was about to expire on 7 November 1945. They wanted to refresh the relationships according to new conditions and serious differences occurred after the war (Turan 1999). Soviet side declared Turkey to make some changes in the borders between Turkey and U.S.S.R. and they said they wanted to direct the Straits with Turkey by revising Montreux Treaty. Rejecting these demands by Turkey was not satisfactory for Soviets and they repeated their wills by declaring a second memorandum, but Turkey rejected this memorandum too (Akkaya, 2012).

Soviets started an official threat on Turkey's Straits and demanded some cities in the north-east part of Turkey (Özalp, 2018). Soviet Union's position was like a clamp against Turkey. It was in the east border of Turkey and it occupied some regions in Balkans. Losing the sovereignty was an inevitable approaching result for Turkish state.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was founded in Washington D.C. on 4 April 1949. Turkey could join to the organization in 1952. Seeing the danger coming from the Soviet Union Turkey insisted on joining NATO but she was rejected in 1949. The founders of the organization, Britain and U.S.A., did not want to accept Turkey at first but promised to help against any danger. In 25 June 1950 a war in Korea started. U.S.A. started to fight against communists who were supported by China and U.S.S.R. Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes announced to send 4500 soldiers to support American troops on 25 July 1950. But the decision was held during the parliament holiday and it could be voted just in November 1950 (Akkaya, 2012). Having been rejected by NATO the government of the period found this position as an opportunity and the decision to participate in the war, which was not negotiated in the parliament, has been discussed since then.

Turkey has got an identity as a "Westerner Country" by providing defense and security to the organization. During the Cold War between West and East, basically America and Soviet Union, NATO was an internationally prestigious organization for Turkish people and politicians adding to its characteristics supplying safety via its powerful armies which had strong and developed weapons and it was compatible to the Westerner Identity which Turkish people and authorities had demanded to obtain. However, it was a source of danger because of being at the border of U.S.S.R. and it was not discussed enough by Turkish public opinion (Kibaroglu, 2017).



Current NATO Map published by TRT Haber (Aydoğmuş, 2019).

NATO, which was established on the axis of security policies against Warsaw Pact established by Soviet Union, has become quite controversial in terms of vision, mission and founding purposes after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The discussion was carried out in a way that the Cold War was over, the threat disappeared, NATO's military wing was no longer needed, it went beyond its founding purposes and served the United States benefits (Özalp, 2018).

Even during the Cold War there were some problematic situations. Some of the European countries did not want Turkey to be a member of the organization. Turkey's geographical position was an advantage for the members because she would be a shield front for them against U.S.S.R. Turkey was neighbouring to some Mid-East countries. It was always open to the attacks of Middle East. Although the members' security was announced to be preserved against an enemy's attack in the 5th and 6th entries, Turkey was limited by Soviet or Bulgarian attacks, not other countries' attacks (Kıbaroğlu, 2017).

European Union and Turkey

Being the leader of the western civilization European countries have always demanded to be the directors of industrial and economical developments. They launched and maintained the national states by French Revolution, production processes by Industrial Revolution and Colonialism after conquering new lands in America, Australia and Africa.

Vienna Congress in 1815 brought a peace environment across Europe and war was carried to Asia and Africa. Peace in Europe was the first rule of Colonialism. Though, there had always been the probability of clashes among Great Powers dealt with the problems about colonies, plenty of alliances occurred via imperialism: Triple Entente was not just an alliance towards German, but also an alliance towards the colony people of German. An appropriate example for this was the Independence Declaration of the United States after 1776. It is possible to say, that year lots of signs of a new civilization started to be seen. Europe notion developed by inventing a new identity to have a position between America and Russia. In this respect new ideas dealing with Europe Federation emerged in the XIX. th Century (Delanty, 2013).

The emergence of unification movements were seen between Britain and France to form a trade agreement. However, it had to stop because of the harsh results of the French Revolution. In 1815 Prussia and France abolished the internal customs by signing Maasen Tariffs between their states. Britain and France found the economical strenght by lowering the customs via agreements (Kıraç & İlhan, 2013). These attempts have never been strong to form a union and it started to be a necessity and felt by the dominant sides during the II.nd World War (Tatoğlu, 2006). Efforts to create a European Union with its philosophical bases gained a real character with the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community. This corporation, which was founded by Jean Monnet who was the President of French Planning Organization, aimed to create a union among the

European countries by removing the national trade borders with coal and steel (Kıraç & İlhan, 2013).

Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister of the period was affected by the thoughts of Monnet who is admitted as the father of European Union. Schuman proposed to set up a supranational community with the responsibility of producing and using the resources of coal and steel which are the basic inputs of the war industry. This was the beginning of the European Union. As it can be seen, the target of the union was economical at first, but in time she obtained a political character as well. Today the union has reached 27 (now 28) members. Even the founders of the community could not estimate the development of the Union. The union is not accepted as a perfect one, but it is known and accepted as one of the best models of multinational unions (Tatoğlu, 2006).

The treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, paving the way for the European Union, was signed by France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg on 18.April.1951. It started to be valid on 23 July 1952. The Treaty is expected to be valid for 50 years and expired on 23 July 2002. ESCS within the new EU order brought by the 1992 Maastricht Treaty. The treaty establishing European Economic Community and the treaty establishing European Energy Community “Rome Treaty” was signed by 6 states, which had set up ESCS before, on 25 March 1957 in Rome. EEC was aborted by 2009 Lisbon Treaty because European Union which was established in 1992 Maastricht Treaty was including the functions of EEC. However, EURATOM has not been abolished yet, it is seen as the peaceful basis of European nuclear Works (Denk, 2016).

This economic integration movement has become an extremely important structure over time. Since the establishment of the Republic in 1923 Turkey has always turned her face to the West and Europe as well. Turkey applied to EEC on 31 July 1959 to be a member. The European integrity movement has been called as the biggest peace project throughout the history. Turkey aimed to develop in economical aspects by turning her side to the West Block after the II.nd World War because she wanted to have a peaceful and safe environment. Another important point in Turkish aspect was the probability of the acceptance of Greece. Greece applied to the Union on 15 July 1959. It would have been a power balance problem if Greece was accepted to the Union but Turkey was not. The authorities of the European Union started the investigations on Turkey’s application on 11 September 1959, but signing the Ankara Agreement could be possible 4 years later. Because a military coup happened in Turkey on 27 May 1960 and the members of the Union lost their motivation about Turkey’s democracy. It was not an agreement to accept Turkey as a member, but just a commercial agreement including some economical aid packets and an observation process of Turkey’s political and economical development for the Union (Uysal, 2001). This commercial agreement was signed as an Association agreement. European Union signed these kind of agreements with the applying states to prepare them for membership process. Nevertheless, European Union has signed some

agreements with some countries which are not in Europe Continent. Lome Agreement which was signed between the Union and Morocco and Algeria is another example for those. A Council Association between Union and Turkey was held to follow the developments and to run the relationships and this has been the position of Turkey so far (Karluk, 2019).

Turkey applied for full membership to EEC on 14 April 1987. The investigation of the application was approved at the meeting of the Council of Ministers of the EEC on 5 February 1990 and a report was prepared. According to this report, the European Commission did not find it appropriate to start new accession negotiations. In other words, Turkey's application for full membership was not accepted. The problems in Turkey's relations with Greece were shown as an obstacle to Turkey's full membership. However, these problems were not raised as a drawback in the admission of Greece for full membership. The same was true for Cyprus. The European Community and later the European Union consider the problems in Cyprus among the most important obstacles to Turkey's full membership. Nevertheless, these problems did not stop the European Union to start the membership negotiations with Southern Cyprus. The European Union speaks of the law when it suits and breaks the law when it does not suit it (Koç, 2001).

In Turkish public opinion most of the people think that European Union is not fair towards Turkey and embroilers Turkey. Turkey has got a strategic position between Asia and Europe. Europe does not want Turkey to approach Russian side but does not accept it in the Union because of religious difference, either. There are some real and academic evidences to support this idea. Hüsnü Ezber Bodur mentions this point in his article : "Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the former President of France gave a speech in 2002. In his speech he underlined that Turkey can not be considered as a European country since its capital is not in Europe continent. The inclusion of a country with a different culture and lifestyle would mean the end of the EU. It reveals the dimensions of religious and cultural based prejudices against Turkey's membership in the West." In the next pages of his paper he gives examples like academician Oliver Roy's words telling that even Turkey achieves completing all the principles dictated by EU it is not possible for her to be accepted, because Turkey does not share the Christian culture and heritage (Bodur, 2008).

EU, which has been claiming the integrity among European countries, could not save the federative corporation. Via a plebiscite in 2016 Britain announced her separation calling Brexit and left the union 60 years after the establishment in 1959 (Şimşek, 2020).

Muhsin Yazicioglu and his Plan to set up a Caspian Common Union

Turkish people's and state's aims to be a western country has prepared the consciousness since the Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane in 1839. Ottomans in the last periods tried to get into any kind of political, scientific and economical organizations established in Europe or other Western countries, so has done the Republic of Turkey. Russia, the biggest enemy

of Ottomans in her last two centuries, and Russian's inheritor Soviet Union which was positioned in the north-east part of Turkey was a threat against Turkish territories. The other south-east and south part is encircled by Middle East states which have been the encounterers because of political reasons in the late Ottoman period and Turkish Republic which has a secular lifestyle. Turkey has never demanded to change religion Islam but always wanted to be far away from the backwardness of middle east countries' which were covered by Islamic appearance. Islam gives a lightning point of view to the person and society in Quran and in the Prophet Mohammed's lifestyle and words, and Turkish people have adopted these deeply. However, it was impossible to improve by an easterner lifestyle according to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of Republic of Turkey. Even Ottoman State's authorities tried to change the lifestyle of the society in the last century of the empire (Kösebalaban, 2014).

The motherland of Turkish clans is known as Turkistan and millions of Turkish people live on those lands now and some others live in different parts of Asia, Africa and Europe. This geographical propagation has happened via a voyage of Turks which took thousands of years. Some of Turkish people preferred to live in the homeland and some others wanted to see, conquer and live in different regions after big pressures coming from crowded Chinese armies, or because of the clashes between Turkish brother clans. Some of the Huns went along the north of Black Sea and established European Hun State under the leadership of Attila and they set up a civilization in East Europe. Bulgarians came to Balkans and decided not to turn back and they have been living there for thousands of years. Some of the Muslim Turks came to Anatolia and taking the territories from Byzantians they established their own empires and they have been living in there under the reign of The Republic of Turkey which they established on their own by the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923.

However, the disadvantage for the Anatolian and European Turks who have always turned their faces to the West is forgetting their brothers and their ancestors' works in Türkistan, in Caucasia and in Caspian region. Today millions of Turkish people live there and there is a lack of connection between the West Turks and East Turks.

Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, who was a politician in Turkey, tried to set up relationships with the Turks living out of Turkey and former Ottoman Empire's regions like Bosnia, Cosovo, Macedonia. He was active in the establishment of Cosovo Independence struggle (Haberler, 2021). He was the leader of a youth organization named as Ülkü Ocakları in his very young ages. The characteristics of this organization was anti-imperialist, anti-communist and Turkish nationalist. In the 1980 military coup he was put into jail and stayed there for 7,5 years and at the end he was acquitted as he was innocent of any crimes in 1987. Finding his freedom, he immediately started his works on serving his ideology of nationalism in Nationalist Work Party. In 1992 he separated from NWP with some of his friends and established another political party named as Great Union Party in 1993 (Yıkıcı, 2020).

Ülkü Ocakları which Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu directed in the second half of 1970s was basically against EEC and had organized some social and communal activities and published manifests under the name as “No To Common Market” not to join to EEC (Acar, 2018).

After establishing GUP Yazıcıoğlu went on his nationalistic policy and he put a strategy in the Declaration of GUP as: *“Turkey’s joining attempt to EU has got a history more than 40 years. Since Turkey applied she has been advised to make economical and jural differences, road maps, adaptation packages and they even have interfered in our internal issues during this process. They confess that EU is a Christian Club. EU which has increased the number of the members to 25 by accepting former socialist countries does not have a mind to admit Turkey. In this position the relationships with EU should be revised and organized again. EU is not a must for Turkey”* (BBP, 2004).

In 2008 he gave an interview and revealed his ideas about EU again. In his words he said: *“EU process is an empty and a dark tunnel. It is waste of time, energy and hope abuse and a world of lies... It was a logical preference 40 years ago because of getting into NATO and the balances in those years. But after 1990 the situations changed and lots of new alternatives emerged for Turkey. If Atatürk lived, he would never tolerate the enforcements of EU. If Fatih saw our position, he would tell the reasons why he had conquered Istanbul by kicking our fanatic EU supporter heedless politicians... EU is neither coeval civilization, nor the unique hope for us ... But EU is a global reality and our relations with EU should be based on mutual benefits... I am definitely against of full membership to EU. It is not a project to improve Turkey, on the contrary it is a weakening and an enserfing project ... EU is in need of Turkey, Turkey is not in need of EU. The things we have lost by Customs Union Treaty and the things we have lost in the process to adapt EU are the signs of the things we will lose in the future. No good can come from EU to us, we have to look for our reality and we have to look for our own power”* (Umur, 2018).

Power has been the main motivation of individuals, political, economical or social organizations and states as well. Almost all kinds of relationships between states have based on power. The leagues like EU, United Nations or Warsaw Pact have been estimated to be more powerful. Like all other countries Turkey has wanted to be in the leagues to be more powerful as well.

Yazıcıoğlu was not able to transform the general policy of the state because of not being the leader or a part of the governments. However, he had a big potential on Turkish public opinion. He was accepted as an honest and idealist politician by the people. While he was a young leader of his own political society he gave his messages directly. Having been amused by EU he declared his objections and he announced his opposition to EU and tried to find new alternatives. Establishing a Turanic League was his original ideal. However, Turkey and other Turkish states were not ready to fulfill this idea yet. Even so he was in search of changing the route of Turkey. He declared his rejection to EU and announced

a new perspective as Caspian Common Union. By this project he aimed Turkey to be a bridge between the countries producing energy and the countries consuming energy and to set up historical relations with Turkish World (Umur, 2018).

In one of his speeches he explained his Project: *“Under the leadership of Turkey the ‘Caspian Common Union’ (CCU) should be formed together with Iran, Russia and Turkish Republics located in the Caspian basin. Yazıcıoğlu stated that if the union is formed the member countries will be able to meet all energy inputs more easily and added ‘I believe that this geography will create the strongest balance in the World. Turkey should lead this. We need a ‘CCU’ against EU and GMP. ‘Turkish Standards’ should be put forward instead of ‘European standards’. He added, ‘In architecture, art, literature and in every fields Turkey should be able to say that these are the codes of my civilization. Inspiring by thses civilization codes Turkey needs to establish the dialectic of her own idea, civilization and system.”* (Yenişafak, 2007).

Turkey has not been accepted to EU for nearly 40 years, was an important member in NATO just in aspects of her military force, has been limited unlawfully by UN in a need to be defended and was abused by West in many ways while she was trying to be a part of the West. To prevent Turkey’s backwardness finding alternatives was a must in Yazıcıoğlu’s opinion.

Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu was killed in a suspicious helicopter accident in 25 March 2009. Lots of politicians and journalists have claimed that the event was not an accident, but an assassination by presenting lots of evidences. He was the leader of a small political party but more than 2 million people came to his funeral according to some media resources. Some members of FETO terrorist organization, which tried a military coup in 15 July 2016 and being directed by Fethullah Gülen who has been living in America since 1997, have been accused of Yazıcıoğlu’s assassins (Takvim, 2021). 3 years before his suspicious death he tore a map showing Turkey seperated into pieces like Sevres Treaty in 1918. The map, which had been prepared and released by Pentagon, was an argument between Turkish military officers having education in Rome College and an American officer. He held a press conference in Ankara and tore the map by saying: *“Motherland is a unity and cannot be crumbled.”* (İHA, 2006).



05.10.2006 GUP Headquarters

He was a respectful and creditable leader and his ideas were always important in the aspects of most of Turkish people. Another interview which he gave before his death was released two months after his unexpected accident. In that interview he had put his ideas clearly again. He said: *“Turkey, acting from its own axis, should draw a national interlance extending to the depths of the Balkans, the Middle East, the Caucasus and Asia and should assume the leading role in this interlance. She should now be the locomotive, rather tahn being jostled behind the European Union train. We must establish the Caspian Common Market. We are in the middle of energy producing and consuming countries. We should make good use of this advantage. We must estyablish Caspian Common Market, which we can call CCU (HOP) against the EU and GMP (BOP). We should develop economic, social and commercial ccooperation with the states in the Caspian Basin. We can do it with Eastern Mediterranean countries such as the Black Sea Economic Cooperation. In addition, Euroasian geography is related, starting from Turkey’s own center, a multi-factor, multi – faceted economic and social policy can be followed. We should improve our relations with the Turkish Republics. We must ensure the unity of the alphabet, the unity of language which are said but not done. We must develop cooperation. We have to establish a barter system among ourselves, and by enacting a barter law we should develop an economic model based on mutual barter. We must set up a system where we can trade with our own Money, by making a swap agreement with Russia and the Turkish Republics, by putting our mutual Money in the central banks. So we have to eliminate this dependence on the American dollar. We must fight with the American dollar addiction just as we fight with any kind of addiction. According to the agreement in the Armistice of Mudros dated 30.October.1918 with the conflicting states such as Britain, France and Italy seized our communication at that time. Today, Türk Telekom, our communication system has been sold for 5,5 billion dollars to the westerners and they do not pay even their installments. Is this situation different than Armistice of Mudros? Turkey handed over some of her gains to the imperialists. There are several elements that ensure the independence of states. These are communication, iron and steel and the other is energy. You can not say you are independent if you are foreign dependent in communication, iron and steel and energy. Unfortunately, Turkey has handed over some of her gains to imperialists.”* (Çakan, 2009).



A view from Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu’s last meeting in Kahramanmaraş’s Çağlayancerit District one hour before his suspicious helicopter accident. (Anadolu Ajansı, 2021)

In 1996 an association of Asian countries under the leadership of China and Russia to set up security and commercial cooperation. At first, its name was Shangai Five. Their aim was routing out America and other westerner countries which tried to set up dominance in Asian territories after the collapse of Soviet Union. The five states were Russia, China, Kyrgystan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan at first. In 2001, Uzbekistan joined this union and the name of the group was changed as Shangai Cooperation Organization (SCO) (Khaleqi & Oghli 2021). Pakistan and India were accepted as the members according to th enlargement policy of the union during the summit in Astana on 8/9 June 2017 (T.C.Dışişleri Bakanlığı, 2021; Congar, 2021).



A map of SCO released by SASAM. (Bozkurt, 2017)

Caspian region was closed to the rest of the world after the Great War and it has been understood that Caspian region is one of the main energy resources of the world after the collapse of U.S.S.R. Therefore, it turned to be a target region for lots countries and organizations, not just for Russia. EU and U.S.A. has some plans to make use of the region. Turkey, which is on the way of energy transfer to European countries, wants to get economical and political benefits arising from its geo-strategical position, too. Turkey's geography lets her to be an advantageous country. It is not only an Asian but also a European country and like a bridge between them. Besides, it is a Balkan, Black Sea, Middle East, Caucasus and a Mediterranean country. It is one of the rare countries to be a member of OECD, Islamic Cooperative Organization, European Security and Cooperative Organization, G-20, D-8, Black Sea Cooperative Organization and a country negotiating membership with EU. Having a wide scala, Turkey wants to be related to lots of states and organizations to be more powerful and to have more alternatives. The member and observer countries of Shangai Cooperative Organization has 17,5% of the known petrol reservations of the world, 45-50% of the Natural Gas and 45% of the world population. Taking most of the resources in her hands SCO has got a strategical superiority. Turkey

applied to the organization to be a member in 2005 and got the right to be a Dialogue Partner in 2011. The importance of this partnership for Turkey is all the members and observer countries were the members of Warsaw Pact in the past, except Turkey. Turkey is the unique partner of the organization coming from NATO (Hepaktan, 2017).

Maintaining the partnership with SCO without damaging the relations with NATO and EU would give Turkey the chance to have alternatives in her hands. However, Yazıcıoğlu's proposal was somehow different than being a member to SCO. The organization was established in 1996 and got an identity in 2001. But, he talked about establishing a new organization. He mentioned Turkey to be the leader of a new organization. China, which rejected Turkey's membership in 2005, was not a member in his ideal Caspian Common Union. He must have thought China would be a problem for his country and he proposed a new union under the leadership or dominance of Turkey by using the religious, historical and ethnical relations with her brother countries in the region.

Some differences in Turkish Foreign policy have happened after Yazıcıoğlu's suspicious accident. Big events were seen in the geography of Arabic and North African regions. A military coup took the management in Egypt from a government which was elected by the majority of the society. A civil war started in Syria and millions of asylum seekers had to leave their lands and nearly 5 million of people came to Turkey. It was called as 'Arabic Spring'. A military coup attempt was seen in Turkey in 15.July.2016, but it was not succesful. All these big events happened in the regions where Condeleeza Rice described as 22 countries. Losing the trust to the westerners Turkey started to buy military supplies from Russia and U.S.A. reacted Turkey's new relationships by economical sanctions.

Ahmet Davutoğlu, who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs between 2009-2014 and the Prime Minister in Turkey between 2014-2016, wrote a book in 2001 in which he was talking about probable Caspian region activities of Turkey to reach Middle Asian Turkish States in 3 steps. These are:

- 1-) To ensure the positions of the North Caucasian republics within the Russian Federation should be gradually consolidated and the Caspian Sea- Balck Sea connection can be realized through these republics.
- 2-) To balance Moscow's influence on Middle Asia and the Caucasus by strenghtening the relations with Tehran in the context of dynamic and rational economic cooperation.
- 3-) To promote all kinds of cooperation among Middle Asian countries.

According to Davutoğlu, Turkey's setting dominant relationships with the countries in Caspian region would be diffucult on territorial ways. But setting up relations through the connection of the Caspian Sea basin to other sea basins like Black Sea and Mediterreanean Sea can give effective results (Kaya & Kısacık, 2015).

Being a regional actor or a global actor requires being active in foreign affairs. After the collapse of Soviet Union, Caspian region was understood to have lots of hydrocarbon resources. Transferring the natural gas and petrol from Caspian basin to the international markets has been another important point of the issue. The pipeline projects developed to achieve this mission have caused radical changes in geoeconomics and geopolitics of the region (Köten, 2013). The countries on which the pipelines go along will not only be commercially profitable, but also they will have the right on the resources. To transfer the natural gas lots of pipeline projects have been planned and applied. One of the most important among these pipeline projects is Baku - Tbilisi - Ceyhan pipeline. It started to be active in 2005 (Yatar, 2007). The pipeline which ends in Turkey's Ceyhan route reaches to Mediterranean Sea and provides geopolitical advantage to Turkey.

CONCLUSION

Yazıcıoğlu's perspective was not just dealt with romantic Turkish nationalism. Having a look to the potential of the region and being aware that the westerners do not want Turkey as a member, he mentioned a new route. Considering Turkey's geopolitical position and appairising the historical, religious and ethnical ties Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu tried to improve the relationships by brother nations and regional forces to find opportunities of alternatives. Caspian Common Union was not limited with commercial or financial benefits. This kind of a union would change Turkey's historical route to a New World Order and Turkey would be a regional or a global leader. NATO has been told to have finished her role after the Soviet danger and has approached with a double standard to Turkey. EU was told to be the biggest peace project of the history, but the biggest world wars started in Europe and the corporation which claimed to unify all the European countries could not save her own unity after the split of Britain. EU has never tended to accept Turkey and amused her with promises which have never ended and none of which have ever come true. Some developments relating Turkey in Caspian region have happened before and after Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu's proposal. He wanted Turkey to take the initiative in Balkans, in the Middle East and the Middle Asia where Turks or Turkish related societies have been living. His aim was building a Turkish hinterland. However, the union he wanted to be established has not reached a real identity.

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