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## **LABOR PAINS OF THE FINAL GAINS: GLOCAL INTEGRATED GOVERNANCE AT ALL LEVELS OF MULTI-POLAR GAMES**

*Ahmet KESER\**

### **ABSTRACT**

Throughout the article, it's intended to investigate the evolution of the global order from a bipolar structure to a temporary uni-polar and then to the actual multi-polar constitution in sequence. That's why this article aims to focus primarily on the question of "If the international system has evolved to a multi-polar system in terms of power relations or not?", and then the question of "If the evolution process has been completed or not"? By using a descriptive methodology, the recent international conflicts ongoing especially in the Middle East region and affecting Turkey are investigated with a perspective depending on the evolution of the power balances and the changing character of the war and conflicts. It is asserted that the current conflicts in the region have converted the asymmetric warfare to a new and supra-asymmetric type which can be named as asymmatrix warfare. After this investigation it is supposed that the current governance system and its institutions are not able to satisfy the overall requirements of both the global and regional balance system. Starting from this assumption, the minimum basic requirements of a possible global total governance system, which should meet the prerequisites of a multi-polar, multi-dimensional and multi-layered global and regional balance, are discussed. Finally it is concluded that a glocal integrated governance system requires a mechanism, which respects and preserves all cultural diversities in every aspect, by applying a facilitating regime, that supports a real multiform and rich culture composition instead of a top-down coercive one, which has tried to create a uniform but poor culture. So the focus of integrated governance model should rely on harmonization instead of uniformity.

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**STRUCTURED ABSTRACT**

**Introduction and the Aim of the Study:** The struggle between modernism and so called “post-modernism”, in which the gray color has ruled over black and/or white, and the only certainty surviving has become the ability of being adjusted to the uncertainties, has dominated the activities at almost all fields. Although a widespread consensus has started on the evolution of the World towards a multi-polar system, the topic still preserves its attractiveness because of the areas not clarified yet. That’s why this article aims to focus primarily on the question of “If the international system has evolved to a multi-polar system in terms of power relations or not?”, and then the question of “If the evolution process has been completed or not”? Depending on the results of this discussion, the role that might be played by a better glocal governance mechanism in the way of the sustainability of a possible multi-polar system will be introduced, particularly considering the conflicts and crises of the last decade especially in the Middle East region.

**The Conceptual Frame of the Study:** When the current literature is reviewed, it is found out that one part of the focus of this study is on the *historical evolution of the power balances*, and other part is about the *transformation of the conflicts in a multi-polar system*. Depending on these two important focus areas the study starts with a literature review and investigation on the first topic. After reaching some useful assessments for further discussion, it concentrates on the second topic on the grounds of the findings of the previous review.

Within this frame the current literature indicates the fall of the Berlin Wall as the end of the “bipolar world system” and accepts that the world is being changed dramatically after the 1990s. Due to the unfamiliar developments of the recent global balance, the foremost power centers of the globe have started brainstorming to foresee the possible conditions of respective multi-polar system. This assessment foresees two possible trends: (1) *The rising of new powers among nation-states* and (2) *The rising of new powers amongst nonstate actors*. Both possible developments indicate new and more players at the stage of the international arena. This phenomenon inevitably recalls the upcoming of a multi-polar system. The back frame of this assertion is supported by the *structural realism approach*. Thereby the study focuses to expose the differences briefly among the scholars representing the *liberal concept*, *globalization approach*, and *structural realism approach* at this stage.

Theorists espousing the liberal concept as Joseph S. Nye, and Michael W. Doyle try to explain the constitution of the international system by focusing on the activities of the nonstate actors. Whereas, the academics defending the globalization approach like Immanuel Wallerstein qualify the international system as the Capitalist World Order and see it as an exploitation mechanism between the “Periphery”, and the “Center”. On the other hand, according to the structural realists the phenomenon designating the constitution of the international system is the distribution of power among the actors.

Concerning the main axis of this study, questioning the structure of the international political order if “it’s being multi-polar or not?”

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requires a structural realist approach, since each pole represents a power center. From this point forth, the historical periods of power balances can be constructed convenient to the structural realism approach. Depending on the changing balances of the power distribution in time, the structural realists investigate the constitution of the international system by splitting into the historical periods.

Within this frame, “the military intervention to Afghanistan” can be seen as the historical harbinger of the end of the unipolar system and the rise of the multi-polar international system. A lot of following crises and conflicts ongoing in Syria, Iraq and Ukraine and local unrest and events like Arab Spring etc. proves this assumption. The long term duration of the crises and the multi layered character of the conflicts in Syria, the spread of the conflicts initially from Kiev to Crimea and then to Donetsk and other eastern regions of Ukraine, the failure of the international community to reach an immediate solution in both cases and the reluctant approach of the pioneering nation-states due to the mutual dependence especially in point of energy to each other complicate the situation and converts into a chronicle character. After all, the mentioned facts, and the multi-lateral and multi layered nature of the problems prove evidence that the multi-polar world order is still the dominant global system surviving.

**Method:** In this study, a descriptive methodology is followed to investigate the evolution of the current global order and to seek a better governance system to satisfy the requirements of a multi-polar glocal balance.

So, within the frame of the above mentioned developments, benefitting from the structural realism is assessed as a useful method in determining the great powers of the Globe. According to the structural realist approach, a state must have three fundamental characteristics to be assessed as a global power: “(1) To have a significant level of economic, military, political, and etc. capacity, (2) To have the ability of influencing the allies, (3) To have a capacity of policy developing and implementing at the global level and far beyond the national benefits”.

After an investigation on the national power elements during the study, it can be said that, a multi-polar world system has inevitably emerged through the last decade, on account of the governance of the mutual effects of the global power poles in the international political system.

**Findings and Discussion:** After the recent developments at the global scale and especially in the Middle East, the deficits of the unipolar system trial has provided evidence that, to be able to solve the multi-layered conflicts and problems, the balance of the global political system has to rely on a multilateral and multi-polar system, which has an essential dimension of creating at least one of the trustful and legitimate poles in the Middle East region. Of course a sine qua non necessity for this multi-polar system is that this process should be built on a governance mechanism. Because it seems very difficult for the globe to overcome the possible conflicts or crises without any serious and disastrous results, unless a perfect and comprehensive international governance system is established.

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The changing global order inevitably affects the character of the conflicts as well. The experience evidently proved which was gained after the military operations conducted in Iraq and Afghanistan that, it is impossible to execute any military operation independent from the social, cultural, political, and geographical conditions of a conflict area. The multi-layered structure of the conflicts in Syria and Iraq has converted the previous asymmetric warfare into a supra-asymmetric one which is named as an “asymmatrix” warfare in this study.

As a necessity of the postmodern era, within an environment in which all the certainties have lost their definiteness, pursuant to the requirements of a multi-variable based, multi-polar, multi-centered, and naturally multi-lateral and multi-dimensional space, a comprehensive glocal governance approach, which renders the participation and satisfaction of all stakeholders possible, which allows the application of hybrid mechanisms, and shifts the current governance approach to a new quality, which is capable of running not only on a vertical line, but on an horizontal surface or even in a universe, should be developed and institutionalized.

**Results:** Finally, a sine qua non necessity for the prospective multi-polar system seems to be an integrated governance mechanism with all its prerequisites as transparency, voice and accountability, effectiveness, regulatory quality, political stability and control of corruption. Due to the aforementioned difficulties in overcoming the possible global conflicts and crises, a perfect glocal governance system, covering all layers of administrative mechanisms from the highest global and/or international platform to the lowest local one or in other words, a system of “glocal integrated governance” from top to the bottom has to be established. Of course the structure of this so called “glocal integrated governance”, which is to be enforced with a total quality performance of “0” failure tolerance and with an effective system legitimized by the equal and full participation of all social partners, has to be initiated at the supranational level or with more specific words at the UN level, with all its irrevocable qualities.

Such an approach should of course be concentrated on human factor and the sustainable development of humanity with respect to all diversities of culture varieties. With an inspiration from Turkish highbrow Edebali’s advice to Osman I, during the foundation of Ottoman Empire as “get the people survive, so that the state survives”, this human centric principle can be transformed as “get the humans and all cultures survive, so that the globe survives”. This principle requires a glocal integrated governance system, which respects and preserves all cultural diversities in every aspect, by applying a facilitating regime that supports a real multiform and rich culture composition instead of a top-down coercive one, which has tried to create a uniform but poor culture. So the focus of integrated governance model should rely on harmonization instead of uniformity.

**Keywords:** Governance, multi-polar world system, conflict management, glocal integrated governance, asymmetric war.

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## NİHAİ KAZANIMLARIN DOĞUM SANCILARI: ÇOK KUTUPLU OYUNLARIN TÜM DÜZEYLERİNDE KÜREYEREL BÜTÜNLEŞİK YÖNETİŞİM

### ÖZET

Makalede, küresel düzenin sırasıyla önce iki kutuplu sistemden geçici tek kutuplu sisteme ve daha sonra da mevcut çok kutuplu sisteme doğru evrimleşme sürecinin analizi hedeflenmiştir. Bu nedenle, çalışma öncelikle “uluslararası sistemin güç ilişkileri bağlamında çok kutuplu bir sisteme evrilip evrilmediği” ve daha sonra da “bu dönüşüm sürecinin tamamlanıp tamamlanmadığı” soruları üzerine odaklanmayı amaçlamıştır. Betimsel bir metodoloji ile halen özellikle Ortadoğu bölgesinde devam etmekte olan ve Türkiye’yi yakından etkileyen ulus içi ve uluslararası çatışmalar, güç dengelerinin evrimine ve savaş ve çatışmaların değişen doğasına dayalı bir perspektiften incelenmiştir. Analiz sonucunda bölgede devam eden çatışmaların asimetrik savaş ortamını yeni ve “asimetrik ötesi” bir tipe doğru değiştirdiği ve bu yeni çatışma tipinin “asi-matris savaş” olarak ortaya çıktığı değerlendirilmiştir. İncelemenin devamında, son dönemde gerek uluslararası siyaset gerekse akademik alanda çokça tartışıldığı üzere, mevcut yönetim düzeninin ve kurumlarının hem küresel, hem ulusal hem de yerel düzeydeki dengeyi sağlamakta ve ihtiyaçlara cevap vermekte yetersiz kaldığı faraziyesinden hareketle tartışma derinleştirilmiştir. Bu faraziyeyle dayalı olarak “çok kutuplu, çok boyutlu ve çok katmanlı” küresel ve bölgesel denge düzeninin ihtiyaçlarına cevap verebilecek muhtemel bir “küreyerel bütünlük (entegre) yönetim sisteminin” asgari temel gereklilikleri tartışılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, çalışmanın küresel ve bölgesel sürdürülebilir bir barış ortamını mümkün kılacak daha iyi bir yönetim sistemine ilişkin tartışmaları tetikleyerek akademik yazına katkı sağlayacağı değerlendirilmektedir. İnceleme neticesinde, entegre/bütünlük küreyerel/küreyel bir yönetim sisteminin, kültürel farklılıklara her yönüyle saygı esasına dayanan ve onları koruyan, yukarıdan aşağı tek tip ve yoksul bir kültür oluşturmaya dönük zorlayıcı bir yapı yerine, gerçek çok katlı ve zengin kültür kompozisyonlarını destekleyen bir mekanizma üzerine kurulu olması gerektiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Dolayısıyla bütünlük yönetim modeli tektiplik yerine uyum üzerine inşa edilmelidir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Yönetişim, çok kutuplu dünya sistemi, çatışma yönetimi, küreyerel bütünlük yönetim, asimetrik savaş.

### Introduction

When we look back from the recent days, in which humanity has witnessed the first quarter of the twenty-first century, it seems that a vertiginous transition has been experienced especially after 1990s, at all conventional layers determining basic principles of the social, cultural, administrative, and legal relations, starting from the international systems at the top to the local systems at the bottom, or from the public administrations of nation-states to the operational mechanisms of local governments. In other words, the basic tenets of modernist paradigm, which is

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based on certainties and definite lines in almost every field from international politics to the fundamental structures of the states; from the public administration systems to the classical bureaucracies, and from science, architecture, and fine arts to literature, were shattered deeply through this period. The struggle between modernism and so called "post-modernism", in which the gray color has ruled over black and/or white, and the only certainty surviving has become the ability of being adjusted to the uncertainties, has dominated the activities at almost all fields.

Parallel to these developments and especially to the end of bipolar system, which has designated the balance of the international power relations during the post 2<sup>nd</sup> World War era, as stated by Rima Tkatoва (2010: 205), "the World has undergone a remodeling Process" in defining the inter-relations of the nation-states. Tkatoва (2010: 205-206) clearly defines this new world order, which was emerged after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, as a structure characterized by "seeking of new identities" and "multi-polar, multi-civilized or heterogenic" qualifications. Nurpeiis (2013:515) also points out that many global problems have emerged by 1990s with the scattering of Soviet Union and one of the foremost of those problems was the coming of a new chaotic environment with asymmetric properties after the collapse of bipolar balance of the global order.

Across this new order, all the players, who are commencing to discover the dynamics of the transition retry their own positions and rearrange according to the requirements of the rising new normal. The first and immediate samples of such a trend, which has geopolitical, economical and administrative layers and a sociological character as well, were seen in the situation of the European States left from the former Eastern Bloc. Almost all of these countries merely pitched into taking revenge from the values of the Cold War period, with sharp "u turns" changing their political, financial and administrative systems radically. As Czech Sociologist Michal Illner (1996: 161) indicated by his "lost child returning home" metaphor, almost all of the "Eastern and Central Europeans have refused to continue staying as a member of the former Eastern Bloc and insisted on the idea of being a part of Central Europe, with a criticism of having been isolated from Europe because of the previous Cold War Period policies"<sup>1</sup>. Together with the mentioned process, which has especially started with Czechoslovakians, Hungarians and Polish (Eriksen, 2007: 334), the members of the former Eastern Bloc in the East and Central Europe have launched out flirting relations, which will end up with having full membership shortly to the supranational political organizations as European Union (EU) and international security organizations as NATO.

With a similar approach, Turkey has also undergone a series of neoliberal reform practices especially since the beginning of 1990s, to adapt herself to the requirements of the new paradigm. These reforms included the practices of having a flexible system, which would facilitate to meet at least the minimal standards of a free market economy, and a series of harmonization efforts to the EU system, including both her political and administrative structures, and her economy as well. But together with these events Turkey has also undergone some efforts to develop her relations with the oriental countries as well. By stressing on the similarity between the Ottoman Empire and Turkey's security concerns, Şener (2014: 1836) makes an assessment as *the characteristics of Turkey as a "two-sided front," "two status quos" (namely, east status quo and west status quo), lead Turkey to be confronted with major security concerns. This "two-sidedness" which Turkey inherited from the Ottomans on a limited scale, can be considered as having a deep impact on the security perceptions of Turkey.* As part of whereof efforts, the previous approach, which was status quo oriented and based on the classical top down public administration system and bureaucracy, have been replaced by *new public management and governance mechanism*, which facilitates the

<sup>1</sup> See for further details: Janine R. Wedel, *Collision and Collusion, the Strange Case of Western Aid to Eastern Europe*, (Palgrave, New York, 2001), s. 16.

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participation of multiple social stakeholders. Within most of the market or social fields, particularly at the locomotive segments of the economy as the energy, telecommunications, finance, and banking sectors, the service delivery and regulation functions were separated via emerging independent regulatory agencies (IRA) besides the still surviving institutions of the former system with various rehabilitation applications. These IRAs have added a *new dimension* to public administration system with the privileged rights of their employees, with their board structured decision making organs, with their financial, administrative and political autonomies and finally with their collective authorities within the borders of the regulated sector, merging all three of the legislative, executive and judicial powers at one center.

A parallel transition to the process, experienced within the internal administrative systems of the states, has emerged at the international relations field as well. Therefore with a similar path, the former single or bipolar, relatively predictable *planar circumstances* of the international relations, based on the defense and cooperation pacts were replaced by multi-polar, multi-stakeholder and scarcely predictable conditions of a newly emerging *spatial governance mechanism*. Turkey has also experienced a similar path to the global developments. Because of the former perspective focused on the planar structure of the Cold-war era and due to the difficulties of detecting the requirements of this new multi-dimensional spatial structure, Turkey was sometimes criticized of dislocating her axis or departing from the West referenced former policies<sup>2</sup>. However the transition ongoing was nothing more than regulating the gears of her rotors according to the conditions of aforementioned spatial environment both at the internal and external politics. Thus, although indicating some problems of the Country's foreign policy, K. Bugra Kanat (2010: 205) also states that Turkey is not walking off from the West, but re-regulating and formulating her foreign policy gradually according to the *demands of an open and democratic society*, and to the *exigencies of a multi-polar world system*.

Although a widespread consensus has started to be composed by the scholars on the evolution of the World towards a multi-polar system, e.g. David Dollar (2007: 1), Raj M. Desai and James Raymond Vreeland (2011: 109), Álvaro de Vasconcelos (2009: 5), Feng Zhongping et al. (2009: 77 and 102), and Hew Strachan (2010: 2-7), the topic still preserves its attractiveness because of the areas not clarified yet. That motivates this article to focus primarily on the question of **"If the international system has evolved to a multi-polar system in terms of power relations or not?"**, and if the answer is "yes" than the question of **"If the evolution process has been completed or not?"** Depending on the results of this discussion, *the role that might be played by governance mechanism* in the way of the sustainability of a possible multi-polar system will be introduced, particularly considering the conflicts and crises of the last decade. Hence, it is assessed that the study may provide a useful background for the future discussions on the *roles of the governance mechanism to assure the balance of the multi-polar international system*, and may contribute to literature by bringing *glocal integrated governance approach* to the discussions related to the **conflict resolution** and **crises management** activities in a multi-polar, multi-lateral, and multi-layered global order.

<sup>2</sup> Some examples of the existing Turkish literature concerning the axis shift question of Turkey are as follows: Yusuf Çınar, "Türkiye'nin Ekseni Neden Kayıyor? (Why Turkey's Axis Shifts?)", USBED- Uluslararası Stratejik Bakış Enstitüsü (International Strategic Outlook Institute, 02.08.2013; URL.: <http://www.usbed.org/turk-dis-politikasi/news-turkiyenin-ekseni-neden-kayiyor.html> , (accessed on 05.05.2014); Şaban Kardaş, "Türk Dış Politikasında Eksen Kayması mı? (A Shift of Axis in Turkish Foreign Policy?)", *Akademik ORTA DOĞU (Academic Middle East)* 5 (2) (2011), s.19; Ertan Efeğil, "Türk Dış Politikasında Eksen Kayması Sorunsalı: Batı-Yöneliminden Anadolu Merkezli Anlayışa Geçiş mi?", Murat Ercan Eds, in *Değişen Dünyada Türk Dış Politikası*, (Nobel Yayınları, Ankara, 2011), s. 405-427.

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### Historical Evolution of Power Balances

As stated above, the topic *on the evolution of the recent international political system to a multi-polar structure* is often being indicated by the academic literature as mentioned at the previous paragraph.

With a similar approach, one of the aforementioned writers, Álvaro de Vasconcelos (2009: 1) indicates the fall of the Berlin Wall as the end of the “bipolar world system”. By the decision of world’s being changed dramatically after the 1990s, with the historical events as the milestones of the global political history like the wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo and consequently following these painful and tragic events, the first experiences of EU at the military crisis-management operations, de Vasconcelos draws the final picture as follows: “Basically, the Post-Cold War’s ‘unipolar’ world turned into ‘multi-polar’, and as a result the West can no longer tackle global issues – made more pressing indeed due to this very transformation – on its own any more than it can deal singlehandedly with regional crises” (Vasconcelos, 2009: 1). Due to the similar assessments, the foremost power centers of the globe have started brainstorming to foresee the possible conditions of respective multi-polar system within the following decades.

The predictions asserted by the National Intelligence Council of US (NIC)<sup>3</sup>, related to the upcoming decades, give the hints of the frame of a multi-polar system in question, with an assessment as follows: “The 2025 Global Landscape Relative Certainties: A global multi-polar system is emerging with the rise of China, India, and others. The relative power of nonstate actors — businesses, tribes, religious organizations, and even criminal networks — also will increase”. This assessment foresees two possible trends: (1) *The rising of new powers among nation-states* (Some literature names those countries as BRIC countries<sup>4</sup>, some adds to BRICs other rising economies such as, Argentina, Turkey, Indonesia, and South Africa which can be abbreviated as BRICATIS countries<sup>5</sup> or some evaluates them as BRIC+VISTA countries by adding Vietnam, Indonesia, South Africa, Turkey, and Argentina<sup>6</sup>, (2) *The rising of new powers amongst nonstate actors*. Both possible developments indicate new and more players at the stage of the international arena. This phenomenon inevitably recalls the upcoming of a multi-polar system. The presuppositions of NIC concerning the likely impacts of such a system are also remarkable: “By 2025 a single international community composed of nation-states will no longer exist. Power will be more dispersed with the newer players bringing new rules of the game while risks will increase...”<sup>7</sup>. In addition to the aforementioned foresights, NIC (2008: VI) also asserts that the

<sup>3</sup>. See for further details: NIC-National Intelligence Council of US, *Global Trends 2025 - A Transformed World*, (US Government Printing Office, Washington DC, November, 2008), s. IV.

<sup>4</sup>. Many authors of the existing academic literature names the rising global powers with the abbreviation BRIC, some examples of which are as follows:

Tomas Hult, “The BRIC Countries”, *Global Edge Business Review*, 3(4) (2009):1 states as: “Brazil, Russia, India, and China form the so-called BRIC countries”;

Thomas Haugaard and Jens Anton Kjærgaard Larsen, “The BRIC countries”, *Monetary Review 4th Quarter 2004*, (Denmark Nationalbank, DK-1093 Copenhagen K.): 39 state as: “There is increasing focus on the four large emerging market economies: Brazil, Russia, India and China, called the BRIC countries”;

David R. Borcker, “Accounting, Culture, And Emerging Economies: IFRS In The BRIC Countries”, *Journal of Business & Economics Research*, 10(5) (May 2012):313 state as: “The culturally derived accounting orientations of four major emerging economies, Brazil, Russia, India and China, the BRIC countries...”.

<sup>5</sup>. e.g.: Nikhil Atale, “A Decade of BRICs: Prospects and Challenges for the Next Decade”, *The Indian Journal of Management* 5(2) (July-December 2012), s. 16-21.

<sup>6</sup>. e.g.: Chun-Yao Tseng, “Technological Innovation in the BRIC Economies”, *Research Technology Management*, (Industrial research Institute Inc., March—April 2009):29-35 state that: “VISTA was named in 2007 by Japanese economist Takashi Kadokura, president of BRIC Research Institute in Tokyo, for the five newly rising countries (Vietnam, Indonesia, South Africa, Turkey, and Argentina)”.

<sup>7</sup>. See: NIC, 2008, s. IV.

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international system will be a *global multi-polar one* with gaps in national power *continuing to narrow between developed and developing countries* by 2025.

The back frame of this assertion is supported by **structural realism** approach. Thereby it is important primarily to expose the differences briefly among the academics representing the *liberal concept*, *globalization approach*, and *structural realism approach*. It is also important to touch upon briefly to the Concept of International Society and Regime Theory.

Theorists espousing the **liberal concept** as Joseph S. Nye, and Michael W. Doyle try to explain the constitution of the international system by focusing on the activities of the nonstate actors. Whereas, the scholars defending the **globalization approach** like Immanuel Wallerstein qualify the international system as the Capitalist World Order and see it as an exploitation mechanism between the “Periphery”, and the “Center”<sup>8</sup>.

Regarding the **Concept of International Society**, Bull and Watson (1984: 1)’s definition presents a useful understanding of international society as “a group of states or a group of independent political communities, which not merely form a system, in the sense that the behaviour of each is a necessary factor in the calculations of the other...”. According to Barry Buzan (1993: 328) the **Concept of International Society** and **Regime Theory** are “part of the same tradition, but due to the peculiarities of academic discourse, they have become largely detached from one another”. The scholars bring serious critiques for these theories as well. For example Buzan (1993: 327) states that, without defining “a clear boundary, **the concept of International Society** is too fuzzy to be used either for comparative analysis of different international systems or for analysis of the historical development of any given international society”. Regarding **Regime theory**, Andrew Hurrell (1995: 49-72) states that, since the theory is focused too much “on the particular and the rational, it has lost sight of some broader normative and legal elements on which the phenomenon of contemporary regimes rest”.

On the other hand, according to the **structural realists** the phenomenon designating the constitution of the international system is the distribution of power among the actors. Regarding the studies related to international conflict “scholars have developed at least two prominent models of the conditions under which conflict is likely to arise: structural realism and deterrence theory. Structural realism focuses mainly on the attributes of the international system, while deterrence theory emphasizes the resolve and relative military powers of states” (Huth, Gelpi and Bennett, 1993: 609). Of course there are different frictions within structural realists as well. John J. Mearsheimer (2006: 75) pulls attention to the differences between the **defensive** and **offensive realists**. According to the author “defensive realists emphasize that if any state becomes too powerful, balancing will occur...”. On the other hand according to the offensive realists “the threatened states usually balance against dangerous foes, but they maintain that balancing is often inefficient,... and that this inefficiency provides opportunities for a clever aggressor to take advantage of its adversaries”.

For example, while evaluating the relations between Russia and China in an article, Alexander Lukin (2010: 12-27) investigates the joint interest areas, which might be developed without the interventions of the external powers on the separatist internal activities or on the economical developments, within the frame of multi-polar international political system and according to the power distribution among the actors of this system.

<sup>8</sup>. See: Ertan Efeğil, and Nezih Müsaoglu, “Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Dönemin Uluslararası Sistemin Yapısına İlişkin Görüşleri Üzerine Bir Eleştiri (A Critique on the Concerns About Structure of International System After the Cold War Era)”, *Akademik Bakış* 2(4) (2009), s. 2.

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Returning to the main axis of this study, questioning the structure of the international political order requires a structural realist approach “if it’s being multi-polar or not?”, since each pole represents a power center. From this point forth, the historical periods of power balances can be constructed convenient to the structural realism approach. Depending on the changing balances of the power distribution in time, the structural realists investigate the constitution of the international system by splitting into the following historical periods: “(1) Pre 1776: Multi-polar Period, (2) Post American Revolution: Loose Bipolar Period between Great Britain and France, (3) Post 1815: Power Balance Period, (4) Bipolar Period: between Crimean War (1853-1856) and 1st World War (1914-1918), (5) Post 1947: Bipolar Period between the Soviet Union and the USA”<sup>9</sup>.

By following the structural realist path and depending on the emerging changes on the power balances, two new periods can be added to the existing and above listed five terms as follows: (6) 1991-2001 Unipolar Period: between the Collapse of Soviet Union and the Intervention of the USA and Allies to Afghanistan, (7) Post 2001 Multi-polar Period: after the Afghanistan Intervention.

Due to the fact that, the military intervention to Afghanistan, initiated by the USA and United Kingdom (UK) on 8 October 2001 with a justification of “legitimate self-defense”, forms an important breakpoint for the rearrangement of power balances. In other words, the constitution of the international system has gone into significant changes from that date on. According to Mohammadi (2014: 1600) due to the “significant geopolitical position” of Afghanistan, “regional and global powers wanted to dominate this region. New developments in Eurasia region increased the importance of Afghanistan once again and turned it into a combat arena for the regional and global powers”. Consequently this event can be seen as the *historical harbinger of the end of the unipolar system* and the rise of the multi-polar international system. Syria and Iraq region is another area for the covered and/or explicit power contestation of the global powers since the World War the 1<sup>st</sup>. If we evaluate the region together with the geopolitical importance of East Mediterranean it is possible to state the historical paths of the conflicts in the region with the assessment of Akalın and Çelik (2012: 22) as “while Ottoman Empire was in endeavor of survive which was the most important problem of it, the ownership rivalry of British and French even other European Powers on East Mediterranean is very striking”. Demir (2011: 696) points out that this struggle between the global powers has continued after the World War the 2<sup>nd</sup> as well. Birsal (2013: 142)’s assessment related to the importance and the critical role of Anatolia “as being neighbors with Romania and Bulgaria, together with the Blacksea, by providing a safe exit on terrain and marine paths for the energy resources” to be transferred towards Europe is only one example among many indicating the geopolitical significance of the region. So the recent conflicts in the region can be assessed as the successors of the ones started a century ago. The **conflicts ongoing in Syria** since 15<sup>th</sup> of March 2011, those have started after a statement was written on a school wall as “People want the Regime to be collapsed” (AA Web page, 2014) by a group of students, and **unrest in Ukraine** since 11<sup>th</sup> of December 2013, those have started upon ex-President Victor Yanukovic’s refusal to approve a treaty related to integration process with the EU (Hacıoğlu, Hurriyet Web page, 2014), recall the hints of the bipolar global system of the Cold War era in the first glance. But the long term duration of the crises and the multi layered character of the conflicts in Syria, the spread of the conflicts initially from Kiev to Crimea and than to Donetsk and other eastern regions of Ukraine, the failure of the international community to reach an immediate solution in both cases and the reluctant approach of the pioneering nation-states due to the mutual dependence especially in point of energy to each other complicate the situation and converts into a chronic nature. After all, the mentioned facts, and the multi-lateral and multi layered nature of the

<sup>9</sup>. For further details see Hans Binnendijk, “Back to Bipolarity”, *The Washington Quarterly* 22(4) (Autumn 1999), s. 7-14.

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problems prove evidence that the multi-polar world order is still the dominant global system surviving.

*Roles in the Post-Cold War Era and Emergence of a Multi-polar World System*

When addressed the post 2<sup>nd</sup> World War era, it is seen that the relations of the international system were formed according to the relations between the two most important actors of the period, USA and the Soviet Union, and in accordance with the positions of the others in relation to these two States. Efeğil and Musaoğlu (2009: 4) assert that the theoretical basis of the global order during the post Cold-war era presumably will be constituted by structural realist approach. After this assessment, the authors emphasize with a successive approach that, on the one hand in order to qualify the international system, it is needed to know the constitution of this system, on the other hand in order to determine the constitution of the international system, it is required to know the number of powerful states and power distribution among them.

Starting from this stand point it is possible to assert that, during the post Cold-War era, which was after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a kind of unipolar order reigned for a while, but because of the economic, military and geopolitical location, and due to the socio-cultural frame of the single global power of the period, USA, it was appeared that the sustainability of a unipolar order wouldn't be possible. By the way, independent from the name of any country, it is once more found out that, unrestrained power can easily turn out to be a leviathan, even if it is assessed as the most democratic one initially. Because democracy itself requires various powers *to check and balance each other*, and the environment in which the respective power/s is/are running does not bring any difference in relation to its being global, international and/or national. This phenomenon has given birth to the urgency of balancing the international system with other power centers, even by standing alone or by possible international and/or supranational mergers. In one sense, this occasion can be seen as a confirmation of the *accuracy of the structural realist* approach.

After anchoring the above developments, it is possible to benefit from the structural realism in determining the great powers of the Globe. According to the structural realist approach, a state must have three fundamental characteristics to be assessed as a global power: "(1) To have a significant level of economic, military, political, and etc. capacity, (2) To have the ability of influencing the allies, (3) To have a capacity of policy developing and implementing at the global level and far beyond the national benefits" (Efeğil and Musaoğlu, 2009: 5).

When above listed three features are scanned, it is found out that the first characteristic is directly indicating the *National Power Components (NPCs)*. The components of National Power can be listed as follows: "Political Power, Military Power, Economic Power, Demographic Power, Geographical Power, Scientific and Technological Power, Psychosocial and Cultural Power. Although they do not carry out all the features of being separate variables within the NPCs, the elements which have the capability of affecting all NPCs functionally, which are *Naval Power* and *Aviation and Space Power*<sup>10</sup>, may be assessed as the *force multiplying elements* of NPCs.

As a requirement of the information era, it is assessed as a necessity to add the *R&D (Research and Development) and Innovation Power, Soft Power (Public Diplomacy), and Governance Power*, as newly emerging components to the existing NPCs of the literature. Because without having R&D and Innovation Power, it is not seen possible to provide the sustainability of the Scientific and Technological Power at the outset, and then Military, Economical, Naval, Aviation and Space Powers and even Political Power in sequence. Sustainability in terms of power

<sup>10</sup>. See the publication by the General Secretary of the National Security Council of Turkey (MGK Gensek.), *Devlet'in Kavramı ve Kapsamı (The Concept and the Scope of the State)*, (MGK Gensek. Publications, No.:1, Ankara, 1990), s. 112-113.

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components may be assessed as one of the preconditions of being a global power center. As a matter of fact, it is evident that, no long term contribution may be provided by the existence of temporary, regional and/or periodic superiorities, to the sustainable balance of the international politics. In circumstances when the *soft power* of a state is *weak* or lacks the capacity of affecting the public opinions and perceptions on a legitimate basis, the perceived global level of all other power components will be degraded. That is to say, *soft power* or put another way, *public diplomacy capability* has turned out to be a force multiplying element for all other power components. As it is investigated in a more detailed manner hereinafter, *governance power* also carries weight with its *synergy creating potential* among all social stakeholders, within the limits of its impact and interest areas, by shifting the arithmetic sum of the individual contributions created by each power component to a logarithmic total contribution. In other words, the *temporary arithmetic sum of the decentralized power components* expands to an efficient, transparent, accountable, legitimate and *sustainable logarithmic total power* by the agency of integrated governance power.

The second characteristic of being a global power, which is stated as “to have the ability of influencing the allies”, on the one hand, depends on the strengths of all NPCs and the perception level of them by the allies, and on the other hand, it is closely linked to the public opinions and perceptions within the allied countries about the legitimacy, justness and sympathy, related to that power and its applications. With its one part, this concession is based on the prerequisite, which means that, a possible global power really has those efficient power components; with another part, it requires the activation of these superior capabilities at the right place and right time, in accordance with the universal principals of law and within the frame of legitimacy. Rediscovery of the public diplomacy efforts recently by most of the countries, notably by the USA also confirms this assessment. The constitution and/or activation of public diplomacy divisions within NATO and other international organizations can be seen as another proof of this phenomenon. NATO has started to follow a proactive strategy through its Public Diplomacy Division since 2004 (Akçadağ, 2012: 117). Because public diplomacy, by contrast with the conventional diplomacy, is not an information flow from an official of a state to an official of another, instead it is a direct information transfer from all the elements, even formal or informal, to the public of another state and at the same time, it is the process of understanding the expectations and general perceptions within other countries’ public opinions and pursuing the public opinions. Nancy Snow (2009: 1) supports this idea with her statement indicating that “public diplomacy involves both state and non-state efforts to inform, influence, and engage overseas publics”. That is to say, *public diplomacy includes a kind of bilateral information flow, both from and to a country, to and from another country’s public*. Therefore it may have a positive impact on the management of the perceptions related to the censored legitimacy of a state’s activities and thereby it may have a catalyst effect on the ability of *influencing the allies*. This feature also clarifies, as mentioned before, the force multiplier characteristic of public diplomacy.

The third characteristic of being a global power, as mentioned by Efeğil and Musaoğlu (2009: 5), the capacity of “policy developing and implementing at the global level, and far beyond the national benefits” may most prominently be shaped by all NPCs but notably by the political power. This also requires the well understanding and administration of global balance and relations by the political power of a state, which has the potential of sufficient NPCs. It is gradually becoming almost impossible to be able to run such a multi-lateral, and multi-layered, rapidly changing and sophisticated relations network, with the conventional government approach. So it seems inevitable that a well organized governance approach, which transforms all the stakeholders being affected by the decisions of all governing layers, from international and/or supranational organizations at the top to local governments at the bottom, as the active partners of the governing

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process, will be the main axis of a multi-polar international political system as well. As a matter of the fact, giving a special role and importance to **public diplomacy** at this point seems to be inevitable, on account of interactive information sharing and perception management, bottomed only on the facts, with all other stakeholders and players. On the other hand, **governance** has also a special importance with regard to rendering it possible for the *transparency* and *accountability* of the policies and their results initiated and implemented by the decision makers, improving the *regulatory quality* by preventing the malpractices, and improving the efficiency of the administration by ensuring the principle of *rule of law*. Consequently, in collaboration with all these aforementioned possible contributions, the governance approach, which also stipulates the political stability as well, carries out being a potential of forming a *principal mechanism for a sustainable multi-polar balance*, from the local systems at the bottom to the global systems on the top.

Within the frame of the information thus far, it can be said that, a multi-polar world system has inevitably emerged through the last decade, on account of the governance of the mutual effects of the global power poles, in the international political system. However, there exist some scholars especially from the Russian literature, arguing that the World has been transformed into a polarless structure. For example Vladimir Kolossov and Rostislav Turovsky (2001: 147) argue that “the Gorbachev doctrine assumed a transition from the bipolar to a polarless world, based on harmony and international entente, and without any hegemonic status within the system”. Political scientist E. Ya Batalov (2004: 37-51) asserts also that the contemporary world order can be defined as “polarless”. At this point, although there are some assertions related to world’s evolvement into a nonpolar international system, it can be evaluated as an early stage to claim that the World has already gone under a transition to a nonpolar structure, since there is not enough evidence to prove this suggestion yet, and due to the fact that it is not so easy to close the gap among the national power standards in the near future. Accordingly, the thesis asserting that a multi-polar global system has been emerged since the beginning of the 21st Century seems to be more valid and attracts more advocates<sup>11</sup>. By taking this assumption and all within the USA+ BRICATIS + JEU into consideration, the nation-states, which can be asserted as the poles or the ones which are carrying the potential of being poles, can be stated as follows: United States of America (USA), Brazil, Russian Federation, India, China, Argentina, Turkey, Indonesia, South Africa, Japan, and finally as a supra-national organization the EU.

NIC<sup>12</sup> of the USA also advocates the upcoming of the new global players in the 2008 document of *Global Trends 2025 - A Transformed World* as follows: “A More Complex International System: The trend toward greater diffusion of authority and power that has been occurring for several decades is likely to accelerate because of the emergence of new global players, the worsening institutional deficit, potential expansion of regional blocs, and enhanced strength of nonstate actors and networks”.

When the geographical positions, in which the above mentioned states and the political unions exist are investigated, it is found that *none of the actors excluding Turkey are positioned in the Middle East*, where was the hosting region for the ancient pioneering civilizations and the most powerful global players of the history and which still has a geostrategic importance with its rich

<sup>11</sup> Some of the existing literature advocating the existence of multi-polar global system was cited at the previous footnotes.

<sup>12</sup> See NIC, 2008, s.IX-XI for further assessment as: “The multiplicity of actors on the international scene could add strength— in terms of filling gaps left by aging post-World War II institutions—or further fragment the international system and incapacitate international cooperation. The diversity in type of actor raises the likelihood of fragmentation occurring over the next two decades, particularly given the wide array of transnational challenges facing the international community”.

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natural resources and geographical position. However, similar to its mission in the history, the region, in which the major conflicts, transition and power contests affecting almost all the humanity have been experienced since 1980s, still presents a position of being almost the geopolitical center of the World. Consequently, whichever of these countries turns out to be the main actor/s of the multi-polar system by transforming the potential of being a global power into reality, the probability of Middle East region to be the front line of a power collision in the 21st Century seems to be inevitable. It can be predicted that it is very difficult for the three regional powers of the area at issue, Turkey, Israel and Iran, not to be affected from the above situation and isolate themselves from the possible developments as well. It seems unavoidable that the land of the whole region herself to become the contest area of other pole centers within the 21st Century, unless the regional powers can provide a global actor amongst themselves or if they fail in filling the gap by providing an efficient joint platform, which will allow them to govern the internal and external dynamics in a better way via effective international governance. NIC's assessment related to the power shift from the West to the East (NIC, 2008: XI) also supports the suggestions expressed at the previous paragraph.

By the way, besides the expressions at the previous paragraph, it is evident to discuss on the issue of why the unipolar system has failed in ensuring the global balance. As indicated by some scholars "a significant development causing change in the nature of the war at the end of 20<sup>th</sup> Century is the collapse of the Soviet Union and consequently the termination of the Cold War" (Yalçınkaya and Türkeş, 2008: 56).

Principally, the unique and gigantic global power of the unipolar system which was tested after the Cold War era, the USA is positioned far from the geopolitical center and/or the node of the multilateral interests of all the other actors of the global system. Except this geographical distance, by taking the studies conducted by Geert Hofstede<sup>13</sup> or Fons Trompenaars and Charles Hampden-Turner<sup>14</sup> into consideration, it is possible to state that the cultural characteristics of the Americans are located in a comparatively distinct position from the cultures of the nations within the region at the scale of the national culture dimensions, and this distinction may explain the second reason of the failure. Because the impatient USA interventions, in which earlier mistakes successively triggered the following ones, neglecting the analysis of the cultural diversities have turned out to be a vicious circle. This sociological failure of US especially in censoring the public opinions in the related regions, most probably might have been caused by the low cultural proximity. After all, the result can be summarized as a *public diplomacy crash of the unique superpower on the Cultural Diversity Highway*. By using a dramatic simulation, with the same reactions of a "nervous leviathan" in a glassware shop, each movement of the single pole caused a new damage on the materials all around and each of the broken glassware was followed by another haphazard move. As a result of this vicious cycle, the unique superpower of the so called unipolar

<sup>13</sup>. See the following studies conducted by Geert Hofstede related to the national cultural dimensions:

Geert Hofstede, *Culture's consequences*, Abridged Edition, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1984): formulated four dimensions of national culture, labelled as **power distance**, **uncertainty avoidance**, **individualism-collectivism**, and **masculinity-femininity**.

Geert Hofstede, *Values Survey Module 1994 Manual*, (University of Limburg, Maastricht, The Netherlands, 1994): **long-term orientation** was added as a fifth dimension.

Geert Hofstede, "Dimensionalizing Cultures: The Hofstede Model in Context", *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, Unit 2, (2011), Retrieved from URL.: <http://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/orpc/vol2/iss1/8>, (accessed on 08.03.2014):The Hofstede model culture dimensions were than increased to six as: **Power Distance**, **Uncertainty Avoidance**, **Individualism/Collectivism**, **Masculinity/Femininity**, **Long/Short Term Orientation**, and **Indulgence/Restraint**.

<sup>14</sup>. See Fons Trompenaars and Charles Hampden-Turner, *Riding the Waves of Culture – Understanding Cultural Diversity in Business*, (Nicholas Brealey Publishing, 36 John Street, London, UK, 1997).

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system, which was expected to regulate the new world system, inevitably turned out to be a huge stranger in an unfamiliar environment. Before being too late and/or with the statement of Snow (2009: 4), saving the global power from “feeling a dollar short and a day late”, a new balance system suitable to the multi-polar world order has to be constituted. Snow (2009: 37)’s assessment as “the 21<sup>st</sup> Century is too important to leave in the hands of a nation-state” can be incorporated with an additional phrase as *and/or a few nation-states carrying potential dominant policies regarding the future of all others*.

Eventually, it can be predicted that, the farther it is located the single center of the so called unipolar system to the geopolitical focal or central point of the world, the more it will destroy the international order. This exactly recalls the disruption of the balance of a teeterboard, as the center of gravity slipped to the opposite side. So these metaphors may provide an understanding for the developments in the Middle East. Furthermore, not only did these unskillfully planned and strictly implemented policies cause an imbalance at the international, multilateral political order but also triggered a deep and long term crisis for the global economic order. Naturally, not only did this winding crisis affect the US economy itself but also the European Union (EU)’s economy the most, which has close ties with the gigantic economy and the market of the single superpower, located on the other side of the Atlantic. Of course the EU has a special role through the running of this process, having not been able to perceive the importance of a huge gap in the Middle East and being just an observer until the crisis hits herself. Whereas, Turkey, the chronic candidate of EU and a reliable ally as a member of NATO for more than half a century was just waiting nearby, which might have facilitated the transformation of the Union, to a global superpower from being just a handicapped regional one. Consequently, even if the EU herself has tried to provide the most suitable environment for governance, it is understood that the quality of the governance, domestically implemented only at the states’ level is not adequate alone but also it requires perfect governance at the Union and international level as well, including for non-state actors. The inevitable result of the lack of economic and political governance at the interstate level was missing the possible benefits; those might have gained at least during last two decades. The current status of *EU level hierarchical governance* itself is against the nature of governance mechanism, because the term *hierarchy* pushes back the status of governance to the standards of previous conventional governing or public administration.

To sum up, after all these developments at the global scale and especially in the Middle East, the deficits of the trial of unipolar system has provided evidence that, to be able to solve the multi-layered conflicts and problems, the balance of the global political system has to rely on a multilateral and multi-polar system, which has an essential dimension of creating at least one of the trustful and legitimate poles in the Middle East region. Of course a sine qua non necessity for a multi-polar system is that this process should be built on a governance mechanism, since it seems very difficult for the globe to overcome the possible conflicts or crisis without any serious and disastrous results, unless a perfect and comprehensive international governance system is established. Hence there is an urgent requirement for complete coordination among all the nations to prevent the possible harms of potential threats against the peace and humanity, such as: global diseases, terrorism, economic crises, environmental challenges, global warming, global unemployment or even the internal or regional conflicts, that have the global effects as in the case of Syria or Ukraine.

#### **Transformation of the Conflicts in a Multi-Polar System**

The changing global order inevitably affects the character of the conflicts as well. During the Post-Cold War era it is possible to see various actors including the organizations of United Nations, other international organizations, the representatives of various governments, armed

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forces, media, non-governmental organizations, counselors and academics in the battlefield (Yaçınkaya and Türkeş, 2008: 57) as well. Hew Strachan (2010: 2-7), in his article titled as “The Changing Character of War in a Multi-polar World” submits that the specific character of war is under a consistent change progress. The Author supports this assertion by indicating some periodic concrete evidences such as: (1) The main focus of the armies during the pre-1914 period was characterized by moral and technical modernization; (2) During the 1<sup>st</sup> World War period the priority was given to the utilization of artillery; (3) The 2<sup>nd</sup> World War period was characterized by the maturation of the battle tanks and aircrafts; (4) The strategy of the Cold War Period was developed pursuant to the capabilities of the nuclear weapons; (5) During the Post-Cold War period the operational sentiments were shifted to new areas such as “Revolution in Military Affairs, Network-Centric Warfare, and Transformation”.

In addition to those changes mentioned at the paragraph above, the experience which was gained after the military operations conducted in *Iraq* and *Afghanistan* evidently proved that, it is impossible to execute any military operation independent from the social, cultural, political, and geographical conditions of a conflict area. For example in Afghanistan, one of the conflicting parties uses the latest warfare products of technology with the outstanding contributions of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), missiles, attack helicopters and aircrafts. The other party, on the other hand, pursues the conflict by using usually cheap, easily achievable, common and simple weapons such as: AK 47 infantry rifles, RPG type anti-tank rockets, insidious mines and handmade explosives. While the 1<sup>st</sup> party is trying to use technology as a force-multiplier; the 2<sup>nd</sup> party is benefiting from the socio-cultural structure and feudalist loyalty of the tribal traditions as an asymmetric force-multiplier against the other one. Another important change has emerged with the effect of the media capabilities within the battlefield. In the current situation the media has also become a significant factor to be analyzed by war planners. Three different systems as embedded journalism, accreditation and the pool system should now also be considered in media-soldier relations without ignoring possible conflicts between the importance of secrecy for soldiers and the demands of correspondents (Yaçınkaya, 2008: 29). Thus, Strachan (2010: 2-7) also asserts that these recent conflicts have exposed the reality of wars having been shaped by the socio-cultural status and tribal or clannish loyalty of the local society, in which the conflict has been conducted, and eventually it has been unfolded that the said tribal or clannish loyalty is more important than the air force in today’s Hybrid War (Strachan, 2010: 6) conditions, in which the conventional and unconventional conflict methods telescoped.

If the recent conflicts in Syria are investigated closely, this telescoped structure can better be censored. The crises, struggle and the conflicts can be determined as below:

- There is a *covered power collision* and struggle among the super powers of the world over the surface layer, which constitutes the 1<sup>st</sup> layer reflecting the signs of a *cold-conflict*.
- Another *semi-covered power collision* and cold-conflict is ongoing among some of the global powers and some of the regional powers, and/or among the regional power centers both within and under the 1<sup>st</sup> layer.
- An *explicit hot-conflict* takes place between the Regime Forces (supported by one part of the global and regional actors) and the Opposition Forces (supported by the other part of the global and regional powers), which constitutes the 2<sup>nd</sup> layer reflecting both the signs of an *internal conflict* and *subcontractor conflict* simultaneously and which has if not global at least regional impacts, because of the current status of refugees and the borders.
- There are *other explicit hot-conflicts* among the Opposition Forces themselves, which constitutes the 3<sup>rd</sup> layer, and consists of *different sub-layers* in itself, some of which can be explained as below:

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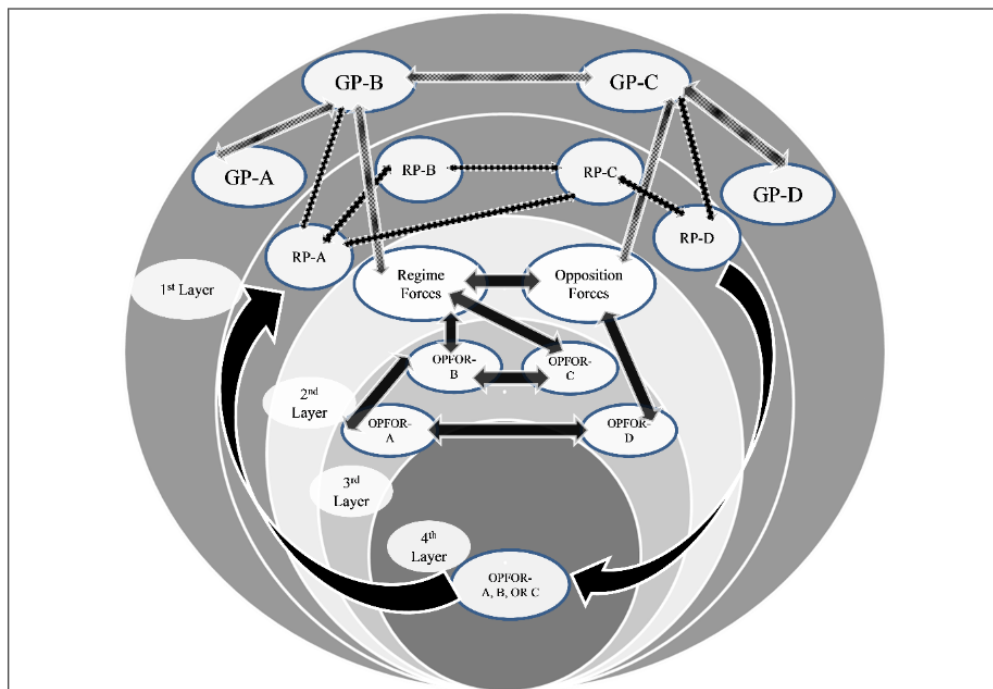
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- *Economics based conflicts*, ongoing related to the control of Oil Production fields between some Opposition Forces.
- *Ethnic based conflicts*, ongoing related to the control of some strategic settlements between the Kurdish groups and Arabic groups.
- *Sectarian conflicts*, ongoing between the Shia and Sunni groups.
- Last but not least, there are some *additional power clashes and/or cold-conflicts* between some parts of the Opposition Forces and regional administrations of the neighboring states, which constitute the 4<sup>th</sup> layer. For example the struggle between the Northern Iraq Regional Administration and the Kurdish Groups in Syria affiliated to PKK terrorist organization can be evaluated within this frame.

The above mentioned multi-layered structure of the conflicts in Syria and Iraq has converted the previous asymmetric warfare into a **supra-asymmetric** one which is named as **asymmatrix warfare** in this study and exhibited at the Figure below:

**Figure1: The Multi-layered Structure of the Asymmatrix Warfare in Iraq and Syria**



GP	: Global Power
RP	: Regional Power
OPFOR	: Opposition Force
	: Covered Cold Conflict:
	: Semi-covered Cold Conflict:
	: Explicit Hot Conflict:

Source: Own study

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After the given snap-shot of the multi-layered conflicts in Syria and Iraq, *which includes a kind of covered international macro-scale sub-contractor conflict among the global and regional powers, explicit meso-scale conflict among the major internal actors, explicit meso-scale inter-layer conflicts among the actors of different layers, and micro-scale, intra-layer sub-conflicts in each layer*, the recent formation of the war and conflicts in the multi-polar global order can be stated as: *An Hybrid War composed of Matryoshka\* Conflicts* which is named after as an *asymmatrix war* in this study.

The given nature of the conflicts in Iraq and Syria can be adapted to other existing or possible conflicts elsewhere during the multi-polar global era. This **asymmatrix structure** also brings an **incubator potential** to the regional conflicts. This means that *each micro but asymmatrix conflict may have a potential of global diffusion*. For example the multinational participation in radical terrorist organizations creates a nesting environment for the global spread of conflicts upon the return of their members to their home countries. This is only a presumption not proved yet, but there is one certain thing that, multi-polar and multi-layered structure of the conflicts has already added new factors to the warfare. Within the frame of the evolvement towards a multi-polar world order, Strachan (2010: 6-7) indicates three new factors, which carry out the potential of changing the nature of the war as the integration of the “**UAVs and the robots**” to the warfare field, “**cyber war**”, and “**media activities**”. Even if this claim needs some more time to be proved on the ground, there is something certain that, *UAVs* have been used intensively in Afghanistan since the beginning of the intervention and are being used as the primary tools in Iraq and Syria by the Coalition Forces. Related to the second factor, which is *cyber war*, it can be asserted that there is no requirement for reciprocity. This factor doesn't have a direct fatal or injurious effect on the hostile party. But because of its indirect impacts, it can cause serious results if used for attacking on the air traffic control and/or health systems of the adversary side. When the third factor *media* is investigated, it is possible to assert that, the real time communication devices, such as the cell phones or other devices functioning through internet and social media have changed the path of the media activities. The *conventional military communication system based on the top-down order transfer and from down to top reporting system through the HQs and the bureaucratic process was beaten by this direct and fast mechanism*. All these developments and the chaotic nature of the multi-polar system itself coerce the leaders, decision and/or policy makers to seek new mechanisms to handle the difficulties, which they have not met before. The above developments did not change only the nature of the conventional war or conflicts but the characteristics of peace operations as well. While the peace operations of the Cold War era can be understood as typical conflict management exercises, those of the post-Cold War era are rather conflict-resolution exercises colored by strong ideational concerns (Gtingör, 2007: 10).

As a necessity of the postmodern era, within an environment in which all the certainties have lost their definiteness, pursuant to the requirements of a multi-variable based, multi-polar, multi-centered, and naturally multi-lateral and multi-dimensional space, a *comprehensive governance approach*, which renders the participation and satisfaction of all stakeholders possible, which allows the application of hybrid mechanisms, and shifts the current governance approach to a new quality, which is capable of running not only on a vertical line, but on an horizontal surface or even in a universe, should be developed and institutionalized.

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\* Matryoshka (Матрёшка) is a kind of hollow nesting doll, typically hand crafted, wooden made and painted in Russia and Ukraine. Each doll hides another smaller doll inside.

*The Requirements of the Multi-polar World System: Transition from Global Governance to Glocal Integrated Governance*

The contemporary international public law system, which has historically started since the activation of the Westphalia Treaty, envisages the prevention of force using at the inter-state relations. Within this frame, although the Nations League (NL) had been founded to secure and sustain the worldwide peace environment at the early stages of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, it could not produce sufficient solutions in the prevention of internal and/or international conflicts, ethnical collisions, racist clashes and infringement of human rights. A similar assessment can be made related to the performance of the United Nations, which is the successor of the NL as well. Especially after the World War the 2<sup>nd</sup>, the international law, which is identical with the decisions of the UN and the International Board of Justice, has been ignored in many cases due to the lack of coercive sanction power and because of the various allegations developed by the countries (Özkan, 2002:238; Bütükbaş, 2006: 75).

Consequently, in a totally unbalanced global environment, the mankind has created a new "Leviathan" but this time, without a social contract or a consensus. By inspiring from Thomas Hobbes's "*homo homini lupus est*" (man is a wolf to men)<sup>15</sup> approach, it can be mentioned that, the congenitally egoistic and expedient qualities of human being from the pre societal period can be transferred to the recent, extremely sophisticated but quickly accessible era of information as; "man is a wolf to liberalism" in a totally free and non-state intervened market environment and "a single super power is a wolf to peace" in an unbalanced global environment.

To return to the unipolar global system of the near history, both because of the failure of the unique representative of the unipolar system in bearing this mission alone and the high costs resulting from committing such a mission, and also because of the loss of legitimacy resulting from such misapplications as choosing a way to transfer the aforementioned costs to the shoulders of other and generally less developed countries' people, those countries have started to look for new ports to take shelter in. Consequently the relations between the nation-states have started to evolve to a more complex and multi-dimensional matrix structure. So the bipolar planar relations of the ex-global order, being positioned only related to the "X" and "Y" dimensions have started to hand over their superiority to a new, multi-polar and multi-dimensional space system being positioned according to at least "X, Y and Z" dimensions. It is clear that this shift has changed the arena of the international balance from a planar structure to a spatial constitution. Finally the slip of the mutual relations from a plane to a spatial structure has caused the generation of the following consequences:

- *Firstly*, the policies of the nation-states have wandered away from being unconditional and predictable under most situations. In conjunction with this transition, the numbers of the independent **variables** affecting the results of the equations related to the international policies and the numbers of the dependent variables being affected **have increased**.

- *Secondly*, on account of nation-states, which are the private individuals of the international political order, the practice of going into **collaboration** under convenient circumstances and matters **with all alternative actors**, those which share common interests, has taken over the priority from acting always jointly with one certain state or a definite party under all circumstances and about all matters.

- *Thirdly*, the status of the countries has changed, insomuch as the peace conditions, from being allies or hostile parties of each other to a position of being partners, customers,

<sup>15</sup>. From the Turkish translation of: Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Translated By: Semih Lim, (Yapı Kredi Publishing, 10th Ed., Istanbul, Turkey, 2010), s. 99-103.

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suppliers or economic competitors. Consequently, the **mutual positions** of the countries have started to **present a variable status** according to the sectors or the matters on the agenda. This phenomenon has given birth to chronic and multi-lateral problems; each carries out a multi layered nature and each layer contains a unique character.

- *Fourthly*, albeit different countries had separate and private characteristics, the partly or totally state controlled economic orders of the Cold War era in some parts of the World have transformed into a free market economy as a global wave during the multi-polar period. (Eg. The ex-Soviet and/or Eastern Bloc countries, which have been integrated to EU). Hereof, the state controlled conventional diplomacy composition has also gone into an evolution and primarily the public diplomacy approach has begun to diffuse and institutionalize at the global scale and finally a shift to **free policy diplomacy** has started. This shift has provided a capability of making policies free from the strict dictations or the influence of the pacts having been associated for the nation-states.

Within the frame of aforementioned developments, Turkey can be discussed as an example, as being one of the candidates of the multi-polar system. With a more descriptive approach, Turkey's latest policies such as going into partnerships in some areas with USA, Iran, Russia, Brazil, Georgia and Turkic Republics on the one hand, and going into competition in some other issues on the other, provide evidence for the above mentioned multi-lateral positions. For example, while implementing joint projects related to the energy lines with Russia on the one hand, she is trying to materialize similar projects with Azerbaijan and Georgia on the other hand, and moreover developing alternative partnerships with Iran. By building various and alternative pipelines, Turkey is trying both to assure the security of the energy stream and thus to provide different energy resources for her European economic partners. However, when the latest developments in Syria have been investigated, it is seen that she stays at the opposite side and goes into competition with Russia and Iran since the national benefits are not harmonious, while acting together with her traditional allies, such as the USA and other western powers. The similar attitudes of the countries can be observed towards the conflicting parties in Syria as well, if the situation is deeply analyzed. All these developments reflect a snapshot of the multi-lateral and multi layered structure related to power relations at one region of the world, which exhibits the indications of a multi-polar global paradigm. As a result of all these evolutions, the current governance system can be questioned at all levels, starting from the basic local systems to the global level, and can be revised accordingly for at least an acceptable minimum satisfaction of all stakeholders.

To achieve such a satisfactory result, the governance mechanism can be shifted to a new and comprehensive structure incorporating all levels and layers. As in the case of governance within the free market economy and/or within the administration systems of the nation-states, the same approach can be applied to the governance among the states at the international level, and supranational level as well. In terms of successful integrated governance, the *sine quo non* dimensions of the phenomenon, those were accepted as the indicators of the good governance quality should apply to UN level governance, as well as the state level.

Setting forth from the total quality management techniques and adapting to "*glocal integrated total governance*" or abbreviated as "*glocal integrated governance*" concept; "0 (Zero) mistake at first and each time" in providing public service for improving the quality level of the public administration and government; "transparency during execution", "full participation of the stakeholders or the social partners to the decisions" and "accountability at all stages" should be warranted. When this process is lifted to the UN level, the implementation of the integrated governance may require and naturally lead to a concrete change at the UN organizational structure and at the "consensus" based decision making system of the Security Council, which should

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provide a more facilitating and legitimate environment. The progress can be started by changing the role of veto players in the decision making system of Security Council with a “*Consensus minus One*” system, which may speed up the decision process in urgent conditions. Briefly this new structure should be constructed with respect to the law of all men (Hobbes, 2010: 104) mentioned centuries ago by Hobbes as the following: “*quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*” (do not do unto others what you do not want done to yourself). This UN based paragraph can be concluded with a statement by inspiring from President Obama’s answer to a question of Steve Kroft of 60 Minutes about “Why him and why now?”. It is possible to adapt his answer, which was originally focused on national concerns, to a global scale by replacing only three words: “country” (original word used by the President) to the “**World**”, “I” (original) to “**UN**”, and “American” (original) to “**Human**”. By applying these changes, the mission which the UN has to fulfill now could be stated as follows: *We are in a moment of history where perhaps the most important thing we need to do is to bring the **World** together, and one of the skills that **UN** brings to bear is being able to pull together the different strands of **human** life and focus on what we have in common*<sup>16</sup>.

The EU, having not been able to perceive and/or accept the ultimate transformation of the whole system could not keep up with the dramatic change also and consequently fell into a deep and complex crisis. Because, being able to successfully predict the strike of a multi-dimensional crisis requires a totally objective standpoint for overall system. Each dimension, which is if not contradicting at least challenging to each other, but providing support on the other hand in a well-established configuration, has its own characteristics to be analyzed. So this contradictory constitution may well be named after as “Hierarchic Cosmos-Chaos Structure” with Ola Tunander (1997: 17)’s words. This might have been the case in Turkey’s membership journey to the Union as well, if the Union could have discovered the promising positive contributions of such a process in time. However, The EU herself could not present a positive “absorption capacity” related to the differences of Turkey or at least could not accept and/or tolerate them as the **harmonized prosperity of synchronized disparity**. This can well be found in Bozkurt Güvenç (2007: 15)’s decisions on the consequences of cultural differences as “the answers given by the scientists, artists or theologians may vary or even may have contradictions for the questions of –why the humans or societies resemble to each other in time or how much difference they have, why and how they transform etc.- The difference is not the matter at this point. What matters is the unity and integrity, symbolized by the diversity”. Several reasons can be produced to understand the basic tenets underlying the treatment of the Union. Firstly and may be the most importantly, the Union treated the membership process of Turkey as an almost impossible and inconclusive effort because of the religious roots of the majority of the country’s population. Secondly, the shades of history prevented the EU to notice the quick economic development of Turkey within the last decade, which might have provided an impetus or a fresh steam for the locomotive of the Union’s economy as the Union has recently presented a status of dormant volcano if we put aside the situation of Germany. Consequently this economic myopia caused the policy makers of the EU to fail in understanding the geopolitical role of Turkey, which might have provided further benefits for the Union, especially throughout the Middle East region as well, at least until the emergence of Syrian refugee crises. Last but not least, whereas the EU herself has conceptualized and enforced to transfer the governance approach hierarchically to the entire member and candidate states during the last two decades, she herself has failed in analyzing and drawing lessons from the multi-dimensional and inter-dimensional spirit of the governance approach in fact. Because not only does governance require a top-down communication and governing system but also a vice versa flow of information and a positive interaction among all units within all dimensions.

<sup>16</sup>. Adapted from: Snow, 2009, s. 8.

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### Conclusion

Finally, a sine qua non necessity for the prospective multi-polar system seems to be an integrated governance mechanism with all its prerequisites as transparency, voice and accountability, effectiveness, regulatory quality, political stability and control of corruption. Due to the aforementioned difficulties in overcoming the possible global conflicts and crises, a perfect glocal governance system, covering all layers of administrative mechanisms from the highest global and/or international platform to the lowest local one or in other words, a system of “glocal integrated governance” from top to the bottom has to be established. Of course the structure of this so called “glocal integrated governance”, which is to be enforced with a performance of “0” failure tolerance and with an effective system legitimized by the equal and full participation of all social partners, has to be initiated at the supranational level or with more specific words at the UN level, with all its irrevocable qualities.

In relation with the full participation and representation of all different social partners, both at the national and international level, a pluralistic approach should be adapted to the governance model instead of the existing majoritarian way of conventional administration methods. Such a pluralistic comment may provide the national governments to transfer most of the expectations of the different groups including the minorities into reality while it provides the international or supra-national organizations to satisfy the requirements of the 3<sup>rd</sup> World Countries. Such an approach should of course be concentrated on *human factor* and *the sustainable development of humanity* with respect to all diversities of culture varieties. With an inspiration from Turkish highbrow Edebali’s advice to Osman I, during the foundation of Ottoman Empire as “**get the people to survive, so that the state survives**”, this human centric principle can be transformed as “**get the humans and all cultures to survive, so that the globe survives**”. This principle requires a glocal integrated governance system, which respects and preserves all cultural diversities in every aspect, by applying a facilitating regime, that supports a real multiform and rich culture composition instead of a top-down coercive one, which has tried to create a uniform but poor culture. So the focus of integrated governance model should rely on harmonization instead of uniformity. To sum up, a glocal integrated governance model should be based on a pluralistic approach instead of a majoritarian way of policy formulation both at the national and supra-national levels and it should be measurable not only at the theory and legal basis but at the implementation performance as well.

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