



**IRPOSTS**  
magazine



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---

**4- Russian-Turkish Deal On Turkish Stream**

*Bahar TEMİR -  
Mehmet Uğur ÇETİNKAYA*

**9- Did Competitor China Turn Into a Partner China of Western Countries?**

*Melis PEKTAŞ*

Media

---

**12- The Fourth Power in International Relations: Media**

*Elif Ayşen BENLİ*

Africa

---

**14- Kenya**

*Andrew KIMWOLE*

Middle East

---

**17- Israel - Palestine Conflict**

*Benhur KÖSE*

**30- Syrian Crisis and Second Cold War Threat**

*Ismail Batuhan YURDAER*

**32- Ortadoğu**

*Aslıhan BULUT -  
Merve KARAÇELİK*

Being a Foreign Student in Turkey

---

**35- Discovering My True Self**

*Elaha SALEHI*

America

---

**37- What is the Problem with Referendums?**

*Fatma ŞEKER*

Europe

---

**38- Brexit: The Beginning of a Marginal Period**

*Begüm ALTINDAĞ*

**40- The Issue Of EU And Greek Occupation in the Islands Belonging to Turkey**

*Ayça TOPKAYA*

Article About Question

---

**44- Ego Wars**

*Berkay BULUT*

Kitap Tavsiyesi

---

**46- Bir Ekonomik**

**Tetikçinin İtirafları-Diplomasi**  
*Deniz KARAN*



## RUSSIAN-TURKISH DEAL ON TURKISH STREAM

In 10 October 2016, Turkey and Russia agreed to sign a pipeline deal on Turkish Stream which will transport Russian gas to Europe through Black Sea. This deal was signed in the presence of Vladimir Putin and Recep Tayyip Erdogan in Istanbul, while Putin was in Istanbul for 23rd World Energy Congress. This was Putin's first visit to Turkey after G20 summit in Antalya. It was the most remarkable meeting and agreement between Russia and Turkey whose relations got difficult and were bumping along the bottom after downing of the Russian Su-24 war plane over the Syrian border of Turkey in November 2015. Putin and Erdogan met in Istanbul and they had an extensive negotiation on how to improve relations which had just begun to normalize between the two countries, the unfolding events in Syria such as Turkish Military Intervention and also plans to aid the besieged city of Aleppo. After the negotiation which lasted 100 minutes between Putin and Erdogan, they agreed on the Turkish Stream gas pipeline agreement. After the downing of Russian Su-24 war plane over Syrian border of Turkey, Turkish and Russian relations worsened. As a result of this event, Russia imposed travel bans on its citizens to Turkey and also sanctions on agricultural products. These sanctions influenced both countries in a negative way.

However, after the letter from Erdogan who apologized to Putin, Turkish and Russian relations began to normalize gradually. With this agreement which is going to change Europe's energy map, the normalization process reached its peak. In their bilateral discussion, Putin and Erdogan touched on the subject such as energy corporation, Syrian issues, Turkey's intervention in Syria and a plan of humanitarian aid for Aleppo with both leaders renouncing their collaboration in these issues. Turkish Stream is a project which was announced by Vladimir Putin in December 2014. With this stream, Russia plans to transform Russian gas to Europe from the Turkey-Greece border via Black Sea. According to Russia, this stream project is a proper alternative to South Stream. Additionally, Russia who transports its natural gas to Europe via Ukraine, decided on this Turkish stream energy project as an alternative due to the political stance of the European Union during the War in Donbass, Ukraine. Instead of South Stream which was planned to transport Russian gas to Europe through Bulgaria, Russia agreed on Turkish Stream in order to preserve its leadership and its power on the energy and natural gas market. Besides European Union's behaviors and supports to Ukraine during the War in Donbass, and because of the disagreements which arose from Bulgaria Russia agreed on Turkish Stream in order to preserve its leadership and its power on the energy and natural gas market.

Besides European Union's behaviors and supports to Ukraine during the War in Donbass, and because of the disagreements which arose from Bulgaria about the South Stream project which was planned as an alternative and rival project to Nabucco pipeline project, it played a major role for Russia's new preference.

Gas transformation from one place to another is a really hard thing to do. Security is a major issue all by itself in the first place. But this gas transformation can be very profitable to developing countries like Turkey, especially if it's done in a collaboration with a superpower of the world, Russia. Lately, leaders of Turkey and Russia came together mainly to agree gas pipeline deal. Putin and Erdogan allowed the plan that will adjust an energy flow by bypassing Ukraine. That energy flow mainly changes Europe's energy map. The project's name is Turkstream, which is going to be operated by Gasprom, the main company of Russia in gas field. There will be 2 strings at the first place of the project, both first and second strings will have the capacity of 15.75 billion cubic meters each. This pipeline will carry tons of energy and will go beneath Black Sea. Also this project was firstly purposed by Vladimir Putin, as a replacement of the abandoned South Stream Pipeline. The old pipeline involved Russia and a couple of European countries like Bulgaria. Bulgaria government killed this project because of the other European countries pressure. Also, Turkey and Russia need permission from Bulgaria in order to build this new pipeline.

This new stream, Turkish Stream, will have the length of 900 km. Each of the two offshore pipelines is made up to thousands of individual pipe joints of 12 meters length. The pipes are produced in special mills and shipped to construction yards on the coats. The walls of the pipeline are made from 39 millimeters of high-quality carbon manganese steel and each joint to improve the mechanical characteristics of the pipe so that it can withstand the huge pressure. Pipes laid closer to the shore are coated in concrete for added stability and protection against marine activities. Pipelines are safe, convenient and efficient way to transport natural gas from source to destination. When fully operational, TurkStream will offer a reliable energy supply for Turkey and the wider region by delivering 31.5 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually. The previously mentioned crisis of shooting down a Russian Su-24 war plane over the Syrian border by Turkish military delayed the project until Erdoğan's apology. After that, the relationship between Turkey and Russia went better until the coup happened on 15 July.

Due to that unexpected situation , nearly all the projects were suspended. Luckily ,the coup attempt was foiled and Turkish public show their power. After the failure of the coup attempt, nearly 100.000 people were dismissed from their jobs because of supporting Fethullan Gulen. It can be understood that people who are dismissed from their jobs, helped Gulen in some way and he found the power in himself to do the coup. Afterwards, normalization process accelerated between Turkey and Russia that eventually led to the official conceptualization of this Turkish project. This project will affect Turkey, Russia, Bulgaria and some Eastern countries mostly. Turkey's economy and relations with Russia got better with this agreement. Working with a company like Gazprom, carries your reputation at a higher level and your future projects' will easily take place with the other big companies.

## TURKISH STREAM



When considering its engineering part, constructing the pipelines at the bottom of a sea is really difficult thing to do. Engineers and controller team have to control the construction field. The needed compaction and filling processes must be done by them before the placement of pipelines. And the pipes must have some qualifications like pressure resistance, water resistance etc. to transport the gas safely inside the pipes. Also the controller team should use some sea vehicles to film underwater, the construction field. That vehicle named Remotely Operated Vehicle (ROV), this vehicle makes possible to investigate the deep seas and investigate objects on the path. The ROV can also carry other instruments like sonar or a manometer to ensure all relevant objects are found.

Furthermore, the technical and material specifications of TurkStream are setting new standards for the gas transport industry. The TurkStream offshore pipeline will be the largest system ever to be laid at depths as low as 2,200 metres. To ensure that the highest international standards are maintained from one end of the pipeline to the other, third party inspectors will be on hand during every stage of the project to perform rigorous third-party checks. Some other technological devices are using for that project like a multi-beam sounder.

That device is used to emit a broad acoustic pulse, which bounces back onto the seabed in different ways to reveal the seabed profile. From here, a 3D model is formed which shows the depth of the water and shape of the seabed. That technologies are making our engineers job easier than the early ages. The other issue is security, making the pipes resistible for pressure, water and some sea activities is really important. If this applications are not applied, all the investment goes for nothing and there will be tons of losses for the related countries. It also harms the sea life at the deeper levels of seas. That because the pipes are thick and the materials that used in the production process is very strong and workable in the bottom of the sea. Pipes laid in shallow waters are coated with 5-8 centimeters of concrete for additional stability. For the sea structures, the most important thing is to avoid corrosion. To avoid it, externally 3 layers of polypropylene coats in Turkish Stream project. Inside of it, an internal epoxy coating against friction applying([turkstream.info](http://turkstream.info)). Epoxy is best known as a type of durable glue that provides a high level of bonding properties that are far superior to most ordinary paste style glues. On the outer layer of the pipe, there is a concrete coating to protect the pipe from external forces([wisegeek.org](http://wisegeek.org)).

In this project however, there could be some issues like security and corrosion. To avoid that, various applications will implemented and controlled frequently by some technological devices. This project is very profitable and that can take Turkey's reputation to a higher level. By that reputation, Turkey's economy in the future, might increase rapidly. Making such kind of projects will help developing countries, like Turkey's economy Russia and Turkey agreed on acceleration of the process of constructing Akkuyu Nuclear Power plant which will be constructed and will be run by Russian companies. Besides, Putin said that Turkey and Russia agreed on the discount in natural gas prices that Turkey imports from Russia. In addition to Turkish-Russian agreements and negotiations about gas and energy market, states also struck a balance about the important events which are occurring in Syria.

Even if Turkish Stream which is extremely important for Turkey, appears in the press considerably, other issues which were discussed in the meeting are significant in terms of regional conflicts and Turkish-Russian collaboration about Syria. Although Russia and Turkey have different point of views and principles about Syria , Putin and Erdogan agreed on delivering humanitarian aid to Aleppo. Turkey abandoned relations with Assad's cession of administration, and continues to support opponents to Assad's regime and Russia who is the ally of Syria, announced that they compromised majority on the humanitarian aid to Aleppo which is under siege. As a member of Nato and wants to be a member of EU, Turkey whose relations with USA and EU are getting tenser after the 15 July coup attempt, signed such as important and comprehensive agreement with Russia in energy market, this agreement causes anxiety and curiosity in USA and EU because of the position and importance of Turkey. From Turkish Stream project to Syrian issues, that were discussed by leaders in the meeting, Putin who wants to menace to EU, Erdogan whose relations are in a bad odor with USA and EU, discussed such regional and international issues and released to the public the Turkish Stream project.

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## Did Competitor China Turn Into a Partner China of Western Countries?

In September 2016 from 4th-5th, China was privileged to host the G-20 summit that was attended by various world leaders. G-20 summit is an annual assembly of world leaders that constitutes developing and ever-developing countries. The aim of G-20 is mainly to enhance economic cooperation among member states and other institutions involved. These international organizations are for example IMF, UN, WTO, OECD and ILO. The G-20 was primarily formed as a result of 1999 Asia Economic Crisis by finance ministers of the USA and Canada. Thus, they invited twenty countries to be part of it. These twenty countries have some specialities which are apparently the major conditions needed to become a member, these are their population, geostrategic location and national income. Until 2008, only finance ministers and leaders of central banks used to convene together for G-20 summits but after that, leaders started to be in attendance. Every country can present their ideas and drawbacks in summits with open and equal criticism, after the process, a declaration is constituted. This declaration binds all member states involved with overwhelming promise of arriving to its aim. However, in case of violations, countries are held accountable through



*G-20 have main agenda topics as follows:*

- Global economic conditions and globalization-induced issues
  - Activities of the World Trade Organization
  - Raising the standard of living
  - Face problems of national economy
  - Inequality of income and struggle against poverty
  - Water, energy and food security
  - Exchange rate and monetary policies
  - The situation of poor countries and external debt
  - Environmental problems
  - International financial, economic rules and standards
- 
- The stability of the international financial system, economic cooperation and integration activities
  - Employment
  - Political conflicts, civil wars, terrorist groups and their financial sources

International viewpoints and perceptions about China changed rapidly during the 2008 global economic crisis. Western always criticised China because of its exchange rate manipulation and unfair trade. However after the economic crisis, China's threatening role changed in the eyes of Western countries and they started to believe that China can be a main actor to solve stabilization of global economy and structural problems. Especially, after 2009, President Hu Jintao had a very good prestige thanks to developing performance of China that prompted his arrival to center of G-8 and G-20 Summits.

China could be a motor for liveliness of Western economy. It is the second biggest exporter and the third biggest importer thanks to its more than 2 trillion foreign exchange reserve. In this case, global economic growth and rise of welfare are also top priorities for China. In addition to that, China can deal with the global crises without greater loss. However, China cannot save the global economy alone because local socio-economic problems and preferences can cause new balances with Western trade partners.

According to global governance, after China became a member of WTO, its traditional tendencies gave primacy for management of trade relations and liberalization. China was always silent about long-term politics of many sided-foundations but if there is a very important national interest for China, it also raises its voice. This situation is the reason why China is allowed by other countries for infrastructure works.

If China continues to become important in global economy political system, it should get in contact with other countries. The ongoing economic growth that has spanned over years has helped China as a source of taxation and investment of aerospace and military. Also China could buy American treasury bonds thanks to economic growth, in addition, it has a say in the global arena. China's population is a really important purchasing power which simply means its a big market for Europeans. However, according to the USA and EU, China's macroeconomic management models do not have enough power of substructure to reshape global governance and consumption format.

Hangzhou Summit was really important because as said before China has some problems with the US and EU about criterion of WTO. China controls its economy with governmental formations and China's domestic market is close to Western companies. Actually, the close market is not proper for "fair-play" rules. This situation proposes an item for the agenda about government interventionism and it violates the game rules of classical liberal economy. Therefore the leaders of Western countries wants China be loyal to WTO.

There are also some problems about investments between China and Germany. Especially, Merkel, she underlined problems of German companies for China in G-20 Hangzhou Summit. This case means that China develops protectionism rules, when the governmental formations make an extension to Europe and Australia. However this protectionism caused England and Australia to start to block investments of Chinese companies. If China will not be loyal to criteria of Western countries, it will not be included in western market economies.

Another important event was the regional and global security for G-20 because China has some problems with the East, South Chinese sea and Korean peninsula. Some months ago, International Arbitration Court also found..... against China and it caused some discussions. However, China on its defense, proved its claims with historical context but these claims are not only threat for regional countries but also important for Western countries because of security of shipping trades. John Kerry recommended that China and Philippines should find a peaceful resolution about South Chinese Sea. Actually this situation is not only related with Asia region because the South and West Chinese Sea became a new "conflict" area.

However, the main topic was the low global growth rate and innovative global development which a solution of it was obtained in G-20 summit. In addition to that, there is a need to support structure of international trade, energy and human capital. Nine main articles that were identified in the declaration are as follows:

- International trade and investment should be revived
- Encouragement of innovation
- Encouragement of employment reforms and utilisation of education and skills
- Structure should be improved
- Supporting of financial reforms
- Development of financial system
- Support of competition and improving of the business climate
- Inclusive development should be supported
- Environment should has maintained

President Xi Jinping made a speech at the closing ceremony of the G-20 Summit and he said " We cannot depend on only money and fiscal policies. We agreed also about reviving of trade and investment because these are bases of growth." According to him, member countries of G-20 should not be binding for short-range policies, they should also evaluate mid-range and long-range policies. In addition to that, instead of the taking under control of demand, countries should concentrate on supplying reforms.

## The Fourth Power in International Relations: Media

People and communities are in a continuous relationship and dependency and they are not out of it even if they want to. This is the case at every stage of history and will continue to be so. Especially, after the Second World War, this issue started to have collective structure between states and international organizations with effect of globalization. 'Globalization has removed the concept of imperialism and it is used as a concept describing a unity around the world, interdependence, a common destiny, a common future and democratization.'<sup>1</sup> These alteration has uncovered freedom of expression, caused increasing of social control requirements culturally, politically and economically and along with that, it has provided efficient use and diversification of communication and media tools.



'The idea of communication is necessary for modernization, personal and national development was included in international roaming but this modernization was only Western based. While Western type of people and society were glorified, the things that were local, were seen as an obstacle.'<sup>2</sup> According to political scientist, Huntington's political modernization and Rostow's economic development theories, less developed countries (Third World) and developed countries (Western Countries) are among the exchange and developed countries helps underdeveloped or less developed countries as matters winning national identity, establishing nation, self-sufficiency, political and social order. (Wide! : The Story of the Fox and the Chicken "more information at the end of the article")

When viewed today, this process accelerates with dissemination of communication and media tools and it emerges as a modern exploitation method in cultural and ideological meaning. The world generally was integrated to capitalist values and good or bad every attempt or every ideology has been advocated as to meet the people's aspirations. At the same time the balance of power in international arena started to take form with influence of the media so the states which hold media instruments in their hands, used them efficiently and increased their technological capabilities continuously, can drive other states as they wish, can have leadership in international agenda and can organize, take decision and action faster against international problems.

In addition to this, 'the leading figures in the realist theory, Morgenthau and Carr have partitioned the concept of international power as military, economic and power at the top of convictions and emphasized that propaganda is very effective tool for political control all around the world, too.'<sup>3</sup> On the one hand, since the First World War, various communication campaigns and propagandas were applied on the people for creating perception management against the war and attrition of opposite side, on the other hand, during the Cold War period, this policy was used intensely for spreading an ideology or target audience by the states and by using some mass media such as advertisement, TV programs, movies, gazettes, even subliminal messages or some academics who work for certain coterie or imposing certain ideology to people or famous personalities who have certain fan groups. At the same time media could be used for justifying an action by governments in internal or external issues.

The achievement of propaganda depends on how it can reach many people and media is most important and easiest way for it. In 2012 American Presidential elections, Barack Obama used digital media such as YouTube and Twitter effectively and maybe this gained elections for him. Another example; shortly before the night of 15th July Coup Attempt in Turkey, the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan connected to broadcasting with Facetime program, informed the citizens and called upon them to take to the streets to oppose the coup. This phone call, through the media, made the coup to fail and took the country to the initial status but with widespread purge of coup plotters. This saved the future of Turkey.

As a result of the use of media tools, speed and propagation of information has increased, social integration has accelerated, individual participation in politics and also civil society actors (non-governmental actors) in global politics have increased. In international relations, transparency and shirt-sleeve diplomacy gained importance as mutual confidence-building effect and media has helped to protect international stability and peace. 'Likewise, media is one of the most important organs for creating the world public opinion. For example; in 2014 'The Ice Bucket Challenge' movement spread to whole world for attracting attention of ALS disease.'<sup>4</sup>

Finally, media confront us as fourth power after the military, economic and socio-cultural terms in international scale and even it can be accepted as fourth power after legislative, executive and judiciary terms in domestic scale. Today, media emerges as the most important instrument for influencing and transforming of social and international events. 'If states disregard this point and only focus on the military capability, they are doomed to exclusion from the international community like North Korea.'<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, governments stay unsatisfactory against their citizens.

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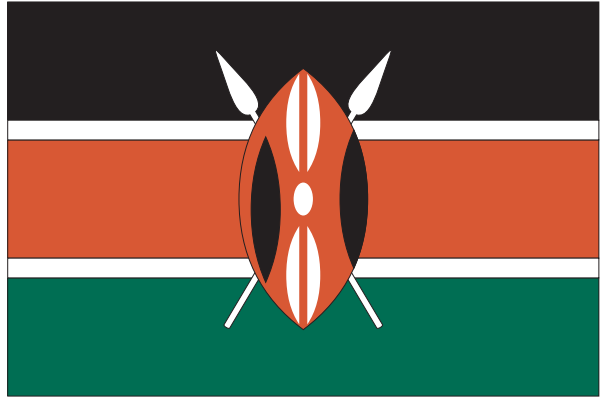
Please visit the website for understanding the Turkish version of "Fox and the Chicken" story.

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Elif Ayşen BENLİ

## KENYA

Kenya is a country located in Africa mainly on the East of the continent. Kenya's capital city is Nairobi which also happens to be the largest city in the country. It is a country that became independent in December 1963 from the British rule and since then it has strived to raise its profile on the global arena.



Geographically, the country is located on the equator and therefore has a warm and humid tropical climate especially on the Indian ocean coastline. On the north, Kenya is bordered by Ethiopia, on the west by Uganda, south by Tanzania, North West by newly formed South Sudan, and North East by Somalia. The purpose of this article is primarily to accustom readers on necessary knowledge about Kenya, further inform them some interesting facts about the country and bilateral ties between Turkey and Kenya.

Firstly, according to national census of 2009, Kenya had a population of approximately 38.6m people but as of July 2014, the number had risen to roughly 45m people. Transiting swiftly to basic knowledge that a non-Kenyan needs to know and perhaps a must-do while visiting the country, is the famous so-called 'Safaris' (translated to English as journey). With its diverse climate and geography, Kenya is a home of several wildlife reserves and national parks that a tourist can surely enjoy while visiting this beautiful land. In addition to that, it is also rich of world heritage sites and numerous beaches, where international yachting competitions are held annually.

Are you aware that Kenya is the Cradle of Mankind? well according to many anthropologists that is a reality. Therefore whenever you feel like visiting your ancestors one of these fine days, feel free to visit Kenya. Following a referendum in August 2010 and a subsequent adoption of a new constitution, Kenya became a federal state and it's now divided into 47 semi-autonomous counties, governed by elected governors. Nairobi, which is the capital, is a regional commercial hub. By GDP, Kenya's economy is the largest in East and Central Africa this is mainly because of agriculture which is the main source of employment for many Kenyans. Historically, Kenya is known for its huge and overwhelming export of tea and coffee and has off late begun to export horticultural products such as flowers to Europe. The country is also a founding member of East African economy and part of East Africa Community trading bloc as well. Industrial services have also increased in the recent years.

Kenya has several ethnic groups that generally speaks mother tongue in their own communities. The two official languages, English and Kiswahili, are used in changeable degrees of fluency for communication with other populations. English for example, is commonly and widely spoken in schools, trade and commerce sectors and government. In rural areas, many dwellers are monolinguals speaking only their respective mother tongue languages. British English is principally used in Kenya. Moreover a dissimilar local dialect, Kenyan English, is a language mainly spoken by a section of individuals and some communities in the country. It has some features unique to it borrowed from local languages. For a while now, it has been developing and contain some elements of American English. In addition to that, there is a so-called Sheng language in Kenya. It is basically a language based on the mixture of English and Swahili and is commonly spoken in urban areas. Imagine gossiping behind your parents with them having no idea of what you are talking about? well, some old people have a grasp of it so you better be careful while using it. Ever heard of a linguistic code-switching? This is one of them.

On food, quite a good number of Kenyans generally have three meals in a day. These are breakfast in the morning loosely translated to (kiamsha kinywa), lunch in the afternoon (chakula cha mchana) and lastly supper in the evening (chakula cha jioni or at times referred to "chajio"). Just after breakfast, Kenyans occasionally have a 10 o'clock tea (chai ya saa nne) and 4 p.m. tea (chai ya saa kumi). Breaking down into what is eaten during this periods, for example breakfast, its normally tea or porridge 'escorted' with bread, Chapatti (originally form Indian sub-continent), Mahamri, sometimes boiled sweet potatoes which in my opinion is the best and healthy and yams. Generally for super or lunch, kenyan consume Ugali (mixture of boiled water and maize flour) with vegetables such as spinach or Kales, sour milk (commonly regarded as "Mursik" in one of the local languages), meat, fish or any other stew. In different regions across the country, dishes variations also exist. In western kenya for example the region's favourite dish is fish.

In regard to Kenya's bilateral ties with Turkey, Kenya opened its embassy in Turkey in 2012 that was officially inaugurated by the president of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta in 2014 witnessed by the then ministry of foreign affairs of Turkey, Ahmet Davutoğlu. Turkey on the other hand opened an embassy in Kenya way back in 1968 and since then it has been a sole and able partner in the continent by improving trade and bilateral ties with several African countries including Kenya. With Turkey's regime changes, it is safe to say that AKP has been the most successful. This is because of increase of several high profile visits, with Kenya for example, trade volumes and free trade agreements has tremendously between the two countries. Unlike the past, whereby Africa was seen as a hopeless continent, right now the continent is one of the rising continents. Some of potentials in Africa are mainly petroleum and natural gas reserves, metal reserves, renewable energy, vast agricultural space and developing markets, Kenya is not an exception to this. Ever wondered about a magical mass migration of wildebeests? Well, forget all the Tarzan movies that you might have possibly watched, Kenya is the place to be, a place to downplay your worries. What a you waiting for? Take a Safari to Kenya.

## **TURKEY DISCOVERS SUB SAHARAN AFRICA: GÖKHAN BACIK AND ISA AFACAN**

### **Additional interesting facts about Kenya;**

- Kenya's Great Rift valley was formed around 20 million years ago, when the crust of the earth was split.
- In Kenya, a passenger van meant for 9 people doubles that number
- Kenya is roughly the size of Texas
- Kenyan men are eligible to have many wives
- Despite the fact that Kenya exports a lot of coffee, many citizens prefer taking tea
- Usually, Kenyans drink their beverages either room temperature or hot, not cold
- The first African woman to win a Nobel Peace prize was a Kenyan known as Prof Wangari Mathaai in 2004 due to her exemplary environmental work.
- Most Kenyans are either very poor or very rich. It's very rare to find a middle class person.
- Dowry for marriage starts at 10 cows
- "Sleeping under a mosquito net is like making a tent in the living room when you were young", (Emily Young) interesting right'?

More than a Mission by Emily Young

<http://emilyyoung.theworldrace.org/post/11-fun-facts-about-kenya>

Andrew KIMWOLE



## ISRAEL - PALESTINE CONFLICT



The roots of Israel-Palestine conflict lies to 19th century. In early 19th century the Jewish people started buying land from the Palestinians. After a while the Jewish bought many lands and this started to take attention from the Palestinians. From the beginning the purpose of Jewish buying land was to establish a new country for the Jews. The reason was because the Jews see those lands as their ancestral homeland. The Palestinian started doing oppression after they saw the Jewish peoples intends. This act of Palestinians trying to defend their land was their right since they have been living there for 1200 years. This continued like this until the 1948 Nakba event. During this time around 700.000 Palestinian were fled to various places. This is the first time Palestinians started losing their lands to Israel by war. Today, there is around 2 million in Jordan, 427,057 in Lebanon, 477,700 in Syria, 788,108 in West bank, 1.1 million in Gaza Strip spread Palestinians. In 1978 with Camp David agreement the Palestinians got hurt a lot. Egypt was the leader country of the Arabs at that time and with this agreement they backstabbed the Palestinians by giving Israel some privileges. This disorder continued and the peak of these events started with Oslo peace agreement.

### **The Breakdown of Oslo Peace Agreement**

In 1993 things started to get well with the Oslo peace agreement until breakdown of it. "The causes of the breakdown of the Oslo peace process and the violent deterioration of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that began in September 2000 have been extensively discussed in accounts written by the architects of the Oslo peace process and thoroughly analyzed in numerous academic studies.

Some ascribed the failure of the peace talks to the nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an intractable, ungovernable, and insoluble conflict; others blamed the unwillingness of the parties to make the concessions necessary for reaching a settlement; still others blamed the mismanagement of the negotiations, the ill-conceived focus on an interim agreement rather than on a permanent agreement, the failure to address Israeli and Palestinian national narratives and ideas of justice and fairness, the failure of Israeli and Palestinian leaders to forge a coherent and lucid peace strategy or to garner public support for the peace process, and even the ineffective American mediation. Between the January 2001 Taba Summit and the year 2008, the Israeli Palestinian peace process was effectively caught in a deadlock, despite the numerous proposals that were put forward during that time, which included the Arab Peace Initiative, the Bush Initiative, the Road Map, the Nusseibeh-Ayalon Initiative, the Geneva Initiative, the Saudi peace plan, and the Annapolis Peace Conference. While many of these peace plans exhibited varying degrees of success in addressing some of the barriers that led to the breakdown of the talks, none of them fully grasped the extent of the barriers impeding the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Furthermore, these peace plans did not explore practicable strategies for neutralizing the barriers to a peaceful resolution of the conflict. After the Annapolis Peace Conference, the talks were split into two tracks: Ehud Olmert and Mahmoud Abbas on the one hand, and Tzipi Livni and Ahmed Qurei on the other. The difficulty in renewing the process since then only illustrates the difficulty of settling the conflict. Not only do most of the barriers that have prevented its resolution in the past still exist, but they have even been exacerbated since the beginning of the process in Oslo, following the failure of the peace talks and the ensuing violence."

***(Yaacov,Bar-Siman-Tov, 2010, p.15/16, Barriers to Conflict Resolution)***

Moreover, there are also some other factors that heat up the conflict and make it harder for both sides to make an agreement like the administration in both countries. "Both the Hamas takeover of the Gaza strip and the rise to power of right-wing parties in Israel are evidence that forces on both sides have emerged that cast doubt on, or even plainly reject, a negotiated settlement of the conflict, and prefer continuing the conflict to managing it, whether intentionally or by perceived necessity. This book calls attention to the pressing need for a thorough discussion of the barriers to a peaceful resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This discussion must be directed toward the identification and characterization of the existing barriers, as well as toward an examination of the possibilities and means (if any) for addressing and overcoming those barriers.

In the absence of such a debate, it is questionable whether it would be at all feasible for the various peace plans to advance toward resolution, and the circumstances would most likely leave the rival parties empty-handed once again, and on track to return to a cycle of violence. A comprehensive examination of these barriers to peace can also help assess the prospects for the success of the proposed resolutions (e.g., an interim agreement, a partial peace agreement that would not aim to end the conflict, or a comprehensive peace agreement that would end the conflict but not bring about reconciliation). This book outlines the barriers to conflict resolution and classifies them as tangible or non-tangible factors that can prevent or undermine an agreement.<sup>1</sup> These barriers are a result of the nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, its characteristics and history, and the relations between the parties. Barriers to the resolution of the conflict are the result of the contradictory interests of the parties on fundamental issues such as, for example, territory and borders. There are also barriers that arise from differences and contradictions between identities, values, beliefs, historical narratives, collective memories, and the myths of the parties regarding the origins and development of the conflict and the ways of managing it, as well as the feasibility of its resolution. These barriers can be strategic, structural, or psychological. Strategic barriers relate to the security risks involved in making peace in cases where the parties are required to make concrete concessions (territorial). Strategic barriers may also relate to the efforts of the parties to maximize their gains at the negotiation table and to drive a hard bargain at the expense of the other side by employing hard strategies and tactics."

**( Yehudith Auerbach, p.99/100/101, *National Narratives in a Conflict of Identity* )**

Furthermore psychological barriers are another factor for the peace process to slow down. "Psychological barriers are cognitive, emotional, or motivational barriers that are centered on national narratives and collective memories, and which hinder any changes in belief systems and attitudes towards the other side or towards the conflict. These psychological barriers affect the ways in which information is perceived and interpreted and add to the mistrust of the other side and of the peace process. Such barriers generate overconfidence that can impair the ability to direct the course of events. They promote exaggerated expectations for the success of realizing goals such as, for example, when they cause the negotiating parties to believe that time works on their behalf, and against their rivals. Such barriers promote the importance of absolute values – justice, fairness and equality – and undermine willingness to make concessions, to compromise, or to take risks. They undercut the need to set priorities and they warp perceptions of what is to be gained or lost (one example of this is the tendency to frame peaceful resolution of the conflict in terms of losses rather than gains).

These psychological barriers obstruct the ability of each side to assess the actions and intentions of the other side correctly. They also create bias mechanisms that affect the interpretation of each side's goals and strategies and further cause each of the negotiating sides to underestimate the commitment of the other side to resolving the conflict and making concessions. All of these barriers are interrelated and influence each other to the degree that it is sometimes difficult to separate them from one another. This book presents groundbreaking, original research; it presents the efforts of Israeli researchers, who use a broad range of theoretical and empirical methods from a large number of disciplines, to re-examine the barriers to the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This volume focuses on the unique characteristics of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that give rise to the unique barriers – structural, strategic, political, psychological, historical, cultural, and religious – that prevent or hinder its resolution. The barriers to peace described in this volume are set in the deeper strata of the conflict – national identity, values, belief systems, historical narratives, and collective memory – and they underscore the fundamental differences between the two sides with regard to their understanding of both the conflict, in terms of its characteristics and components, and of the possibilities for its resolution."

***Socio-Psychological Barriers to Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: An Analysis of Jewish Israeli Society***

When the Jewish Israeli are analyze we see how their psychological barriers change overtime. "The long history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the inability to resolve it peacefully, in spite of the numerous bilateral attempts and third-party interventions, imply that this conflict is vicious, stubborn, and resistant to such efforts. The lack of peaceful resolution can be attributed, to a large extent, to the functioning of very powerful socio-psychological barriers that inhibit and impede progress. These barriers are socio-psychological forces that underlie the disagreements and prevent their resolution by posing major obstacles to beginning the negotiations, conducting the negotiations, or achieving an agreement, and later, to engaging in the process of reconciliation (see review by Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2010). The purpose of the present chapter is to elucidate the socio-psychological barriers in Israeli-Jewish society that play a major role in the attempts to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict peacefully. We note that similar detrimental forces are undoubtedly operating on the Palestinian side, but their analysis is beyond the scope of the present contribution. This conflict has lasted over a hundred years and is still one of the most salient and central conflicts in the world. It has gone through various stages and developments during these hundred years, and still it remains unresolved and resistant to peaceful resolution.

Our fundamental premise is that the disagreements in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are not easily resolved in part because socio-psychological barriers prevent peaceful resolution of conflicts. These barriers pertain to an integrated operation of cognitive, emotional, and motivational processes, combined with a pre-existing repertoire of rigid supporting beliefs, world views, and emotions, that result in selective, biased, and distorted information processing. This processing obstructs and inhibits the penetration of new information that can help facilitate the development of the peace process. The applicable theoretical framework, which integrates various past approaches to psychological barriers for the resolution of conflicts, has been extensively discussed in some of our recent contributions (Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2009, 2010; Bar-Tal, Halperin & Oren, 2010), and its detailed description is beyond the scope of the current work."

**(2010, Eran Halperin, Neta Oren, and Daniel Bar-Tal, *Socio-Psychological Barriers to Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: An Analysis of Jewish Israeli Society*, p.28/29 Chapter I)**

### ***Peace beliefs***

With time the peace beliefs started to decrease and they were becoming less central for the Israeli. "Since 2000 there have been many indications that peace beliefs have become less central in Israeli society. For example, in contrast to previous years, peace is seldom mentioned in the 2003, 2006, and 2009 Likud and Labor election platforms, while the third largest party in the 2009 Israeli parliament, Israel Beytenu, explicitly declares in its platform that peace is not its main goal, and that it is secondary to other goals, such as security and the goal of Israel as a Jewish state. In addition, as violence erupted in 2000, the Israelis began to express pessimism about the chances of resolving the conflict. For example, with regards to the chances of peace, a survey by the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) shows a decrease in the degree of optimism, and an increase in the degree of pessimism – from 56% in 2001 who thought that it is not possible to reach a peace agreement with the Palestinians to 69% in 2007. Pessimistic views about the possibility of achieving peace have also been voiced in recent years in public interviews with Israeli decision makers and policy-makers. For example, Uzi Arad, Netanyahu's national security adviser, said in a July 2009 interview, "It will be difficult to reach a true Israeli-Palestinian agreement that does away with the bulk of the conflict. I don't see that in the coming years it will be possible to forge that different reality, which so many Israelis want."

Indeed, most Israeli Jews are pessimistic not only about the chances of reaching an agreement with the Palestinians but also regarding the chances that Percentage of the Israeli Jews thinking that it is not possible to reach a peace agreement with the Palestinians, such an agreement (if signed) would put an end to the conflict. Public surveys indicate that after the onset of the Intifada in 2000, the percentage of Israeli Jews believing that peace treaties would bring an end to the conflict dropped sharply from 67% in 1997 to 25% in 2007. Again, with such pessimism about the chances for peace, it is not surprising that Israeli polls indicate public resistance to the various proposals (including Israeli ones) to end the conflict (Bar-Tal, Halperin & Oren, 2010). The above description corresponds to the findings obtained in a study of 100 in-depth interviews carried out in 2003 (November 2002 – June 2003) about views of the Israeli-Arab conflict."

***(2010, Eran Halperin, Neta Oren, and Daniel Bar-Tal, Socio-Psychological Barriers to Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: An Analysis of Jewish Israeli Society, p.33/34 Chapter I)***

### ***Emotional Barriers in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict***

Fear is another thing that has a role in this conflict. The changes of fear levels in the Israeli society has also an impact on the perspective of peace. "Levels of Fear in the Israeli Society: As far back as the early 1960s, surveys among Jewish Israelis found high levels of fear (Antonovsky & Arian, 1972), and fear has continued to dominate the Israeli Jewish public opinion (Arian, 1998; Bar-Tal, 2001). More recently, after the outbreak of the second Intifada in the year 2000, the individual fear among Israeli Jews increased dramatically (Bar-Tal & Sharvit, 2008; Ben-Dor, Canetti-Nisim & Halperin, 2007). For example, while in the late 1990s (1999), only 58% of Israeli Jews reported that they were afraid or very afraid that they or their family members would be hurt by terror, in 2002 almost all Israelis (92%) felt the same way (Arian, 2002). Even in 2004, after the large wave of terror receded, 80.4% of Israeli Jews said that they felt afraid to board a bus and 59.8% said that they fear being around crowds or in public places (Ben-Simon, 2004). By and large, as can be seen levels of fear of future war and levels of fear of terror among Jews in Israel were relatively high and stable throughout the last decade (Ben-Dor & Canetti, 2009). On a scale of 1 (low fear) to 6 (high fear), levels of fear from terror did not drop below 4.78 even when the frequency of terrorist attacks dropped dramatically. These results suggest that since the year 2000, fear is a stable and central psychological characteristic of the entire Jewish society in Israel. In recent years, two additional sources of fear have been added to the assortment of individual fears among Israelis.

Almost half of the Jews in Israel (39.9% in 2006 and 40.6% in 2007) expressed a high or very high fear of non-conventional: Levels of Fear of Terror and of Future War Among Jews in Israel (Source: Ben-Dor & Canetti, 2009. Fear of Terror Fear of War 46 attack (nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons) that would hurt them or their relatives. (Ben-Dor et al., 2007). In addition, mainly after the second Lebanon war and the ongoing missile attacks on Sderot, many Israeli Jews (50.6% in 2006) have said that they are afraid that they or their relatives will be hurt by missiles (Hall, Hobfoll, Canetti-Nisim, Johnson, Palmieri & Galea, 2007). On the collective level, surveys conducted in the last decade found that a large majority of Israeli Jews still believe that ongoing terrorist attacks might cause a strategic, and even existential, threat to the state of Israel."

**(2010,Eran Halperin, Neta Oren, and Daniel Bar-Tal, Socio-Psychological Barriers to Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: An Analysis of Jewish Israeli Society, p.36/37/38 Chapter 1 )**

### ***Peace Negotiations Breakdown***

The peace negotiation attempts continued frequently in the late 21th century until the breakdown of peace negotiations."From July 11–24, 2000, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian National Authority (PNA) Chairman Yasser Arafat met with U.S. President Bill Clinton at Camp David to negotiate a final settlement based on the 1993 Oslo Peace Accords. Despite progress on other issues, the two sides could not reach an agreement on Jerusalem. Jerusalem remained a contentious issue because it is a holy city to Judaism, Islam as well as Christianity and the two sides refused to relinquish control of it. On September 17, 2000, according to the Associated Press, Palestinians announced any deal that did not include all of the West Bank and sovereignty over East Jerusalem, including the Haram esh-Sharif (Temple Mount) where the Al-Aksa mosque is located, would not be acceptable. Will 2015 be a Game Changer For The Israel-Palestine Conflict

It has been a long time since the first conflict has began but there may be some major changes to this situation in 2015."After over 60 years of conflict between Arabs and Jews in Israel/Palestine and over 20 years of political gridlock during the so-called Oslo Peace Process, conditions and events on the ground may be coming together to bring about significant changes in 2015. In 2014, two events laid the groundwork for these changes. First, the horrific Israeli war on Gaza, which killed over 2,000 Palestinians, most of whom were women and children, and which brought complete devastation to the infrastructure in Gaza, significantly altered the views of both the Palestinians and the international community at large, about the nature of this intractable conflict.

Second, the Palestinian Authority (PA) under President Mahmoud Abbas finally decided not only to talk and to issue threats about internationalizing the conflict, but also to actually take some action. These events, combined with the changing political situation within the major players—Israel, Palestine, the U.S. and the EU—have resulted in a much different political landscape. The devastation and humanitarian crisis resulting from the Gaza War has united Palestinians, if not their leaders, not only in Israel/Palestine, but also in the Diaspora. Within the international community, particularly in Europe, the devastation wrought on a trapped, defenseless population by the self-proclaimed “Jewish State”, has contributed to an increase in not only anti-Israel sentiment, but also anti-Semitism among the general population. The PA, seeing 20 years of fruitless negotiation go nowhere, faced with choices of living with ongoing occupation, pursuing a Palestinian state on the international stage or violent resistance, has finally decided to pursue statehood and membership in international organizations through the UN. The U.S., under Israeli pressure, has attempted to thwart this effort at every turn, several times vetoing resolutions that reflect its own policies. Despite strong U.S. opposition, the PA has achieved Non-member State status in the UN and in April 2015 will become a member of the International Criminal Court (ICC), a status which will allow it to bring war crimes charges against Israel as well as restrain its own ability to use violence against civilians to achieve its political goals.

The U.S. and Israeli response to these actions has been to threaten to cut off funding to the PA. Israel has begun to withhold payment of tax revenues that it collects on behalf of the PA in accordance with agreements under the Oslo accords. U.S. law mandates a cutoff of aid to the PA should it bring a legal case against Israel in the ICC, and legislation has already been introduced in Congress to cut off all aid.

These two sources of funding make up a significant portion of the PA budget. In past instances of a cutoff of funds, the oil rich Gulf States have made up the difference. In today’s environment of low oil prices, an environment that is already straining budgets in the Gulf States, such a rescue is unlikely. Should the funding cutoff continue for a period of time resulting in non-payment of salaries, a collapse of the PA is a likely outcome. This would end PA security cooperation with Israel, forcing Israel to bear the entire burden and cost of maintaining security, straining an already stretched Israeli budget situation.

On the domestic political side, Prime Minister Netanyahu’s unstable governing coalition has collapsed and snap elections have been scheduled for March. While any significant change in government policy is unlikely after the elections, the faces will almost certainly change.



In Palestine, President Abbas, an unelected leader, is nearing the end of his run and is thinking about his legacy. He will find it difficult to back down.

In the U.S., the Obama administration, having failed in two efforts to mediate the conflict, having maintained a staunch pro-Israel position throughout, faced with a hostile Congress and a lame duck status, seeing the PA move the issue to the UN, has lost all ability to influence the outcome. Obama is unlikely to wade into this quagmire again. While nothing is certain in this fluid environment, it seems that major shifts are likely. Whether or not they are positive remains to be seen."

***(January 12, 2015, Don Liebich, Will 2015 Be a Game Changer for the Israel-Palestine Conflict? article from foreign policy journal )***

***Abu Sway, M. (2008). "Roundtable: 1948: Independence and Nakba." Palestinesrael Journal, 15(1&2), 107-125.***



To sum up there are many factors that contributes to this conflict, and to solve this problem those factors should be eliminated one by one to reach a successful peace environment. "Conflicts are an inseparable part of human relations, including intergroup relations. Groups as individuals have contradictory goals and interests, which ignite the conflicts. There is no doubt that some disagreements are very deep and hard to resolve because human beings do not readily relinquish resources, control, power, or prestige. But the great difficulty in resolving conflicts peacefully lies also with the socio-psychological barriers that accompany many of the intergroup conflicts. Almost since its beginning, various attempts have been made, using a variety of formulas, and all were rejected either by one of the sides or by both sides.

The 1990s witnessed a systematic and intensive attempt that looked as if both sides were nearing settlement, but these attempts did not yield the desired solution. We attribute these failures mostly to the barriers, which are so entrenched in both societies that they are very difficult to overcome within a few years, after their having been constructed, crystallized, established, fed, and extended throughout decades of conflict. In this chapter we focused on the socio-psychological barriers that have plagued Jewish society within Israel. This focus does not imply that socio-psychological barriers do not operate on the Palestinian side. We focus on Israeli Jewish society, showing that Jews in Israel have developed a well-entrenched national ideology that provides solidly grounded arguments for leaving the current situation as it is. The foundations of the current ideology lie with Zionism and Judaism and served well the initial return of Jews to their homeland and the eventual establishment of the state. The 1967 war, with the occupation of new territories and with its unintended results, led to reconstruction of the ideology that aimed to present a new view regarding the situation that emerged. Basically, this ideology reformulated the ethos of conflict that dominated Jewish society prior to the 1967 war. In principle, it provided a system of organized societal beliefs that came to justify holding the occupied territories for various reasons – religious, historical, national, and security-based. In addition, these beliefs de-legitimized the Palestinians, negated their national identity, delegated responsibility to them for continuation of the conflict, and portrayed them as a threat."

The ethos were transmitted with various ways. "These ideological societal beliefs of ethos of conflict were transmitted through channels of communication and societal institutions. Over the years, Jewish society in Israel has undergone a major change. Nevertheless, many of the core societal beliefs of ethos of conflict and collective memory have remained dominant. This ideological system is reflected in the well-established view of a majority of Israeli Jews that only they are conceding territories and commodities in favor of settling the conflict. This means that the Israeli point of departure, even for many of those who favor settling the Israeli-Palestinian conflict peacefully, is that the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including their resources, belong to the Jewish nation and that Jews are the only side that contributes to peacemaking. This view explains well the difficulty, reluctance, and refusal of some to withdraw from the occupied territories, to divide Jerusalem, and to dismantle the Jewish settlements. No nation yields its territory willingly, and the growing readiness of Israeli Jews to withdraw from at least some of the territories is mainly a result of the insight that keeping them is very costly for the Jewish nation and for the State of Israel. The ideological conflict-supporting beliefs are accompanied by circumstantial conflict-supporting beliefs, which appear under various circumstances at various periods of time.

These beliefs support and provide additional concrete rationales for postponing the peace process. These two sets of beliefs constitute a coherent system with a consistent structure and a teleological basis that inhibits peacemaking. This system of beliefs is rigid as a result of structural and motivational factors and is resistant to change. Moreover, this system is often supported by general worldviews that provide a conservative outlook on the world. In addition, it should be noted that this system of beliefs is intertwined with, and related to, the emotional system that is an inseparable part of the sociopsychological repertoire. The described socio-psychological barriers greatly affect the information processing systems of members of society, as individuals and as a collective. They lead to a selective, biased, and distorted flow of information, which in essence prevents the acceptance and internalization of alternative information that can shed light on the conflict, the rival, one's own society, or the history of 51 the conflict, in a way that might contradict the ideological beliefs and advance new ideas about the necessity of peacemaking."

Instigating belief should motivate flexibility to adoption of optimal beliefs "We suggest that the instigating belief that fuels the motivation towards flexibility is based upon recognition of the incompatibility between the desired future, on the one hand, and the emergent future, the current state, and/or the perceived past, on the other hand. Thus the instigating belief provides motivation to re-evaluate the previously held beliefs and, in fact, leads to flexibility with respect to the possible adoption of alternative beliefs. The instigating belief or beliefs may appear spontaneously in the minds of people and not under any special circumstances, but usually they come to mind as a result of external conditions that force a re-evaluation of the previously held conflict-supporting repertoire (see the comprehensive analysis of the conception in Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2010). Specifically, the realization that facilitates openness to alternative information supporting peace processes is that the costs of continuing the conflict exceed the costs of compromise in peacemaking. It is also known that recognition of the costs is weighed more heavily than recognition of the possible gains resulting from peacemaking (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979).

This principle can be easily applied to the case of those parts of Jewish Israeli society that accept the principle of a two-state solution mainly because of "the demographic threat," which suggests that the much higher rate of population growth of the Palestinian communities 52 in Israel and in the Palestinian Authority will soon affect the population balance and proportionality between the two largest ethno-religious communities in the region and, as such, is expected to lead to the creation of a Palestinian majority within the next few decades (Gayer, Landman, Halperin & Bar-Tal, 2009; Soffer 2008). This realization led to the relaxation of attitudes among known ideological hawks such as former Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and former Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni and to their acceptance of alternative beliefs that support considerable compromises. Undoubtedly, there are other arguments and processes that lead under certain conditions to a relaxation of attitudes that, in turn, could later lead to the acceptance of beliefs that support peacemaking and even reconciliation. We must always remember that human beings are the ones who decide to launch bloody conflicts and that they must also, therefore, be the ones to decide to initiate and finalize a peace process."

***(Yaacov, Bar-Siman-Tov, 2010, p.363/364, Barriers to Conflict Resolution)***

In my opinion, Although the roots of this causes started with Nakba, the breakdown of the Oslo agreement was what fired the conflict between Israel and Palestine. I think Israel wanted the breakdown of the Oslo agreement so it can occupy Palestine. In addition to do this, one mistake for the conflict was the sides focus on temporary agreement rather than permanent agreements. There were many negotiators in this conflict ,but I believe they were just to show off instead of actually solving the problem.

The peace process is difficult at the moment because meanwhile right-wing parties got power in Israel and Hamas got power in Palestine these sides don't want peace they want to handle the situation on their own. I think Israel does not want an agreement because they want more land. Also both sides want maximum benefit from the agreement which makes it harder to make an agreement.

Since the beginning of conflict both sides have done some things but there are psychological barriers between each other and it prevent them from understanding each others real intend. I think Israel is seen from outside like it wants the conflict to keep on but there are Israel researcher that are investigating the barriers so they can solve the problem between two countries.

The conflict Israel and Palestine is like an illness because there are many elements that want to solve the problem, but the conflict resists them like a virus. In addition, we see the conflict reason as land, but the real reason is underlying social psychological barriers which prevent both sides to make an agreement. I believe if the conflict is researched enough, they can develop a theoretical strategy and then apply it step by step.

I believe that as the conflict ages, people get more unwilling to solve the problem because during 2003, 2006, 2009 Israel's elections, the number of "peace" words decreased. This shows Israel does not want peace as much as before. Overall, I think this conflict being stubborn increased the number of pessimistic people in Israel, but before there were many optimistic people who believed this conflict can be solved.

There are some other factors as well which prevent sides to make an agreement, which is fear. During the 1960s, about half of the Israel population was afraid of terrorist attacks, but after 2000, the number increased 90%. I think this situation affected the people's sociology because even though the frequency of terrorist attacks decreased, the fear was still high. In addition, they see a terrorist attack as a threat to their country, which makes the peace process harder.

To solve the Israel and Palestine conflict, the majority of the people should agree on the same goals because each individual's goal and interest is different from each other. This is one of the main reasons why there is no agreement. In addition, Israel sees those lands as his own because of Zionism and Judaism, so I believe this supports their current perspective for no peace. I think also Israel wants to get more land from Palestine, so they are keeping their current ideology.

There are not many people who want peace because the West Bank and Gaza Strip both belong to Jews, and there are only sides who support peace. During the last years, the conflict has increased, and Israel had to give up some of its land. I think this was a good decision because it was costing the Israel state too much.

The tension among both sides increased because the desired situation and the current situation is in a conflict. In addition, people should hold their instigating beliefs and be very careful with their actions, especially in these conditions because it's all ready hard to solve the problem, and instigating beliefs can create big problems and hinder the peace agreement process.

Palestinians' efforts to keep their lands with the agreements instead of forfeiting them was their right. They have been ruling those lands for the past 1200 years until this conflict began. Since the beginning of the conflict, Israel has been trying to take land from the Palestinians with agreements or war. Palestinians' strict principles about lands during agreements was the right move.

The late events that happened with Israel killing over 2000 innocent Palestinians which are mostly women and children is the main reason for the world to change their perspective to this situation. Also, the Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas's determination to bring his ideas into action is another factor. With these factors contributing to Palestine becoming a member of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2015, it will be a game changer because Palestine would be able to accuse Israel with war crimes, which will cause Israel trouble.

Benhur KÖSE

## **SYRIAN CRISIS AND SECOND COLD WAR THREAT**

It's certainly of no doubt that in the recent years, Syrian crisis has steadily escalated to be at a level of relevance that has even drawn more researchers in international relations to dwell in it. This escalation is mainly as a result of immigration problems, conflict of interests, security problems and crimes against humanity. These situations have led major actors such as USA, Russia, Turkey, Syria and UN to participate in search of peace in the country. This article is going to explain further the background of the events to understand the situation of Syria today. Syrian civil war gained the global attention as a result of spillover effect of Arab Spring. Syria, together with other Middle Eastern countries, became victim of these protests that initially started in Tunisia mainly to topple the then existing regime.



The Arab Spring started in 2010 and then spread to the whole of Middle East with domino effect. In Syria, the main opposition party launched its first movement which was strategically inspired by the Arab Spring against President Bashar Al- Assad in March 15, 2011. However, in the long run, this movement turned into a civil war with an aim of establishing Free Syrian state. The civil war still continues up to now and has further resulted to international community intervention. As a result of the war, a huge wave of immigration emerged and immediately spread to other countries like Turkey and European nations.

In addition to that, there is the refugee problem. The Syrian civil war has caused a flow of refugees into Turkey and Europe which has indeed shown the main face of Europe towards its policies. Some of European countries who are even part of European Union gave the refugees a blind eye which ironically is totally against the criteria that they advocate to the EU candidate countries. On the other hand, this civil war has caused conflict of interests between USA and her allies against Russia and Iran. Russia and Iran supports the existing regime of Bashar Al- Assad while in contrast, the USA together with Turkey and other Arab states are against the regime. It is widely understood that Russia supports the regime mainly because of natural resources while the US together with the allies wants to protect the interests of Middle East. The USA has been offering support to Free Syrian army both economically and military.

Certainly, this civil war caused an authority void because as time progressed, the Syrian government lost control over its territory and in 2013, a new terrorist group known ISIS emerged. Just after seizing some territories in Syria, ISIS increased the level of confusion and caused more bloodshed. On the other hand, because of ISIS' terrorism, Turkey gave up the role of mediator and began to follow an active policy over Syria because of the emergence of new terrorism threat at the border of the two countries.

On the other hand, ISIS have conducted a series of coordinated attacks in different parts of the world especially in Europe. The frequent attacks eventually created a huge threat perception in internal security of different countries as well as clash of regional interests that prompted the US to form a coalition in August 2015 against ISIS. Although Russia and USA are part of coalition power, they both have different interest over the country and the entire Middle Eastern region. The Syrian war is actually the first major clash of interests between the two super powers since the end of Cold war. Moreover, the retake of the city of Aleppo in Syria has also created tension between USA and Russia. This tension or conflict has started to deepen polarization between regional and global actors once again. Because of the failure of the cease-fire in Syria, the US and Russia has kept on blaming each other and therefore seen as a sign of hot conflict between Russia and USA.

Both of them have nuclear weapons so it's very rare for a hot confrontation to occur between the two powers but we cannot rule out a possibility of second Cold War. This situation may become clearer in the future or this problem may be solved, nevertheless, a new cold war threat is scary enough for all humanity and therefore a troubled political process may be waiting for us.

İsmail Batuhan YURDAER

## ORTADOĞU

Bölge ile ilgili bütün akademik yazılarda da belirtildiği üzere, ilk olarak Ortadoğu diye adlandırılan bölgenin okurların kafasında canlandırılması çok büyük önem arz ediyor. Bölge; bugün ki Kuzey Afrika'nın bir bölümü, Mashreq diye adlandırılan Asya kısmı ve Arap Yarımadası'ndaki ülkelerden oluşmaktadır. Baskın olan Arap topluluğunun yanı sıra, bölgede Arap olmayan yalnızca üç devlet bulunmaktadır, bunlar; Türkiye, İsrail ve İran. Bölge üç ana dine de ev sahipliği yapmaktadır yani tam anlamıyla çok uluslu ve çok dinli bir yapıya sahiptir. Bu farklılıklar göz önüne alındığı zaman, dışarıdan bir müdahale olmasa bile çatışmanın fazlasıyla mümkün olduğu açıkça gözükmemektedir. Çok uzun bir dönem boyunca Osmanlı himayesi altında kalan Ortadoğu coğrafyası, Yavuz Sultan Selim'in fethinden, Thomas Edward Lawrence gibi arkeologlar bölgeye araştırmalar yapmak için gelinceye kadar göreceli sakin topraklardı. Bugün ise Ortadoğu denince akla ilk gelen şeyler; savaş, iç karışıklıklar, katliamlar, bombalar, saldırılar, öldürülen ve katledilen çocuklar, kadınlar ve çözülmesi zor sorunlar.

Ortadoğu coğrafyasındaki sorunlar Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun yıkılmasıyla Ortadoğu da söz sahibi olmak isteyen devletler tarafından fazlasıyla körüklendi. İngiltere ve Fransa bu devletlerin başında gelmekteydi. San Remo Konferansında Fransa, Suriye ve Lübnan'ı almış ve Sevr Antlaşması'nda Güney Doğu Anadolu'yu, diğer İtilaf Devletleriyle birlikte İstanbul'u ve boğazı da işgal etmişti. Fransa 1936'da Lübnan ve Suriye ile ittifak yaptı ancak Fransa Parlamentosu antlaşmayı onaylamadı. Fransa, Lübnan ve Suriye den 1946'da tamamen çekildi. Bir sömürge ülkesi olan İngiltere de Fransa ile Ortadoğu'yu bölmüş ve bölge içinde kendince sınırlarını belirlemiştir. İngiltere ve Fransa'nın Dünya siyasetinden çekilmesiyle, 1945'li yıllarda Ortadoğu ülkeleri bağımsızlıklarını tek tek ilan etti ve Dünya 1945'ten sonra yeni bir sürece girdi. İsrail de 1948'de bağımsızlığını ilan etti.



Son zamanlarda Ortadoğu sorunu dediğimiz olay aslında Yahudilerin Tevrat'ta, bu topraklar üzerinde hak talep edip kendilerine vaat edildiğini savundukları için ve bağımsız bir İsrail Devleti kurmak istemelerinden dolayı, Arap ülkelerinin de bu devlete düşmanlık beslemesinden oluşan bir sorundur. Ortadoğu'nun konumu ve yer altı zenginliklerinden dolayı bu düşmanlık uluslar arası bir sorun haline gelmiştir. Bölge din ve mezhep açısından da çok zengindir. Bu nedenle Müslümanlar, Hıristiyanlar ve Yahudiler içinde önemlidir. Örneğin; Kudüs her 3 din içinde önemli, kutsal bir şehirdir. Her 3 din de burayı kontrol etmek ister. Bu durum bu nedenle sorunlara yol açar. Önümüzdeki 20 yıl içerisinde özellikle Ortadoğu'da suyun bile petrol kadar önem kazanacağı görüşleri değerlendirildiğinde, dahası Suriye'nin Türkiye'ye karşı olan ve sürekli artan su talepleri de göz önünde bulundurulduğunda gerçekleşmesi muhtemel olan problemlerli bir ortama hazırlıklı olmak gerekir. Son 100 yılda Filistinlilere sömürgecilik, sürgün, askeri işgal ve kendi tarihini tayin etme mücadelesi getirdi. Tüm bunlara baktığımızda Ortadoğu'nun uluslararası bir sorun haline gelmesinde başka güçlerin etkisi var mıdır? Bu krizlere genel olarak Arap-İsrail sorunu diyebilir miyiz? Türkiye bu krizlerin neresinde?

'Bu kriz maalesef Türkiye-ABD ilişkilerini olumsuz etkilemektedir. Bu konuda en çarpıcı örnek, ABD tarafının İsrail'in meşru müdafaa hakkı olduğunu ifade etmesine rağmen Türkiye'nin şiddetle buna karşı çıkması ve saldıran tarafın İsrail olduğunu savunması Ankara-Washington arasına girmiştir.' (Yeditepe Üniversitesi Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi Prof. Dr. Mesut Hakkı Çaşın)

Büyük Ortadoğu Projesi (BOP) çıkış noktası 11 Eylül saldırılarıdır. Bu saldırı küresel terörizmin hangi boyutlara ulaştığını bütün dünyaya göstermesi açısından önemlidir. Bir başka önemi ise o güne kadar klasik yöntemlerle yürütülen küresel terörle mücadelenin bir işe yaramadığının anlaşılmasını sağlamasıdır. Çok bilinen bir uyarıdır; 'Sıtmadan kurtulmak için sivrisinekleri öldürmek yetmez, esas olan bataklığı kurutmaktır' Amerika geçte olsa bunu algılamış ve terörist üreten bataklıklar nasıl kurutulur arayışları BOP'un doğuşunun temelini oluşturur. Peki, BOP'un amacı nedir? Amacına uygun mu hareket eder

Kitle imha silahlarına, etnik çatışmalara, ağır insan hakları ihlallerine engel olmak, uluslararası terörü kaynağında kurutmak gibi gerekçelerle Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Büyük Orta Doğu Projesini gündeme getirdi. Bunlar kamuoyuna açıklanan gerçekler. Irak operasyonu da, Irakta kitle imha silahları var gerekçesiyle başlamıştı. Buradan yola çıkarak sizce bu projenin amacı nedir? Çünkü bu proje bugünün projesi olarak gözüküyor. Yıllar öncesinden planlanmış bir proje. Bu projenin asıl amacını anlamak için Amerika Birleşik Devletlerinin gerçek sorununun ne olduğunu ve neyi çözmek istediğini bilmemiz gerekir.

Çoğunlukla geri kalmış ülkelerin yer aldığı İslam coğrafyasının hem ekonomik hem sosyal yönden çağdaş değerlerle buluşturmak gibi yüksek bir amaca hizmet için ortaya atıldığı öne sürülen bu proje, bu amaca sağdık kalındığı sürece olumlu sonuçlar doğurabilecek unsurlar içermektedir. Ancak üzerine stratejik enerji kaynaklarının kontrolüne yönelik 'sömürgecilik ruhu taşıyan' ulusal çıkarlar ile ideolojik dayatmalar monte edilirse 'yeşil savaş' döneminin başlaması kaçınılmaz olacak.

Ortadoğu da bir nesil yok oluyor. Suriye'de Mart 2011 den bugüne 400 bine yakın insan hayatını kaybetti. Filistin ve Suriye'de yaşayan yaklaşık 15 bin çocuk hayatını kaybetti. Savaş uçakları genç, yaşlı, çocuk, kadın demeden öldürüyor. Her saat başı 6 kişinin öldüğü Suriye de, günde ortalama 135 kişinin hayatını kaybettiği, ortalama 2 saatte 1 çocuğun, 3 saatte 1 kadının öldüğü kaydedildi. Birleşmiş Milletler Çocuklara Yardım Fonu (UNICEF) 'in raporunda Suriye deki iç savaştan etkilenen çocukların sayısının son 1 yılda 2 kat arttığını bildirmişti. Yaşayacak bir ev, bir ülkeleri kalmadığından vatanlarını terk etmek zorunda kalıyorlar. İsrail'in Gazze'ye, Esed'in Suriye'ye yaptığı saldırılara karşı peki biz ne yapıyoruz?

Avrupa ülkelerine sığınmak için, savaştan kaçıp botun batmasıyla boğularak ölen ve cesedinin Bodrum kıyılarına vurduğu Suriyeli 3 yaşındaki Aylan, Suriye'nin Halep kentinde saldırı ardından enkazdan çıkarılıp ambulans koltuğunda yaşadığı şokun etkisiyle etrafa attığı bakışlarıyla tüm dünya tarafından konuşulan 5 yaşındaki Ümran, Suriyeli mualiflerin rejim için savaştığını öne sürdükleri 12 yaşındaki bir erkek çocuğunun başını kesip verdikleri poz, Filistin de çocuk olmak, Mısırda vurulan Esmâ...

Türkiye bu konuda hep araya bir mesafe koymuş olsa da, Irak'ın geleceğinin belirsizliği, körfezdeki istikrarsızlık, Arap-İsrail çatışmasının şiddetlenerek devam eden sorunları, Türkiye'yi içine çekerek bölgesel bir rol oynama fırsatı vermiştir. Türkiye stratejik tercihlerde bulunup, Ortadoğu'daki rolü buna bağlı olarak büyük ölçüde değişmiştir. Türkiye, Ortadoğu da yaptığı büyük değişimle artık kesin olarak tribünlerden seyreden bir oyuncu olmak yerine, sahaya inen, oyun oynayan hatta kaptanlık yapmaya çalışan bir aktör haline gelmiştir. BM'de Filistin Devleti'nin tanınma süreci, İsrail ile geline son durum ve tüm Arap Ülkelerinin davasını Türkiye'nin sahiplenmesi, Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu da rol aldığını gösterir.

PKK ve terör sorunu, su sorunu, Türkmenler, Filistin-İsrail sorunu, İran faktörü. Bu sorunlardan biri dikkate alınarak oluşturulan her politika diğer bir sorun açısından olumsuz bir durum oluşturmaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu sorunlar Türkiye'yi ikilemde bırakmaktadır.

Türkiye'nin kabul ettiği Suriyeli sığınmacı sayısı 1 milyon 800 bine yaklaştı. İnsan haklarının temel savunucuları olan Avrupa Birliği'nde ise en fazla Suriyeli kabul eden ülke Almanya oldu. Almanya 100 binden fazla sığınmacıyı kabul ederken, İngiltere 140 Suriyeli mülteci aldı.

Sonuç olarak, BOP hayata geçirilmeye başladığından beri Ortadoğu da savaşız geçen bir gün olmamıştır. Projenin amaçları her ne kadar Ortadoğu halkının faydası için gösterilse de öyle olmadığı, en azından bugüne kadar açıkça görülmüştür. Tüm bunları çözüme kavuşturacak olan güç ise Ortadoğu ve Avrupa da sözü geçen güçlü bir liderdir

Aslıhan BULUT – Merve KARAÇELİK

## Discovering My True Self



For all my life, I have been seeking a place I can call home. I have lived in many beautiful countries throughout my life, but it never felt quite right. I was born in Afghanistan and raised in Germany. While, most people would expect me to feel German, I never fit in with the German crowd. I was always that Afghan girl whose Middle Eastern features stood out in a classroom full of blonde hair and blue eyes. Germany made me feel comfortable and I made many great friends there but our ideologies often conflicted in many areas as I came from a more conservative background than most people. Even though, I was raised in Hamburg and Germany was all I had ever known, in the back of my head I always knew I was a foreigner. My real identity was Afghan, and I belonged to Afghanistan. I always longed to go there.

Upon turning seventeen years old, my father informed me that I must move to Afghanistan to live with my family there. The news filled me with so much joy I could not contain myself. Finally, I would have the opportunity to go to my home and feel that sense of belonging everybody talks about. However, the moment I stepped onto Afghan soil, I had the unfortunate realization that the Afghanistan I had fantasized my whole life is far from the reality of that place. There was no sense of belonging, no great emotions. Yet again, I was a foreigner in my own country. Ironically, while I felt too Afghan for Germany, in Afghanistan I actually felt too German for the place. I was considered too open-minded in an extremely conservative society. One would expect an international school to be more tolerant, but that was not the case here. I was judged simply because my ideas were different from those who lived in the country. I fell in love with the country's beauty and the people's hospitality but still, I could not call it home.

Just when I had given up hope of finding my place in this world, I got accepted into Atılım University and I decided to move to Ankara. Living in Turkey was an experience I had never anticipated. I felt the energy of this place immediately upon my arrival. I love this perfect mix of nature and civilization. Besides the beautiful weather and scenery, the country is also very comfortable to live in. I feel like it has a place for everybody. Whether you are conservative or open minded, it is nobody's business. People can share their ideas and opinions without being judged. I feel appreciated here. It has a cosmopolitan side, but also a calm countryside. The people here are welcoming and generous. I have made countless genuine friends here. Today, I can proudly say that I have finally found a place that I call home.

Elaha SALEHI

## WHAT IS THE PROBLEM WITH REFERENDUMS?



If we look in general terms, referendums reflect the will of the people to direct political decision and it also constitute the backbone of the democratic system. But recently referendums in the world has had a primary aim of making solutions to problems, and so it began experiencing crises. In June, England decided to withdrawal from the European Union in a referendum(Brexit) and so, the country's currency fell to its lowest level in the last 30 years. According to the Times Report, in the country's Brexit process, annual loss will be 66 billion pounds. In the same report, by separating the country from European Union is expected to fall by 9.5 percent of gross domestic product.

Rather than the UK, another controversial referendum also took place in Colombia. The Colombian government and the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) had signed an agreement to end 52 years of civil war between them. But this agreement was rejected by a referendum on 2 October. In the first trading day after the decision, the country's currency which is the peso, fell against the dollar too. The same day, in Hungary, the overwhelming majority of electorates and voters went to the polls saying "no refugees". Well, Why is the referendum turning out so badly? It needs to be better understood. The reason is not that, the electorate have lack of capacity to make important decisions or the politicians always know that "the truest" or to ascribe a meaning to the democracy. Such a situation of the country is mainly because of the unexpected consequences of inexpert decisions and the essence of the problem is also based on the nature of political choice. Decisions about public policy depends on each other too much and somehow trying to deploy this policy in an orderly manner can lead to misunderstanding of democratic governments.

Politics does not occur at a certain point in time but rather it is an ongoing process and political choices are never simple. No matter how clever the voters are, they have only two sensible options, either "yes" or "no". Of course democracy requires the consensus and also participation of voters is equally important, however, in practice of work, when it comes to balance of competing parties, subject to solutions and accepting to remuneration, we need reliable representatives who discharge the responsibility and do this assignments. Today, confidence dwindle away to democratic institutions in most countries with many voters thinking that they are not important. According to them, they do not get respect from the politicians. The only solution here is a matchup between the angry voters and politicians not the referendum. The solution of this crisis, the politicians, should remember their roles, listen and most importantly care about voters. In addition to that, in their duties, they should show persistent successes not short run or instant efforts.

Fatma ŞEKER

## **Brexit: The Beginning of a Marginal Period**



As is well-known, for close to 7-8 years, we have been hearing about swings of scenarios on UK's withdrawal from EU. In particular, as part of the main reasons that the UK chose to leave Europe Union, is one because of the refugee issues that had become rampant in the continent as well as huge economic depression, prompted the UK to call for a public vote on June 23 for the Brexit referendum. It's important to note that first of all, the term "Brexit" is a combination of Britain and Exit. Frankly such a term is very creative and interesting. So, what did the results from the Brexit of June 23rd show us then?

16,835,512 people voted to leave, 15,692,093 people wanted to stay. However, people between the ages of 18 and 24 voted to stay with an average of 64%, whereas those over 65 voted to leave with a rate of 58%. So, this means that younger generations wanted to stay within the EU, whereas the elderly, that is the traditionalists population, wanted to leave. Moreover, the majority of the Scottish and Northern Irish people are among who voted to stay. This article is going to analyze two different ways on Britain's exit from the EU. Firstly Its impact on the UK and secondly its impact on the EU.

Looking at its impact on the UK, it can be said that they wanted to leave due to the refugee crises as well as the loss of huge sums of monetary aids. Also, the British Sterling has faced a loss of value against US Dollar for the first time since 1985. In my opinion, Sterling will continue to lose more value in the coming days because the EU is one of the largest unions on Earth and members of this Union contribute towards the power and significance of it. There are of course logical reasons for the UK to leave, such as rejecting to receive more refugees or sending further monetary aid to the EU.

My idea is that UK's exit of EU will definitely be in their favour as the British would never call for a referendum without preparing for the consequences. Meanwhile, countries are in a huge economic stress and Britain struggling due to the periodical monetary aid they have been providing for the EU members. Especially being one of the founders of the Union, Britain has the right to complain about the refugees. Having their living standards higher than most countries and providing a living space of welfare for their people, it becomes very normal for the UK to reject to open their borders to refugees. What I mean by that is the UK stands out of the Schengen borders already and they themselves are another union under the name of United Kingdom, in addition to the fact that citizens of the UK already have easy access to European territories. Therefore, they may not need a foreign higher authority to rule over their economy or labour force.



Secondly, the Brexit is slowly developing a domino effect since Netherlands and France too, stated that they could also go for a referendum. This is something like the slow preparation for the collapse of the EU. It is widely known that rightist ideology is on the rise around the globe, as conservative circles never liked the EU or any other similar union. Taking a deeper look at it, we can see many European countries being ruled by right-wing parties. My opinion is that such a large union as the EU would not collapse but it will definitely lose credibility and economic advantages due to Brexit. After all the EU will suffer a loss of influence in their international affairs as it is known that EU has been taking advantage of Britain's power and prestige.

Finally, the EU will recover over time and will continue to accept new states as its large ones exit. Despite the fact that the EU was never as powerful as when they had Britain on their side, the EU will continue to cherish because their trade affairs among members and the share of labour force. I would like to conclude this paper with the following words; in any case, Brexit should be considered as the beginning of a marginal period.

Begüm ALTINDAĞ

## The Issue of EU and Greek Occupation in the Islands Belonging to Turkey



The seas surrounding Turkey has 159 islands. 109 of these islands are located in Aegean, 26 in the Mediterranean, 23 in the Sea of Marmara and 1 island in Black sea. Gökçeada and Tenedos were given to Turkey in the treaty of Lausanne.



In October and November of 2004, Greek soldiers landed into Farmakonisi, which is part of the off shores of Didim, and later on they landed into Agathonisi, which is located near Aydın. The distance of the Agathonisi is 9 miles from Turkey to the island and 194 miles from Greece, Farmakonisi is 5.9 miles from Turkey and 198 miles from Greece. In Agathonisi, just after the civilian soldiers landed on it, Greece displayed their flag on it and started to set up a settlement immediately including building up a church. On 31st December 2008, some of these islands were visited by Chief of General Staff of Greece and on 5th January 2009, they were visited by the President. According to 35th clause of the internal service regulation, the main task of the Turkish General Staff is to protect Turkey. But the question here is, why is it that the Turkish Armed Force did not resist the occupation of Greece in these islands? This question is difficult to be answered. In addition to that, what happened to 16 islands and 1 ring reef that were occupied by Greece in the past one year?, this is still unknown. 11 of these islands, on which Greek soldiers are controlling are located in the Aegean Sea while 5 of them are located in the Mediterranean Sea. Fymena, Furni, Agathonisi, Farmakonisi, Pelagos, Pserimos, Kalolimnoz, Patnos are located in Aegean Sea then Gavdos, Dhia, Dionisades, Gaidhouronisi and Kaufonisi are placed in the Mediterranean sea.

Retired colonel staff Umit Yalim took attention for the first time to these situations that happened on Aegean Islands. Umit Yalim claimed that Turkish government condoned island's occupation by Greece in favor of getting an appointment from European union conferences. This subject was actually revived in parliament by deputies especially from MHP and CHP. However, the then minister of national defense Ismet Yilmaz responded to the deputies questions by stating that "According to the 12th clause of the Treaty of Lausanne and 14th clause of the Treaty of Paris, Greece was given the island's authority except for the islands that are given with domination. Turkey has the autarchy of islands, holms and ring reefs judicially. Greece has the de facto applications of the islands, holms and ring reefs since the beginning of Ottoman Empire to the end but de facto government applications do not change their legal and judicial statutes. This is also a decision of international courts and that is why islands, holms and ring reefs are under the authority of Turkey". That reply of Ismet Yilmaz was like a supporting reference to verify the claim of transgression about occupation of islands by Greeks allowed as de facto by government. Transgression blamed Ismet Yilmaz for hiding Greek occupation between 2004-2008 and trying to cover up incident by saying "the Ottoman Empire also allowed the de facto applications." That occupation is construed as the first loss of territory after the Balkan Wars.

The second answer, which was directed to MHP deputy's question, was answered by the then Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, stating that "1923 treaty of Lausanne and 1947 Paris Peace Settlement are main documents which are concerned with ownership status and unarmed status of Aegean Islands. 6th, 12th, 15th and 16th clauses of Treaty of Lausanne and 14th clause of Treaty of Paris contain detailed judgment about ownership and unarmed statuses. There is a range of problems between our country and Greece which are concerned with ownership of some holms and reef rings. All of these problems will be solved in accordance with the current dialog channel. Our country wishes that all of these problems will be solved permanently as equitable considering the benefits of our country." However, as a retribution, in regard to answer of foreign affairs, Greece proclaimed that they did not enter into any dialogue with Turkey. Umit Yalim claimed that on 2nd of April 2015, Turkish delegation went to the European Union and requested for a retreat of Greek Frontex dinghies and soldiers indicating that they had not seen any application related to the occupation. Yalim claimed that there was no note given by the European Union over Greek's occupation of these islands.

FRONTEX is a European Union committee which was created to provide safety of Members of European Union neighbours and protect their borders. It was established as de facto on 1st May 2004 in Warsaw. Even though the purposes of establishing FRONTEX are border management, risk analysis, information gathering and threat assessment, it became an armed border patrol unit with dinghies and ships given to them all based in Mediterranean and Aegean Seas. FRONTEX can take actions by member states request or by their agreements. It has to do cooperation with member state but still it can also do operations on its own collectively. If these claims are true, when did FRONTEX dinghies come to islands? Did FRONTEX come to our islands by request of our country? If so, why is the parliament unaware of this situation? Those questions unfortunately cannot answered by intellectuals.

As it is widely known, the war in Syria has led to immigration of over 4.7 million refugees with approximately 3.7 million of them being accepted in Turkey. Arrival of these refugees to Europe has however started to be seen as a problem. Europe thinks that the refugee problem could be solved by preventing refugees from leaving Turkey. To achieve this the European Union has decided to take steps about Turkey's European Union membership. This step gives conveniences to Turkish people about visas. On November 2015 Turkey and Europe came to an agreement on the European refugees return to Turkey and for preventing refugees entry into Europe. As a return, Europe gave Turkey convenience on getting visas.

In 2016 the agreement about the refugees between European Union and Germany will be obeyed in NATO and along Aegean borders. NATO's navy will also be free to roam around Turkish seas and military bases will also be opened to be used by NATO and the US. Information about controls conducted by NATO in the sea and air will be directed to Turkey, Greece and Frontex. According to the Treaty of Lausanne's 12th article, the islands that were left for Greece cannot be used with the intention of militarization. If Greece lands troops on the islands that are given to them but belong to us then that will be considered as a violation of the Lausanne agreements. The Turkish islands that are under Greek's occupation are used by NATO and Forex with the intention of creating refugee camps.

Ayça Topkaya

Translation: Uygur Alan

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QUESTION : The outbreaks of World War I and II are often attributed to the rise of Germany in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. China today is experiencing very rapid economic growth and technological advances. Will the rise of China have consequences similar to or different from those of the rise of Germany?

## **EGO WARS**

In both World War I and the World War II, Germany was directly involved but terribly lost both of them. Despite its humiliation in both wars, Germany has already revived itself and become an enormous power in the world economy within the shortest period of time once again and ,therefore, important to give it credit. Germany's immediate economic development can majorly be attributed to the presence of factories which have been established across the country. In addition to that, Germany developed its military. The war started mainly because of Hitler's irredentism policy. Germany, under Hitler, quickly gained lots of lands in Europe thanks to its economic, political and military powers. One of the major achievements was to take over France which was one of the most powerful countries in Europe within a week. In addition to all these, Germany was a guide in the fields of medicine and technology as well as science experiments.

Unlike the 19th century, whereby Germany was seen as the potential rising power, China is steadily rising to overtake it in the current 20th century. China is beginning to be the leader of the world economic and technology. There are a lot of similarities between China's current rising and Germany's rising in both World War I and II. If we analyze it economically, according to the World Bank's reports, China's economy has grown tenfold since 1978. The level of welfare has skyrocketed in China with unprecedented growth of economy and development. One of the main principles of International Relations theory suggests that countries have an organic bond between their economy and military powers as truly it is with both Germany and China.

However, can China be the best political and military power in the world as opposed to the United States? According to the question; "Can China's rising policy be peaceful?" claims that the conflict between China and the United States can arise potentially in future. However it's not possible to also rule out conflict between the two in today's world especially with the fact that military expenses have also been increased in China.

Currently, The People's Republic of China has the most crowded army in the Asian continent. Besides that, it has the most powerful navy in the region with 60 submarines, 55 middle and big war ships and 85 fully armed guardian ships. Additionally, China makes a huge investments in long range air defense systems. Recently, China sent a satellite to the space but then it immediately shot it while on space to the ground. This is all about show of strength. However I think there are other different reasons between Second World War and the possible China – the United States war. As its well known, during the Second World War, the world was managed and ruled by tyrants. For example in Italy Mussolini, in Germany Hitler and in USSR Stalin. All these leaders had a common policy which was irredentism. In my opinion, the possible China – the United States war's aim is not about irredentism but purely about ego. The United States and People's Republic of China's relations are not more important than China's bilateral relations with like European Union, Brazil, India and Russia.

In the near future, China's bilateral relations with other countries will be the supreme determinant factor and absolute importance of international regimes. On the other hand, there are certain obstacles for being the economic leader of the world in future. For China for instance, its geopolitical position is incapable for enlargement and thus being the main factor of restricting it from being a political and military power. Furthermore, China's middle class society also demands for more services from government and ,therefore, an obstacle of becoming an economic leader. Also social conflict will increase because of the old population and rising environmental problems. If China cannot provide the rising social demands, then the leadership of Communist Party of China will be on a brink of collapsing.

To sum up, we can see lots of similarities and differences between rising China and old risen Germany in World War I and World War II. For Germany, it did lots of mistakes mainly because of hunger for power whereas China's economic threat to the US will most likely lead to a possible war. And if that happens, the rest of the world will become victims of the ego of two economic powerhouse countries.

Berkay BULUT

## BİR EKONOMİK TETİKÇİNİN İTİRAFLARI



İçinde bulunduğumuz yüzyılda yeni dünya düzenini oluşturan ve bu düzene hükmeden ülkelerin kullandığı birçok tehlikeli ve etkili mekanizmadan yalnızca bir tanesi olan ekonomik bir tetikçinin itiraflarını içeren bu eserde, John PERKINS yapmış olduğu şeyler için duyduğu pişmanlıkları, ekonomik bir tetikçinin bütün hayatını ve en önemlisi de kendi ifadesi ile Şirketokrasi'yi nasıl kurup, işlettiklerini en ince ayrıntısına kadar anlatmıştır.

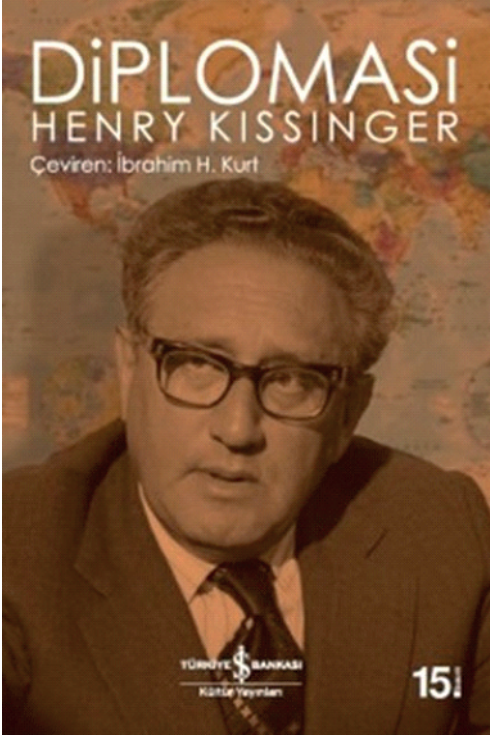
Bütün sürecin oturmuş ve çok iyi bir şekilde planlanmış parçalar halinde işletildiğini, bu süreçler boyunca ülkelerin nasıl adım adım bataklığa çekildiğini ve öldürücü darbenin nasıl vurulduğunu en samimi ifadelerle aktaran Perkins, bütün bunları yaparken mesleğini de gözler önüne sermiştir. Eserin en çarpıcı tarafı ise, Perkins bütün olup biteni anlatırken çok önemli somut deliller sunmuş ve bütün yaşananların bazı kurumlar tarafından inkar edilebilmesinin önüne geçmiştir. Eserde aktarılan konuları ve olayları anlamak için bir iktisatçı olmaya gerek olmadığını ve bu kitabın okunmasının ekonomik terörün anlaşılması için ne kadar önemli olduğunu bizzat kendisi ifade etmiştir. Ekonomik tetikçilerin en büyük amacının küresel imparatorluğun kurulması olduğunu aktaran Perkins, bu süreçte aldığı rol dolayısıyla suçluluk duygusu altında ezildiğini ve kendisinin de dönüp sürecin en başına baktığında, nasıl bu hale geldiğini büyük bir pişmanlık ve suçluluk içinde anlatmaktadır. Sizlerinde merakını cezp etmesi adına eserden küçük bir parçayı da yazıya eklemek istedim;

2004 itibariyle 3. Dünya ülkelerinin borç toplamı 2.5 trilyon dolara, yıllık faiz ödemeleri de 3.75 milyar dolara yükselmiştir. Bu ülkelerde nüfusun en üst yüzde biri, ülkelerinin mali kaynaklarının ve gayrimenkullerinin %70 ila %90'ına sahiptir. Biz ekonomi tetikçileri kurnazızdır. Bizler tarihten ders aldık. Kılıç taşımayız, zırh-üniformalar giymeyiz. Ekvator, Nijerya, Endonezya gibi ülkelerde yerli öğretmenler veya esnaf gibi giyiniriz. Washington ve Paris'te bürokratlara ve bankerlere benzeriz. Proje mahallelerini gezer, yoksul köyleri dolaşırız. Yerel basında ne kadar hayırlı işler yaptığımızdan söz ederiz. Yasadışı bir şeye tevessül ettiğimiz pek nadirdir, zira sistem aldatmacaya dayansa da tanım olarak yasaldir. Eğer başarısız olursak, devreye çakallar (İstihbarat, NSA ve CIA elemanları) girer. Çakallar hazır ve nazır bekler. Ortaya çıktıklarında devlet başkanları devrilir veya kazaya kurban giderler. Eğer Afganistan ve Irak'ta olduğu gibi, bir şekilde çakallar da beceremezlerse, genç Amerikalılar ölmeye ve öldürmeye gönderilir.

Bu imparatorluğun yaratılmasına ben de katkıda buldum ve suçluluk duygusu altında eziliyorum. New Hampshire taşrasından bir çocuk nasıl oldu da bu pis işlere bulaştı.

Deniz KARAN

## DİPLOMASİ



Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Dış İşleri Bakanlığı görevinde de bulunmuş olan Henry KISSINGER, tarih bilgisini ve tecrübelerini bulunduğu makamın vermiş olduğu avantajları kullanarak önemli liderlerin profillerini ve yeni dünya düzenini oluşturan ülkeler arasındaki ilişkileri çok iyi özümseyip, bütün bunları 'Diplomasi' adlı başyapıtını da bir araya getirmiştir. Birçok makalede, Kissinger'ın Diplomasi adlı eserinden alıntılar yapılmış ve birçok üniversitede de ders kitabı olarak okutulmuştur. Eserin büyük bir bölümü Kardinal Richelieu'dan başlamak üzere, kendi dönemlerinde fark yaratan ve büyük olaylara imza atan bütün liderleri, yaşadıkları dönemlerdeki koşullar ile beraber okurlara aktarmıştır.

Tarihi olaylara ve kritik dönüm noktalarına ışık tutan Kissinger, devamlı değişen güç dengesini ve bu değişimlerde en büyük rol sahibi olan aktörlerin zayıflıklarını ve güçlü yönlerini eserinde ön plana çıkarmıştır. Bu durum tarihi olayların sebeplerini ve sonuçlarını, daha da önemlisi olayların ardından gerçekleşmesi muhtemel yeni gelişmelerin ön görülebileceğini okurlara hissettirmiştir. Tarihi olaylar ve dönüm noktaları arasında sebep-sonuç ilişkisi kurmayı kolaylaştıran, liderlerin stratejilerini ve yaklaşımlarını inceleyen bu başyapıtta, her dönemin kazananları ve kaybedenleri olduğunu ve bütün bunların dönemsel gerçeklikler ile ilgili olduğunu okurlarına aktarmıştır. Eserin başında tarih bilgisini, olaylar ve aktörleri ön planda tutarak yansıtan Kissinger, kitabın devamında Amerika'nın dünya sahnesine çıkışını ve temel Amerikan politika ve yaklaşımlarının olduğu dönemi okurlarına anlatmıştır. Amerikan dış politikasının değişen dinamiklerini; şahane yalnızlıktan, dünya liderliğine giden yolu tarihsel olaylar ışığında inceleyen Kissinger, değişen dünya düzenini ve Amerika'nın bu duruma nasıl adapte olduğunu en yalın şekliyle okurlarına sunmuştur.



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