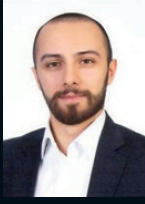


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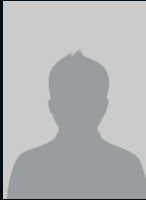
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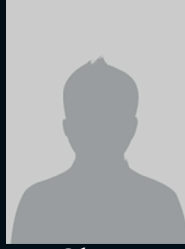


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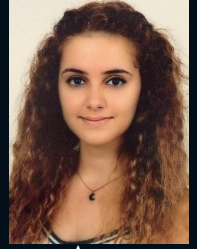
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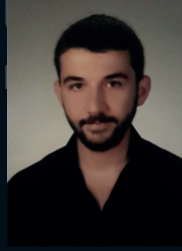
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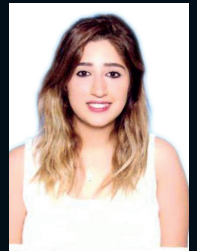
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## GOOD LUCK

It is a well known fact by everybody that the world affairs and relationships between states are carved out by power or leadership rivalry. Racing has created various significant impacts on the ground. This crucial competition is directly related with some game strategies. According to some historical cases, especially during the seventeenth century, Russian-British rivalry served as a model for this competition that was named as a Great Game. It is a logical denomination because when I analyzed this racing, Great Game scenario had helped clear examination of the racing. I hold the idea that matching of issues and characters with the computer game scenarios do not complex method to analyze IR. For instance, we have a game zone that is named the World and each empire, state or other forms of institutions are represented by game characters.

More importantly, game scenario always changes. There is no permanent winner in the game. Each level has own story and these stories have always change. For instance, First game's victorious player was Spain. During the 16th Century, Spain had several colonies and colonial trade provided very huge fortune for treasure of Spain. After the victory of Spain, Netherland won the second stage of the play. They added new instruments which were powerful navy and developed banking system. In the 19th Century, Britain was the new winner with its strong industry and strong navy. After the collapse of USSR, USA had established its own leadership. Between the years of 1990 and 2000, during the ten flawless years, USA was unrivaled on the game. They won the last but not least round of the competition. The decade long hegemony was created by some strong strategies that provided certain victory for USA. They established their economic strategy that was the most important component of American hegemony. Dumbarton Oak and Bretton Woods systems eliminated possible new competitors for the next rounds. They set up own transnational liberal orders and these movements show that this player is very different from the past winners because USA has to ability of estimate the next move of its rivals. They always revise own strategies as a hardness of the game.



They produced new tactics for the future and they knew the golden rule of the existential philosophy on the game that was the change is the only constant. Thus, USA has continuously developed to renew its own hegemony. This is the main separation point from the past winners of the game. They successfully analyzed IR and the past game scenarios. They stand on American policies and foreign policy decisions four main trivets, which are Worldview or Grand Theories. Therefore, they can consolidate golden rule of existence and products of historical process or events. For example, exactly like as a Swiss army knife, they practiced Richelieu's or Bismarck's Real politics.

They changed their strategies as isolationist or interventionist. In addition, each player can produce own evil to strengthen own hands. For the certain American victory, they always need a permanent enemy or monster. During the cold war period, Soviet Russia was necessary evil for Western Block and creation of this evil provided several advantages for USA. They increased effectiveness of America throughout their allies. Western Block's countries are easily transformed by American culture and American type of living style. After the elimination of the USSR, they did not spend much time to find a new monster to sustain own hegemony. This monster is named as a Jihadist Radical Terrorism. During the invasion of Afghanistan, USA supported mujahidin. They provided military supports for these groups against USSR.

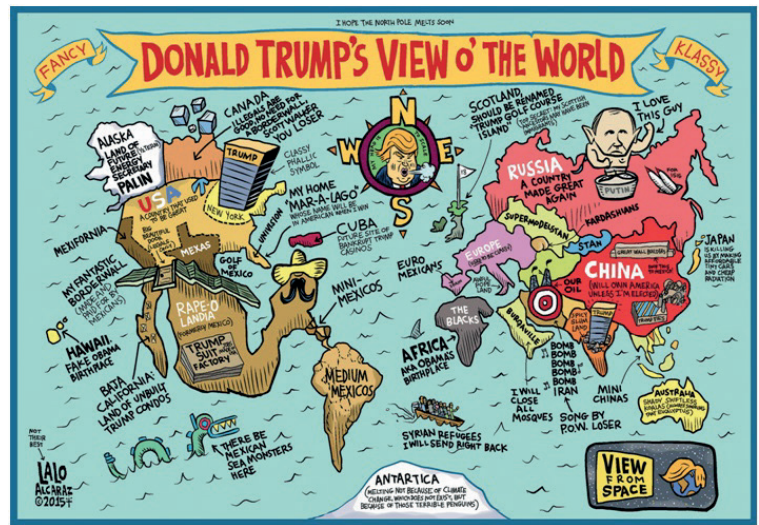
In other words, the root of the new threat concept was shaped by American Secret Services' efforts. For instance, CIA provided intelligence to anti-Soviet forces through the Pakistani intelligence services. In addition, USA provided most important military equipments for Mujahedeen. For example, they send 'stinger missile' which was personal, portable, surface to air missile and these missiles were turning point for the war because they prevented air support for Soviet troops.

During the long period of American hegemony, this threat perception was managed under the control of the last winner. However, game scenario had started to change because of the golden rule of the existence. Different from the past examples of American flexibility, they cannot adopt own systems under the radical transformations. In addition, they did not calculate the enlargement of this threat across the whole Middle Eastern region and North African region.

This threat founded suitable ground to spread own crooked ideology. Rich and notorious heritage of colonialism provided new zones for this ideology. They merged the hatred against the West and ideals of radical Islam that is represented by ISIS today. Thus, this distorted and dangerous ideology easily founded new supporters on the ground and American ideals did not calculate this process that had rooted during the years of Afghanistan invasion. This new conjuncture crated new opportunity for Russia to be included in this process. Moreover, another threat for the American hegemony was determined on the Pacific that was the rising China.

Chinese economy, which has huge dollars reserves, created new economic danger. The cards began to shuffle again for the next round and legendary enemy of the USA has already involved in the game. Lunge of the Syria was provided new chance for the Russian policy makers. During the Syrian civil war, Russia has increased the power on the ground and they won the prestige that provided new chance to bargain for the game. The most important trump of the Russia is rich Russian state heritage and political culture. Moreover, the President Putin or Red Fox, who play the important role to re-balanced in the game.

All in all, throughout the long periods of the world history, this game has had winners and losers. What everyone is curious about is that who will be the winner of this game or more importantly, who will be the loser? The cards began to shuffle, dice will be thrown and the game will begin. I hope that Turkey will mention together with the nominee countries but for the realization of this scenario, policy makers should protect their state heritage and Bismarck's or Richelieu's real politics become a political references for us. It should not be forgotten that change is real and unavoidable so fixity is very dangerous quagmire for each player. What goes around, comes around.



*Deniz KARAN*

# THE SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION



SCO or Shanghai Pact is a political, economic, and military organization that was founded in 2001 in Shanghai. The cooperation leaders are China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. These countries had been members of the Shanghai Five which was founded in 1996 and later joined by Uzbekistan in 2001 who then renamed it as Shanghai Cooperation. In 2015, the SCO decided to admit India and Pakistan as full members. The first serious step against the US was taken in 2005. They said that the US has been called to end its military presence in Central Asia. On top of that, US troops in Uzbekistan had to abandon the country. That's why this is

very interesting discussion among USA and SCO. In August 2007, 6 members of SCO carried out a joint military exercise in the Ural Mountains of Russia under the name of 'Peace Mission in 2007'. In the same year, the SCO had initiated twenty projects on transportation, energy and telecommunications with regular meetings concerning security, military, economic by different officials from its member states. Additionally, it is widely known that SCO has relations with the EU, and also observer status in UN General Assembly, ASEAN, the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. In 2007 in Bishkek summit, Putin said that: There should not be a unipolar world in the world explaining or rather delivering SCO message to the world. When we look at the formation point in this cooperation, it seems like the member states provide military confidence in the border regions, but the primary goal is to create an alternative and effective bloc against the west especially the USA, the second aim is to prevent terrorism, separatism and extremism also which are declared as the greatest security threats in the geography where  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the world's population lives. Also, it is under the name of struggle to restrain the people and civilizations living in SCO's geographical area.

## Differences between EU and Shanghai cooperation

NATO and EU countries have a common cultural background with each other. However, SCO countries are not very similar countries to each other in cultural perspective. When people tackle the SCO organization, it is clear that the current state of Shanghai is not at a level comparable to NATO and the EU in terms of political decision making, military capabilities and their experiences. Moreover, cultural, political, economic, military and sociological differences are also the biggest obstacles to this emerging force as an effective power center. The problem of the European Union not emerging as a sufficiently effective force in the world because of the disruptions in political and military decision-making mechanisms. Its development is also a risk awaiting the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.



## Turkey and EU - Shanghai Cooperation Relations

Is Shanghai cooperation an alternative to EU for Turkey?

“I think if Turkey were to join the Shanghai Five, it will enable it to act with much greater ease,” Erdogan told Turkish journalists on the plane on his way back from a visit to Pakistan and Uzbekistan. In my opinion, The EU has a unique integration process while the SCO is an issue which can be an alternative to economy and NATO as an alternative to security. However, Erdogan's message in this regard is not as that Erdogan's view of the SCO as an alternative to the EU, it was only his expression as an alternative search and thus creates a debate in NATO.

Lastly, SCO cannot be an alternative to EU because SCO is a small cooperation and among the member states they have no common visa, trade liberalization and common culture. On the other hand, in EU there is no border among countries. It is unreasonable for Turkey to withdraw from the EU membership and enter the SCO. Also, in these days there was a crisis between Turkey and Russia. With Russia, it noticed that the trade imbalance has grown, especially after the shooting down of a Russian plane incident. When we look at trade, we need to point out that Turkey is still making half of its exports to the EU countries, and that market size and depth are far from being able to make SCO countries an alternative to trade with the EU

*Begüm ALTINDAĞ*

## CHERNOBYL DISASTER AND THE LESSONS LEARNT



On 26th of April 1986, the world's worst nuclear plant accident in Chernobyl in the city of Pripyat in Ukraine occurred. During that night, a sudden drop of power triggered a chain of events causing the reactor no 4 of the plant to overheat shooting a radioactive cloud of smoke 1 km into the air, and pushed by the winds, spread across Northern Europe. Most of Balkan countries were deeply affected especially Bulgaria and majority of the people living offshore of black sea became victims.

The clouds sent the radioactive also to the Northern side of Turkey affecting tea plantation that has eventual and gradual cancer problems. According to World nuclear association, it is believed that the disaster was mainly caused by "the violation of operating produces and the absence of safety culture" In addition to do this, Human errors and inadequately prepared operators caused it to happen.

Firstly, the disaster occurred when Ukraine was still under the part of the Soviet Union which was apparently an authoritarian regime. For the reason of covering up their mistake, the soviet union leaders underestimated the disaster terming it a small and easily solved situation and so no much attention was needed. The first state to recognize the increasing levels of radiation was Sweden just 2 days after the explosion making experts to find out what was indeed going on. With contaminated clouds, rains that dropped overly affected crops in different past of the Union.



It was so unfortunate that Moscow announced the disaster 14 days after it happened. To explain critically on how authoritative the regime was, Russian leader Mikhail Gorbachev ordered people to go ahead and participate in mayday celebrations ruling out the catastrophic event that had just happened few days ago. Though it was not intentional, it shows how ignorant the regime was by taking things lightly. By this time, the radiation was still high with high temperatures increasing significantly. In the aftermath of the celebration, many people were diagnosed with Cancer, being so unfortunate for the innocent souls.

Secondly, on the crisis management, with the increasing levels of temperature, the Russian government started to evacuate locals from the region having now realised how big it was. However, the evacuation was very slow leaving many lives helpless and many people affected with Cancer. Among the evacuators, with many of them working without protective gears, they also became victims of radiation increasing the number of casualties all these attributed to poor handing of the disaster by the government. With delays, the fire, in form of magma and heating of approximately more than three thousand degrees Celsius was still raging and with no due response from the government, the fire was poised to cause another explosion if at all it would have slipped into the underground water in the nuclear plant. Furthermore, If the bridge would not have been sealed the radiation temperature would have risen at higher levels. For this possibilities to be stopped, the government of Russia decided to send firemen to drain water and drop lead to reduce the temperature. However all these never turned out positively affecting all the firemen involved and the pilots.

Thirdly, with the pressure from the public on what exactly is going on, and immediate solution to possibilities that might lead to another explosion, the government decided to deploy miners from the nearby Toula company to cool the reactor sacrificing their lives. With the same previous mistakes by the government that is lack of necessary tools and physical protection, less oxygen and extreme heat, most them suffered with radiation. Despite their relentless efforts to cool the reactor accomplishing their mission, many of them standing at a figure of about 25.000 passed on with effects of radiation. With little or no compensation, they were sacrificed by the government.

Lastly, one of major and main political lesson drawn from the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in regard to relations internationally, was the lack of credible and complete transparency in the Soviet Union. As I mentioned earlier, it took at most two weeks for the soviet to announce publicly that something bad had just happened. Even after announcing still the people of the Soviet Union were never informed in details on what led to the disaster and what are the possible effects of it. When the international press conference was finally convened that's when every information was given to public domain. This was the only information Russians believe since they had already lost their trust with the government marking a speedy acceleration of Soviet's Union disintegration. This disaster constantly reminds nuclear powers to be very cautious in any decision made regarding the nuke and invoke methods of preventing a repeat of the Chernobyl disaster.

*Benhur KÖSE*

## UNITED STATES - CHINE RELATIONS

After the second world war had finished, a civil war took place between communists and nationalist in China. In this civil war, the United States supported nationalists while Soviet Union supported communists. After communist had won the civil war with the assistance of Soviet Union, Peoples' Republic of China was established by Mao Zedong as a communist state and taking part within the East block. Nationalists that U.S supported sought asylum to Taiwan island. Afterward, Taiwan has continued as a contradictive island between U.S and China until today. After a communist regime had been established in China, U.S gave rein to the Soviet Union a significant advantage in the balance of power in Asia. In response, the U.S tried to protect its entity in Asia by forming an alliance relations with South Korea, after the Japanese and Korean war. After a communist regime had also been established in China, any diplomatic relations did not exist between U.S and China more than twenty years.

The President of the U.S, Richard Nixon and the president of the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong established diplomatic relations between two countries in 1971-72. The reason of this was geopolitics requisites both of two countries. The thing that came together in these two countries is there is a common treat conscious of leaders both of two countries. Chinese leaders saw a terrible Soviet military power and forty modern battle troops that consisted of more than one million people across its borders. In addition to Marxist theory protected itself from Soviet military pressure, it consisted a pretext for China. The Brezhnev Doctrine that declared newly demanded special right in order to solidify its own union within the communist world for Moscow.

<sup>1</sup> Kissenger, Henry "Does U.S need foreign policy" p.123.

The opportunity united with the necessity for U.S. While U.S established a new balance of power in Asia under the pressure of Vietnamese war; U.S saw that China could play a key role. Regarding geopolitics, there were strong reasons for reaching of China in order to balance the Soviet Union. These reasons; balancing the Soviet Union or persuading it to negotiate; While withdrew sadly from Indochina region, providing U.S should believe to itself and finally, seeing did not finish ruling capacity of U.S international system that became multipolar. At this time, relations established between U.S and China brought China to the situation the stabilizer of balance in cold war between U.S and the Soviet Union.

The main hardship for alliances of U.S in Far East Asia, since 1980's due to the economic resurgence and military development was a rival power became to U.S is China, though most of the official have not said. Washington protected a small foreign trade surplus against China in 1980. However, as from today, this foreign trade surplus has turned into foreign trade deficit almost more than half of it. China state, buying a vast amount of American state debenture supports American's rising state debt have supplemented American's vulnerability. If Chinese officer's cash that have these debentures more than 3 trillion dollars, it can make U.S bankrupt.

These progressions led to estimations "coming conflict to China" in U.S According to this view, as China develop as economic and military and its leaders apply nationalism rather than communism, as the dominant power in Asia, China will demand its rightful place. The president Bill Clinton, during his presidency and later supported by Barack Obama, "participation with China rather than containment of China" protected optimistic view in the direction of within country more freedom and more cooperation with U.S.

When George W. Bush entered to White House in 2001, he adopted a firm manner, and he declared China a strategic rival rather than a partnership. Bush complained increasingly rising of foreign trade deficit and him broadly criticized Chinese officers with implementing firm population control precautions including abortion and demasculinization of women. However, on 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks led to U.S and China have found common ground in the war against to terror. Bush, in catching terrorists and in preventing theirs state supporters have ballistic missile and the weapon of mass destruction applied to Jiang and its successor Hu Jintao. In exchange for help, Chinese administration gained a promise from White House away from criticizing China's domestic policies and even support of 2008 Olympiads China should host. Both of two parts knew that cooperation rather than conflict benefits their interests.<sup>3</sup>

After Obama had come to power in 2009, He revitalized Bill Clinton's participation policy with China. However, due to global finance crises, Obama has little pressure power over the conditions of trade between two huge economy. Meantime, China started a military modernization program produced new generation nuclear missiles, attacking submarines, fighter planes. All of these supported China's more than 1.2 million land power in 2011. These realities in the regional balance of power encouraged Obama to turn Asia-Pacific region.

<sup>2</sup> Wayne, Morisson, "China-US Trade Issues", Washington, D.C: Service of Congress Research, 2 June 2011 p.2-5

<sup>3</sup> Hook, Spinner, "Since the Second World War to Today American Foreign Policy" p. 364

History has a few examples rising and declining power have not conflicted. For his reason, China pessimists have estimated various areas rising China-U.S rival: in Taiwan that China sees even as a traitor principality: the South China Sea where China claims sovereignty over it: in Russia that shares thought with China U.S sovereignty should end: in Africa where China has lots of development programs: in global trade centers: in various topics in front of United Nations Security Council like intervention to Iran, North Korea, and Syria.

Like Henry Kissinger, China optimists believe that if two superpower's discrepancies is taken into consideration stability and as economic productive in a world order, could solve peacefully.<sup>4</sup> According to this view, global demands of China depends on to take liberal leviathan in Washington.

China especially worries America's missile defense system and support to Taiwan. Although some Chinese think as a providing factor stability American's influence over Japan and South Korea, some think U.S the biggest obstacle in front of rising of China and consider as a potential threat to regional interests of China. China, the intervention of U.S to Iraq and Kosovo sees as sovereignty violation and thinks that one day this abuse can reach in Taiwan, Thibet. As a matter of fact intervention of U.S to Kosovo in 1991 led to protests to U.S and British embassies in China and boycott to fast food product.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Kissinger, Henry "on China", New York: Penguin, 2011

<sup>5</sup>Yılmaz, Sait, "Chinese Strategy", p.2-3

*OktaY KÜÇÜKDEĞİRMENÇİ*

## THE PRESIDENTIAL SCANDAL SHAKING DEMOCRATIC KOREA



Park Geun-Hye was the first female leader elected as a head of state in East Asia and first female president of the Northeast Asian nation. She is also a daughter of former South Korean president, Park Chung-Hee, who served from 1961 until 1979.

According to her career life, she became vice chairperson of the Grand National Party in 1998 and also began serving as a member of the national assembly at the same year. She was re-elected four times and served in five consecutive national assemblies. At the same time, Ms. Park had developed a clear goal about South Korea's party system and nation. Thus, she unified and strengthened the nation and their party system.

In 2003, Ms. Park became chairperson of the GNP's presidential election committee and the following year, she was elected chairperson of the GNP. In 2012, the GNP was renamed Saenuri ("New Frontier") Party. Park remained a prominent figure of the Saenuri Party, serving as chairperson of its emergency committee.

In a historic election in December 19, 2012, she became the nation's first female president and she was called as the "Queen of Elections". Unmarried at the time of the election, Park has often said that she is "married" to her nation. Following her election victory, Ms. Park promised a "new era" of government and that she would be a "president for the people". She has striven for unity and prosperity for South Korea. Park was sworn in as a president in February 2013. However, some rumors about the president of South Korea and a scandal emerged towards the end of October 2016.

#### **Who is Choi Soon-Sil?**

*The South Korean media reported that Choi was the daughter of a Christian priest who was the consultant of Park. After the death of her dad, she became the leader of sect.*

*According to rumors, South Korea's leader was under the influence of this priest and her daughter. In addition to these, Choi was leaking and directing informations about military talks and economic decisions from Park.*

According to the essence of the scandal, it has emerged that Park's known for four decades friend, Choi Soon-Sil, was her private counsel with no official position and no security clearance. She seems to have advised Ms. Park on everything from her wardrobe to speeches about the dream of reunification with North Korea. Some lawmakers have even voiced concern that she has fallen under the spell of a religious cult with Choi performing the role of Shaman.

One of the rumors is about “MV Sewol” accident. MV Sewol was a Korean vehicle passenger ferry, built in Japan. It was operated between Incheon and Jeju. On 16 April 2014 Sewol sank with the loss of 304 passengers and crew.

After this accident like “massacre”, the South Korean authorities began to look for a person who named Yoo Byung-Eun. Yoo was known as the owner of Sewol Company but one feature was his leadership of a group which is called “Salvation Sect”. This religious sect, which started in the 1970s was established under the influence of foreign missionaries. According to teachings of the sect, a virtuous person did not have to constantly repent, only one repentance was enough. A virtuous man was a virtuous man, even if he had sinned. Some members of the sect knew this man such as the leader of church and messiah.

Moreover, the president Park Geun-Hye did not appear for 7 hours after the accident and the day before, the permanent ferry captain took time off. Also on that day a law was passed about the captain of the ferries. According to this law, less qualified personnel cannot become the captain.



After all these rumors, about 1 million South Korean protested the president for her resignation in the Gwanghwamun square. As a result of this, Ms. Park apologized but claimed Choi’s influence had not extended beyond checking drafts of her speeches soon after she entered the presidential Blue House in early 2013. She said “Choi is someone who helped me in a difficult time in the past, and I received her help on some of my speeches”.

Also, some files obtained from Choi’s personal computer suggest Choi edited some of Park’s key speeches and received confidential documents, including files relating to Japan and North Korea. Thus, after all these events, Ms. Park was announced that she will withdraw from presidency when there will be no authority gap or chaos.



Another event is about a big Korean company Samsung. On 24 October, South Korean nationwide general cable TV network and broadcasting company JTBC’s news reporter, Seo Bok-Hyun, found some documents from Choi’s personal tablet. According to these documents, “K-sport” and “Mi-r Foundation” that researches traditional Korean Culture and helps to cultural artists, took much money from big Korean companies and one of them was Samsung. In this case, other rumors claim that these two companies were founded by Ms. Park and Choi Soon-Sil and they were taking money from the Samsung to live well after the presidency of Ms. Park. Thus, Samsung vice-chairman, Lee Jae Young, was arrested and is going to be judged on 9 March because of scandal, too.

Moreover, the independent counsel says it confirmed bribery allegations that led to the parliamentary impeachment of President Park Geun-hye. Choi Investigators said that the president and her confidante conspired to receive bribes from Samsung Group but the president's defense attorneys said their client has no economic ties with Choi.

As a summary, Ms. Park is accused of allowing a close friend to profit from her connections with the presidency. After the voting, Prime Minister Hwang Kyo-Ahn became acting president and he tried to calm concerns over national security and to reassure markets.

The motion to impeach Ms. Park passed by 234 votes to 56. However her 15.000 supporters held a Seoul rally and they carried banners that read: “President Park, Don’t Cry” and “Nullify Impeachment”. After their 16th rally, they also marched to the presidential office to show support for the impeached president.

The constitutional Court is going to make a final ruling. If at least six of the court’s nine judges’ rule against Ms. Park, she will become the first sitting South Korean president to be deposed in the country’s democratic era and a new presidential election will be held within 60 days. However, the constitutional Court is expected to decide whether to uphold the National Assembly's vote to impeach Park, who is accused of colluding with her personal friend in a series of corrupt activities.

*Melis PEKTAŞ*

## NORTH KOREAN NUCLEAR PROGRAMME





Every country has its own characteristics. North Korea is governed by Communism which has underground resources and rich culture. North Korea is located in the Korean Peninsula in East Asia. With the development of technology in the world, armament has gained importance with nuclear programs so it became impossible for countries to act jointly. The armament of each country is different according to geopolitical position and geostrategic structure. North Korea has considerable rich mineral sources, thanks to its location. There are coal, lead, zinc, uranium, graphite, magnetite, gold and salt mines that are important for industrial and nuclear industrialization in this location. The geopolitical position of each country has gained importance due to energy crises that emerged all over the world. Countries that do not want to be dependent on outside financial sources, tended to alternative energy sources and arming by reason of their locations because being dependent on outside in energy constitute a problem for countries.

Nuclear energy can be defined as thermal energy which depends on fission and this energy is controlled by technology. Today electricity is common usage area however natural or enriched uranium and thorium are used as fuel in nuclear reactors. Energy can be shaped by the intended purpose of countries. Some countries can use for peaceful purposes and some of them can use to produce nuclear weapons. Countries which go towards to nuclear energy in the world, attach importance to strategy and economy because countries which benefit from nuclear energy is powerful than others. First and foremost, countries which have nuclear energy systems showed of strength others and these countries are threat for other countries. On the other hand, if countries which have restricted energy sources have nuclear energy, they do not depend on other countries economically. The most dangerous part is that foreign dependent countries create the problem of security.

North Korea's nuclear programme was suppressed by five countries. These countries were The United States, South Korea, Russia, China and Japan. All of them sent requests to give up North Korea's tendency about the development of nuclear weapons to Pyongyang administration. The United States and North Korea sought a settlement about nuclear freeze movement. After this process, North Korea had a power to shoot one of the cities of Japan and in order to show this power, North Korea threw two rockets to Pacific Ocean.

While this process continues, The United States wanted to take upper hand in order to be hegemony power in the world so it provided negotiations to stop North Korea's underground nuclear activities. Under The United States supervision an agreement which was 4.6 billion dollars was signed with North Korea for two light-water nuclear power station. This agreement broke down before construction was completed. North Korea made public if the relations with the US under Bush administration are not corrected, North Korea will continue missile experiments. The United States did not want North Korea to develop a long-range missile system. Bush was aware of the danger about North Korea and warned other countries in this direction. In a speech he made, he described North Korea, Iran and Iraq as 'Axis of Evil' and wanted to emphasize the dangerous situation of these three countries for the world.

The North Korean administration stakes the United State of America with its own style also it relegated inspectors of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and clearly stated that it did not want to be audited. North Korea stated that it would not negotiate or participate in meeting with The United States, Russia, China, Japan and South Korea. There was a dispute in the process. Even in the present situation, North Korea leader Jong-un said that long-range nuclear missile work has entered its final phase and in a Twitter message he shared, Trump said, "North Korea has announced that it is in the final stages of developing a nuclear weapon which capable of reaching some parts of the US, and that will not happen." It seems that the tension in bilateral relations will be high. International relations generally consist of a power struggle, and the main tools of this struggle are; diplomacy, sanctions and wars. A prominent French political scientist and diplomat's thesis has been verified many times "Nothing is as temporary as the victory in arms." We know that war is the last resort and we know what needs to be done by applying different ways. In this context, sanction can be defined as a fact which includes in political, social, economic responses which is applied to target country in order to direct or change domestic or foreign policy.

*Written by : Murat ERSOY*

*Translated by: Yağmur TAŞDEMİR*

## **THE CHANGING DYNAMICS OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY AND TİKA**

In December 25th 1991, the Soviet Union disintegrated, Cold War ended and bipolar international system changed through different aspect. Many states in Central Asia and Caucasia won their independence and Turkey has become the first country to recognize these newly independent Turkic states. On the other hand, the common features such as language, history and culture have prepared the ground of getting stronger binary and regional relations and even now these countries are referred as 'different states of the same nation'.

During the Cold War period, Turkish foreign policy was generally shaped around pro-Western line but after the East Bloc collapsed, in 1990's Turkish foreign policy took more multidimensional and proactive position. Thus with the leadership of Turgut Özal, Turkey's foreign policy dynamics won revisionist character for the short time. However, in contrast to previous times, 'this revisionist character has not based on 'nation-state' ideology, rather it has based on the 'neo-Ottoman' perspectives that emphasize ethnic "Turkishness" and aim of leadership of Islamic world.'<sup>1</sup> This understanding has added some discourses like historical heritage, Islamic identity, Ottoman history and common destiny to foreign political discourse area, too.

In these years, Turkey's first priority about Central Asia was the recognition of these states by the international community and mutual visits between Turkey and Turkish Republics have gained speed. 'In the last quarter of 1991, the new republics in Central Asia and Caucasia settled to summit of Turkish foreign policy agenda and the best reflecting phrase becomes 'Turkish world from Adriatic to Chinese Wall'. Turgut Özal has defined the 21st century as 'Turkish Century' and so a four-legged policy started across these developments.'

In accordance with the purpose of organizing the aids and activities that Turkey has made in the region, in 1992, Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA) was founded as the first step of the this policy. In this context, the purposes of the TIKAs in those years can be summarized like this; ‘the procreation of the own social structure of the Turkic Republics, their construction of an identity in a sustainable way, and the remedy of deficiencies of their technical infrastructures.’

As the second step of this policy, many projects and activities in the fields of education, health, restoration, agricultural development, finance, tourism, and industry were realized by TIKAs. For instance; many various scholarships were provided to students to cultivate human power and many schools has been built in educational area with the support of the Ministry of Education. In the field of health, many hospitals and mother and children health centers have been built for reducing infant mortality rates , many doctors and health personalities have been trained. In addition to this, for the agricultural development, water transfer has been provided to many dry areas, for the protection of historical heritage some restoration and renovation works have been made, for the industrial development equipment supports have been given and for the social development women’s empowerment and women employment have been supported in these countries by TIKAs. On the other hand, TIKAs is playing an important role on rehabilitation project of war disabled persons and providing humanitarian and technical assistance program for the refugees.

‘In the third step of this policy, there were establishment of regional cooperation organizations and signing various economic, cultural and military agreements with these states to create common foreign policy stages like Heads of State Summit of Turkish-Speaking Countries and training of these countries’ security forces in Turkey.’

‘The last step of this policy was propaganda so TRT Eurasia has started to broadcast in the region since April, 1992. At the same time, common history and literature books have been prepared for reading in these countries by the Ministry of Education and many mosques and culture centers have been built by the Presidency of Religious Affairs.’

Beside all this, when it comes to 2000's Turkey’s foreign policy making process was shaped in the light of the Davutoğlu’s ‘strategic depth doctrine’ and idea of ‘dialogue between civilizations’. When look at the content of this approach, we see ‘zero problem with neighbors’ principle that aimed creating a stable zone at around Turkey and ‘soft power’ principle that was built on historical and cultural connections. Also, in this period, with the influence of the globalization, TIKAs expanded its activity geography to lots of different countries like newly independent Former Yugoslav states in the Balkan region and Middle Eastern countries and TIKAs undertook cooperation mechanism function among official institutions and organizations, universities, civil society institutions, non-governmental organizations and private sector.

In addition to this, these aid policies of Turkey that are sustained by TIKAs, help Turkey on the way to becoming a regional power in diplomatic, political, economic and cultural sense. Also Turkey has taken over important energy transfer attempts from Central Asia and Caucasia to Europe, at the same time it has gained advantage to provide cheap and safe energy for its developing economy. Also it provided economic and political integration with the Middle Eastern neighbor countries until the Arab Spring and has increased its penetration area thanks to the security cooperation with Afghanistan and Pakistan. Furthermore it has developed new market opportunities with the African countries by opening embassies and representations thus it has obtained observer status in African Union. Lastly, Turkey has developed its relations with Latin countries as the parallel with claim to be a global power.

Today, TİKA is continuing its work over 140 countries in 5 continents as depending on the Prime Ministry, is sharing Turkey's knowledge and experience and it is building bridges of friendship with many countries from the Pacific to the Central Asia, from the Middle East and Africa to the Balkans, from the Caucasus to Latin America with the aim of creation of a peace zone. In addition to this, it is sharing Turkey's economic strength with less and least developed countries with a human-focused approach as putting local needs and priorities on the center. It has become one of the most important tools of Turkish foreign policy with its projects that do not separate religion, language, race and sect and also so it is proving the possibility of a more livable world and collective development by sharing. In line with these objectives, 'TİKA is still introducing a new model that was called as 'Turkish type development approach' with the aim of leaving same imprint in different geographies.'

*Elif Aysen BENLİ*

## DÖVİZ ETKİSİ VE EKONOMİ

Ülkemizde önemli konulardan biri olan yabancı para bolluğu veya azlığı her dönem gündeme gelmiştir. Aslında bunun sebeplerine bakarsak, en önemlisi ekonomimizin dışa bağımlı yapıda olmasıdır. Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında benimsenen denk bütçe kuralı her ne kadar o zamanlar işe yarasada ilerleyen yıllarda ülkemizi büyük zorluklar bekliyordu. Esasen baktığımızda sadece cumhuriyet dönemi değil, Osmanlı ekonomisinin 17.yy'dan itibaren bozulan mali sistemi, gerek askeri gerekse yıllardır sürdürdüğü adaletli vergi anlayışını zora sokuyordu. O süreçte yönetici sınıfı yani "Seyfiye" olarak adlandırdığımız bir grup insanın, avrosantrizim diplomasisi izlemesinden dolayı verdiği imtiyazlar ile beraber, yerli üretici ve pazarlardaki tüccarlar zor duruma girmişti. Buna birde savaşlarda alınan hezimetleri de katarsak yıkılış süreci iyice hızlanmıştı. Yıkılış sürecinin getirdiği ekonomik buhranın cumhuriyet dönemini etkilemesi elbette kaçınılmazdı. 1923 yılı ile kurulan bu yeni devletin ekonomisi,



sermayesi, sanayisi, altyapısı İstanbul ve İzmir haricinde mevcut değildi. En basit ürünler dahi ithal ediliyordu.

Türkiye yapılan iktisat kongreleri ile beraber ağır sanayide yerini almak istiyor ayrıca Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Merkez Bankası'nın kurulması ve özerkliğini kazanmasıyla beraber para piyasasını dengede tutmayı amaçlıyordu.

(Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında Türkiye Ekonomisinin en büyük payını oluşturan Tarım sektöründen bir kare. Atatürk, 1929)

2. Dünya Savaşı'nın patlak vermesi ile beraber Nazi tehlikesi yaşayan ülkeler arasında bulunan Türkiye, savaştan uzak durmaya çalışsada müttefik devletler savaş süresi boyunca ülkemizi hep savaşın içine çekmek istediler. Dönemin Cumhurbaşkanı İsmet İnönü savaştan yeni çıkan ve kalkınmayı amaçlamış olan bu yeni devleti savaştan uzak tutmayı başarmıştır. Sıcak çatışmalara girmememiz bile ekonomik açıdan bizi etkilemiştir. Türkiye, ekonomisinin artan ivmesini bir anda değiştirmiş ve kalkınmadan ziyade askeri harcamalara yönelmiştir. Siyasal hayatın vazgeçilmezlerinden biri olan çok partili sistemin uygulanmasıyla beraber, 1950 seçimlerinde bu sefer Demokrat Parti(DP) iktidara gelmiştir. Demokrat Parti iktidarının Başbakanı Adnan Menderes ile Türkiye ekonomisi ortalama 7.8 büyüme gerçekleşmiştir. Özellikle 1950-1954 yılları arasında hızla büyüyen bir ekonomi ile Türkiye Serbest Piyasa ekonomisi geçişine hız verildi[2]. İlerleyen yıllarda alınan borçların geri ödenememesi ve dış ticaret açığının artmasıyla Adnan Menderes döneminde cumhuriyet tarihinin en yüksek oranlı devülasyonu yapılmıştır.

2 lira olan dolar 9 liraya çıkmıştır. Kanımca, Menderes döneminin büyük sıçrayışında bu olay kara lekeden başka bir şey değildir. Geçmişteki bu ekonomik durum değerlendirmesinden sonra günümüze gelecek olursak, ülkemizin konvertibilite ve serbest piyasa ekonomisine sahip olması nedeniyle jeopolitik yapımızı da göz önüne alarak ülkemizdeki döviz kurları uzun süre boyunca sabit bir rakamda tutulamamıştır. Türkiye coğrafisinin büyük bölümünün Ortadoğu'da yer alması ülkemizi



zi transit, ticaret, turizm açısından önemli hale getirir. Bu durum ülkedeki yabancı para girişini, bu yabancı para girişi ise sermayeyi oluşturur. Ancak dikkat edilmesi gereken husus bu ikisinin dengeli şekilde ekonomiye uyarlanmasıdır. Türkiye'nin demografik yapısının farklı olması ve bu coğrafya da geçmişten gelen ve şuanki toplumu oluşturan etnik kökenler farklılığı ülkemizde terörizmi tetiklemiştir. 1980'li yıllarda baş gösteren

anarşi olayları ve ülkemizin özellikle Doğu Anadolu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesinde faaliyette bulunan terör örgütü PKK'nın kurulmasıyla beraber, ekonomik sıkıntılar o bölgedeki kalkınma problemini doğurmuş, bu problemle beraber göçler oluşmuş, adeta bir kısır döngü oluşmuştur. Ülkedeki terör sorunu dolayısıyla alınan dış yatırımlar azalmış ve harcamalar askeri alanda olmuştur. Askeri harcamaların çok olması ise istihdam ve yeni yatırım projelerini engelleyen bir olaydır. Bunun sebebi ise askeri harcamaların verimliliğinin az olması, yapılan harcamaların sosyal faydasının olmamasıdır. Dolayısıyla tüm bunlar ekonomiyi etkileyen ana faktörlerdendir. Özellikle 15 Temmuz 2016 tarihinden itibaren başarısız olan darbe girişimi ülkedeki ekonomi piyasasını alt üst etmiştir. Dolar tahmin edildiği üzere sürekli artış gösteriyor. Doların artışının yani Türk lirasının değerinin düşmesinin ekonomiye oldukça ciddi etkileri oluyor. Doların sadece ülkemizde değil, sürprizlerle dolu olan dünyada artışı söz konusu ancak bu artış gelişmekte olan ülkeler içinde en çok bizi etkiliyor.



**Peki son zamanlarda döviz kurunun tarihi zirveleri görmesinin altında yatan sebepler neler?**

Bunun en önemli sebebi terör. Türkiye, bir taraftan PKK diğer taraftan IŞID ile mücadele ediyor. Ülkenin dört bir yanında canlı bomba eylemleri gerçekleşiyor. Ekim 2015 Ankara Gar'ında gerçekleşen patlamanın ardından, şuana kadar yaşanan canlı bomba eylemleri yüzünden çok can kaybedildi. Sadece terörizm değil, politik

açından başkanlık rejimi tartışmaları ve anayasa çalışmaları bir kriz etkisi yaratıyor. Döviz kurlarındaki artış enflasyonu tetikliyor.



Türkiye için dolardaki yükselişin bir başka dezavantajı da devletin dış borçlanması diyebiliriz. Dış borç stokunun gerek kamu gerekse özel kesimde artışı dövizini etkiliyor. Türkiye'nin üye olduğu para fonlarından aldığı borçlar ve Amerika'nın yeni başkanı Trump'ın seçilmesi ile gelen belirsizlik gelişmekte olan ülke kurlarında satış baskısı yaratıyor.

*Fatih ÇINAR*

# FALL

It's of no doubt that everything started on December 17, 2011, in Tunisia with a young man setting himself on fire and since then, things have never been the same in the middle east. We believed directly in the rise of Arab, the awakening of Arab and the Spring of Arab but he was like a young flower that was open in the sun, but we did not see it. We believed in the spring, however we live in the autumn it's just that we don't see the facts.

Western states and regional satellite states, such as Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia, were very glad to this spring. Despite the fact that spring is the symbol of freedom and democracy, it turned into blood and tears for the Middle East's case. What ISIS, FSA and more, does in the name of religion, are newsman of autumn.

How did Arab Spring begin? Foundation of the awakening of Arab was thrown with Greater Middle East project. Why did Arab Spring start? Cold War had finished and The United States of America was alone on the world scene. Moreover, Greater Middle East project had started by USA for new playmates in the world. The plan, which is Creative Destruction, was obvious for starting Greater Middle East project. However, this was not an economic term, it was a real destruction.

Barrack Obama's visits were signs that the process began. Obama first came to Turkey then went to Cairo / Egypt but he went to Saudi Arabia before going to Egypt. These visits were the first signs that the Greater Middle East project started. However, the events that started in Tunisia experienced a brief shock to Western states and especially USA and this event speeded up to process. Bin Ali and his regime had fallen in a short time without international intervention because Western states gave up with Tunisia and Bin Ali regime for their interests. Everyone was interested in the events in Tunisia, however because of the fall of Bin Ali regime, a spillover effect in the Middle East started. Egypt was the sensitive fault line of Arab Spring and this fault line was broken by the Jasmine Revolution.

Egypt has similarities with Tunisia's period of Arab Spring however, Egypt's Spring process continued more hardly and more bloody because Egypt has a geostrategic point for imperialist countries. Mursi replaced Husni Mubarek after he(the latter) was ousted, with support of Western countries, however Mursi's policies changed after he came to power. Moreover, the ruling party started to support radical Islamist groups such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS. Because of these reasons, Morsi and Muslim brotherhood party fell with a military take over and new government was formed by old defence minister Sisi.

Arab Spring in Egypt showed that spring started to turn into a bloody "spring". Arab Spring spilled over to Libya starting off as a civil war between tribes, which are pro-Qadhafi supporters and anti-Qadhafi supporters. Moreover, NATO started to a military intervention and this situation caused of a terrible destruction for Libya also presence of dual army increased conflict between tribes and this civil war did not stop. Nowadays there is still no stability in Libya.

Arab Spring's last victim was Syria, however there was an important difference from other movements. In this case, the army remained loyal to Asad regime with the support of Russia, China, and Iran then on the other hand, Western countries, Turkey and most of Arab countries gave support to anti-regime forces turning the civil war into 'A war within a state'. Moreover, because of lack of political authority, terrorism increased and immigration problem emerged in the Middle East, especially in Syria.

Lastly, Arab Spring affected almost all Middle East countries but most of them stopped these movements or maybe there was no more provocation from Western countries to these movements. For the west, where their interests such as natural resources lies, then that's where to provoke people.

Consequently, nowadays there are big conflicts in the Middle East because of the awakening of Arabs . A great number of people were killed, wounded or had to migrate from their own countries. These movements are similar to what led to the emergence of nationalist movement in the Balkans, disintegration of Ottoman Empire, and for now, the Middle East is collapsing step by step.

Hate is born where there is no love so, we had to sow the seeds of love for preventing disintegration of the Middle East.

*İsmail Batuhan YURDAER*

## FOOD CRISIS IN YEMEN

BM: The food crisis in Yemen could turn into a scarcity in 2017.

The United Nations (UN) warned that the food crisis in Yemen due to the war could turn into a major shortage spreading throughout the country this year. Stephen O'Brien emphasized that the information provided by the UN Security Council requires food aid to keep the lives of 2 million people in the country, increasing the proportion of malnourished children by 63 percent per year. O'Brien noted that every 10 minutes in the country, a child loses his/her life for preventable reasons. Before the country was dragged into war, the destruction of war in Yemen, the poorest country in the Arab world, and the harbor embargo of the coalition under the leadership of Saudi Arabia, increased the food shortage in the country. In addition today, more than 14 million people suffer from food shortages, and 2.2 million children are constantly undernourished. 500 thousand children are critically undernourished. O'Brien called on the coalition under Saudi Arabia's leadership, supported by Western countries, to terminate the ban on flights and to open San'a airport. Moreover, O'Brien emphasized the disproportionate effect of the embargo on the civilians, so he explained that the important medicines could not enter the country and that 20 thousand patients who were to be treated abroad were deprived of this possession. Plus, three months of wheat left. The UN's Jamie McGoldrick, the Humanitarian Aid Coordinator in Yemen, told the BBC, that people were in desperate conditions and there was enough wheat in the country only for three months. Additionally, O'Brien said that the salaries of 1.25 million public employees were also irregular. For nearly two years, Yemen has been dragged into conflict with Hesi insurgents and President Abdurabbu Mansur al-Hadi who is supported by international public opinion and Saudi Arabia. The embargo on the harbors of the country that imports 90 percent of its food from abroad, the conflicts surrounding the ports of Aden and the ports of Al-Hudayde by the government led to a major food crisis. Today half of the healthcare institutions in the country are closed. While some caused financial difficulties for the closure of some, the bombs of the coalition under the leadership of Saudi Arabia were eventually destroyed.



"Wherever you go you see people begging and looking for food in the garbage."

"He dies because he can not take children to health centers."

"Today, the humanitarian agencies are trying to fill the vacancy of the collapsing public institutions, but this capacity exceeds our budget."

Jamie McGoldrick, the UN's humanitarian aid coordinator in Yemen, complains that despite this devastating picture, Yemen has attracted less attention from the international community than Syria and Iraq: "The fact that Yemenis do not hit the coasts of Italy and Greece does not mean that they have different things from Syrian asylum seekers".

*Fatma ŞEKER*

## THE RISE OF DONALD TRUMP



The president of the United States of America, Donald Trump, has proved to be the most controversial politician of all time. Just a year ago, it was almost difficult to hear 'President Donald Trump' since it would have sounded so improbable and too ridiculous to contemplate, it was actually much more difficult for Americans to truly believe that Trump will be the next president just few days before election, but it happened. In his sweeping victory, Trump not only won states that have always been painted red or rather republican

states, but also won swing states like Florida, Ohio and North Carolina. Then, as least expected, he stormed Democratic strongholds like Pennsylvania and Wisconsin states that have always been painted blue since the reign of George Bush in 1988. By doing so, he rode a wave of resentment against the country's elites, and voter antipathy for the establishment candidate, Hillary Clinton, all the way to the White House.

Funny as it may sound, the polls, not even to mention the political pundits of all time, did not predict the outcome of the election which is totally far from normal as far as politics is concerned. It was almost evidently clear that he was going to lose if not badly, then worse including in his own backyard. For Trump himself, he may have believed that victory was possible, but it wasn't based on much evidence beyond the turnout at his rallies. The rest of the world reacted to Trump's slow-motion win with disbelief at first, then outright horror stroke, and with just a snap of a finger, he hit the needed threshold to clinch victory immediately sending shockwaves across the globe.



Just after the announcement, with the prospect of a billionaire businessman becoming president, the stock market drastically altered around the globe plummeting coffers that were highly dependent on American products. Over the years, many Americans have been accustomed to divisive elections and perhaps the partisan guerrilla battles between the votes. However for now, the country has cleaved in ways that seems far more threatening. Trump's victory was totally sealed through the overwhelming support of white, work-

ing-class men in rural America and big city exurbs.

And it was the result of a campaign that alienated many women, all minorities, and even the traditional power brokers within his own party. It is very interesting that Trump was the only presidential candidate in the entire history of the US who was willing to stumble where no major party nominee, especially republican, had mucked before such as stoking racial fears, promising border walls and religious bans, vowing to jail his opponent and declaring the outcome "rigged" before a single ballot was cast. This surely damaged U.S. democracy. Not to mention the lies. Throughout his 19 months on the trail, he dissembled and distorted and scattered falsehoods throughout his campaign

On the other side of the coin, the blues(democrat's) choice of former secretary of state Hillary Clinton as their standard and undisputed flag bearer pretty much opting for familiarity and experience over popularity ended up playing to Trump's advantage. Her extraordinary experience, and perhaps one of the most ever qualified presidential candidate ,somehow ironically marked her as a suspect, rather than qualified. Trump mercilessly used her controversial mistake of using a private email server while at the State Department as the focal point of his attacks, even branding her names such as "Crooked Hillary."

This issue was even made worse when the FBI chief made an ill-timed decision to reopen their investigation into the matter with just 12 days to go in the election, it may well have been the fatal blow for the Democrats. Regardless of the fact that Clinton was cleared of wrongdoing again shortly before Election Day, still it wasn't easy for people to gain trust in her therefore giving Trump a upper hand.

The rise of President Trump and his unusual victory can be analyzed in different lenses, but the tone of the analysis will more or less revolve around the same issue, that is 'democracy at risk'. Whether he will be able, or willing, to follow through on his most extreme promises such as the forced deportation of 11.5 million illegal immigrants, banning Muslims from entering the United States, assassinating the families of terrorists, or even simply tearing up international trade deals of which he has already done, is an open question. Just recently, he suffered a major blow after a federal judge temporarily halted the implementation of his controversial executive order of barring Muslims from 7 countries from entering the US.

*Andrew KIMWOLE*

## 8 YEARS WITH OBAMA

Barack Hussein Obama came to the world on August 4, 1961 as the son of a prosperous Muslim father and a white American mother. His parents met at Hawaii University and were married. When Obama was 2 years old, his parents were divorced. His father, a scholarship student at Harvard University, then returned to Kenya and worked there for the government. Obama studied Political Science at Columbia University in New York and entered Harvard Law School in 1988. He was the first African-American manager of "Harvard Law Review" magazine. Obama was elected Senator of the United States in 2004, becoming Illinois State Senator from 1996-2004. Following this victory, Obama became one of Washington's favorite names,



as his popularity grew. With Barack Obama declaring that he is a presidential candidate in early 2007 against the other candidate (John McCain) who was involved in a long struggle with former US President Bill Clinton. It became clear in June 2008 that Barack Obama was officially the Democratic Party the presidential candidate. He used the slogan of "change" in the election campaign. Barack Obama is married to Michelle Robinson, born in 1964 and a graduate of the Harvard Law School like himself. There have two daughters, Malia and Sasha. Obama is seen with strange attitude from conservative circles because of his second name which is Hussein, however that did not stop him from attaining his goals. President Barack Obama eventually became the first black president in US history. He is an impressive speaker / orator in the US.

Obama, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in his first year in the presidential seat, in 2009, after the disastrous presidential period that peaked with George W. Bush's Iraq fiasco, the international community hoped that the US will change the role of the world in the best way, emphasize diplomacy and provide possible military solutions. Obama's old, predictive talks, promising a new approach to the Middle East and promising to create a world without nuclear weapons, reinforced these hopes. After eight years in office, Obama has provided a number of concrete contributions, but has however not succeeded in passing on the bigger goals such as pursuing a different approach in the Middle East or launching a process that will save the world from nuclear weapons. Obama's blueprint needs to be examined in more detail to confirm this mixed assessment. He is an American leader with the world's best features of international liberalism and there is no doubt that Bush has met a satisfactory change after years of meaningless militarism. But contrary to the expectation of many, there has been a continuation of some of the ancestors.

### **Biggest global move: return to Asia.**

The biggest global move: return to Asia. Obama's Obama is the best of international liberalism. There is no doubt that he is an American leader who welcomed change after the meaningless militarism of Bush years. Obama, who continued the 'war on terror', described the killing of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan as his greatest success, albeit he softened the previous aggressive rhetoric. During President Obama's presidency, he won a major victory against Al Qaeda. In 2001, about 3,000 people were killed, For most Americans who were seeking revenge for their September 11 attacks losses, which revealed that the US was/is vulnerable to terrorist violence despite its military power, finally justice was delivered with this development.

However, the emergence of ISIS - partly because of the US's inability to properly manage the Iraqi occupation - has left the influence of the weakening of Al Qaeda to a degree. The biggest global move in Obama's presidency was 'return to Asia'. The move was aimed at showing that Bush's destruction of the rudimentary Europe to the Middle East led to the neglect of America and the interests of the world in Asia. It was a reflection of Obama's commitment to braking China's quest for seabeds of South China and East Asia with rich fish beds and offshore energy reserves. This turn was welcomed by some Asian allies who are worried about America's expansionist pressures from China. In practice, this would give America a message to China by strengthening its military bases and naval presence throughout the region, and expressed a diplomatic commitment to opposing China's imposition of demands on the islands claimed by other Asian powers. The US controversially led the negotiations of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement, which created a privileged trading zone for 12 Asian countries except China. The TPP is also targeted at criticism across Asia, as it has raised drug costs because of the increased protection measures for international property rights. It seems that the populist reactions from the right wing in the US and Europe make it politically dangerous that the leaders are now seen as free trade defenders. That's where Trump earned the biggest success in American voters from. Claiming that Obama's job is to cause people to become unemployed because of his indulgence in disadvantaged trade agreements, Trump promised to break those agreements if he was elected president. Obama, whose vision of nuclear weapons was hindered by pro-nuclear environments in Washington, effectively abandoned his first stance on this subject. In fact, the anti-nuclear forces in civil society, at this point, Obama points out that the \$ 30 trillion program that supports the modernization of the existing nuclear arsenal until 2030 is a clear step backwards. This modernization program is particularly unsettling as it will make it more attractive to use nuclear warheads in battle situations by reducing size and weight.

### **Middle East: Achievements, defeats, frustrations**

In the middle East, Obama achieved significantly in foreign policy field. As a name against the Iraq War, Obama was determined to put an end to the US participation in the war and reduce the number of the US forces. Although Obama was criticized for leaving power vacuum that led to the rise of ISIS with this withdrawal, the Iraqi government did not really want the military presence of America there. Obama's policies have significantly reduced America's participation and losses, but have not ended the chaos and conflict that Iraq has experienced since Saddam Hussein's overthrowal in 2003. In the case of Syria where none of the foreign political actors act actively or implicitly, Obama's carnival deserves more prestige than he has seen in general. Undoubtedly, Obama's greatest achievement in the region was Iran's agreement to impose severe limitations on its nuclear program. This diplomatic victory, which probably prevented a major war in the region from erupting, was achieved despite Israeli hard opposition.

### **Turkey: Deep problems**

Obama gave great importance to developing a positive relationship with Ankara from the very beginning, as demonstrated by his visit to Turkey shortly after sitting in the chairman's chair, but this importance rested on the condition that Turkey should continue to adhere to America's geopolitical priorities, just as it was during the Cold War era. In 2010, Turkey experienced serious tensions with Brazil in an attempt to resolve the issue of Iran's nuclear program without obtaining approval from Washington. The tension further increased after the Blue Marmara incident created a severe deterioration in Turkey-Israel relations. On the other hand, during his visit to Israel in 2013, Obama attempted to normalize relations with these two American allies. Following the unsuccessful coup attempt on July 15, Obama's clear hesitation to offer Turkey's support to the elected government, causing a problematic turn in relations again. Another issue that is likely to further disturb the Turkish government is that the US, the policy of providing military assistance to the YPG, which is regarded as the Syrian extension of the PKK, which Turkey regards as an important terrorist threat to security and well-being. While Turkey is concerned about the Kurdish dimension, the United States gives priority to efforts to overthrow the Damascus regime.

As a result, Turkey is a very important NATO member and strategic ally, still in strong alliance with the United States, But the states that are really sovereign have different priorities on the policy grounds and sometimes they can follow opposite paths without disturbing the friendship on the ground. This may be appropriate in terms of Turkey-US relations in the post-Cold War era. If this is possible, this will be a relevant new maturity indicator that is vital for both countries.

### **Domestic politics: exit from economic stagnation, Health System and Congress disabled**

Obama has managed to get the US out of the deepest recession since the Great Depression. It did so by relying on a package of incentives that seemed to reward a number of major banks and investment companies that had put the country in a dangerous crisis. Unemployment has been tense, the stock market has risen. That is why impartial observers appreciate Obama so much.

Obama's greatest priority in his country was to give America a proper health system that they needed so much. The Obamacare program, developed in the wake of a serious war of interests, is a progression from the old system, although it does not exactly meet the need. The greatest success of the program is that the health care coverage that was not previously insured and also to the existing health conditions that insurance companies left out of coverage has been covered. To be fair, Obama could have accomplished much more if Congress were in control of the Democrats. The obstructionist tactics that the Republicans have implemented since they took control of the Congress in 2012 made it impossible to do something. Obama had to make a heroic effort to keep some government offices open.

The prospects for the US administration after Obama do not seem to be very pleasing at the moment. After Trump, he will have the advantage of being a Republican in Congress. However, given the differences in opinion within the various political issues within the Congress, It seems Trump will either do a lot of things, or find himself almost as blocked as Clinton.

*Melike Seçil ZEYDAN*

## BEYOND THE REALITY

Every year, Oxford University Press chooses the word of the year. In 2005 “Sudoku”, in 2009 “unfriendly” and in 2013 “selfie” were chosen. Lastly, in 2016 “post-truth” was chosen. Post-truth have deep meanings although it looks like ordinary at first.

Post-truth is the cunning name nowadays. The “post” is used outside of the general use and it shows insignificance of the concepts which come before. That means, this word mentions insignificance of truth. Also, when this word is examined, deep meanings can be realized. Generally, the truth is universal but in this case, instead of the truth being handled totally, it is evaluated partly. Thus, everyone can create their own truth. The masses believe in fictionalised reality, not the truth. This situation is important and dangerous not only in societies but also in governments. One example of this has been witnessed in the previous days. A news site wrote; if Pakistan pulls troops out of Syria, Israeli Defence Ministry would be destroyed by nuclear weapons. In this case, Pakistani Defence Minister threatened Israel with nuclear weapons. Fortunately the reality about event was learned right away and fixed.



The funniest thing is that the word which remains on the agenda did not come to light at present because this word was used for a theatre play in 1992 by Ralph Kates and in a book which is called “The Post Truth Era“ in 2004. Although this word is used professionally by the leaders of Poland, Turkey and Russia, the word gained popularity with Brexit and presidential elections in the US. When Brexit period was examined, supporters of Brexit came up with some ideas which are not true. Moreover these ideas were discussed by authorities and considered true by the masses. Afterwards the word “post-truth” was seen in the

presidential election of America especially, when lots of falsehood came up against Donald Trump. Fabricated news spreads several times in TV channels for rating and in websites to click. These news is spread in Twitter and Facebook more faster than others and manipulated perception. These fake news is not the only reason to win the election but it has a huge effect in America.

On the other hand there are several reasons why social media manipulates public opinion. The most important of these is the facebook algorithm because this algorithm is built to show attractive things for its users. For this reasons, users confront with content which is about their own thoughts and they are not aware of opposing views. This algorithm is in Twitter and shopping site.

Because of these reasons, people can create a post-truth world without spending any cost. A post-truth claim is suggested in election of America because Trump said that crime rates in America are increasing day by day. However, the media did not report it because crime rates have decreased in official statistics. But this time a new assertion occurred about the media for not doing job properly. In the end, although the crime rates decreased, people believed Donald Trump without any investigation.

These kind of situations are especially used by Russia, Belarus, Hungary, Poland and Turkey. More than 50 accuracy control projects were started in the last 10 years to learn truthful news. Besides, there is a huge increase in “fact-checking” sites in Europe. Unfortunately, this situation has gotten worse and more dangerous for countries in the last line of freedom of the press like Turkey.

*Berkay BULUT*

## DISINTEGRATION OF EUROPEAN UNION



Throughout the centuries, European countries have fought conflicts of religion and interests. After Second World War, European officials were in a struggle for establishing permanent peace in Europe. The first step in order to establish the goal of united Europe was to found European Coal and Steel Community. It was the first time in World history that states voluntarily transferred their sovereignty to a Supra-National institution. This community, which was established in 1951 consisted of Belgium, Federal Germany, Luxemburg, France and Holland. Six member countries established a community in which capital can circulate freely in 1957. In 1958, The European Atomic Energy Community was founded in order to ensure peaceful usage of nuclear energy. In the course of time, merger treaty and customs union were added and number of members was increased. With the participation of United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland number of members became nine. Union aimed to constitute a single market until 1993. Meanwhile, number of members became twenty-eight. In 2009, the name of the agreement which constituted the community was changed to “Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.”

Since 2008 economic crisis in Europe, European countries and people triggered fall of governments. Since there was gradual aging of European population, their social security system equally achieved the level of decadence. Foreign immigrants who migrated to Europe caused great economic crisis and difficulties in European countries. Furthermore, this increasing number of immigrants triggered social unrest in European countries and this led to the rise of radical right movements. Normative bureaucracy that European Union generated on the member states complicated the rivalry between Europe and other dynamic economies. United Kingdom, who wants to be out of many implementations of European Union, has begun to have some troubles in its domestic policy. As a member state England who always opposes to the common policies and shared currency, begins to be named as problematic child of European Union. England also did not want to abide the working hours determined with the Directive of European Union. Furthermore, United Kingdom wanted to stay out of the implementations of European Union Criminal Law. When European Union did not approve United Kingdom's demands, United Kingdom took a decision about exiting from European Union with a plebiscite. Meanwhile European countries, which used Euro, defended the idea stating that in order to overcome the crisis, they have to become more integrated. If that's not the case, then there will be a growth on economic crisis between the countries which are using Euro and not.

Stratford, a think tank in United States, predicted disintegration of European Union in their report that they prepared for the next ten years. According to Stratford, "European Union entered into a crisis and this crisis is continuing progressively. As a result of this crisis, European Union cannot return to time of unison. Even if it achieves to preserve union, it will continue to working on a divided and restricted area. Germany will have economic retails along ten years and as a result of this Poland will emerge as a regional power."

In the report, it is stated that Europe, describing not only as a Euro region which cannot be able to solve its basic problems, but also the Free Trade Region is applying on Europe countries. Germany stands in the centre of European Unions' exportation. Germany exports more than fifty percent of the total export of European Union.

It is registered that Germany which is the World's fourth biggest economy, is enslaved by the European Union's welfare and competition environment. It is indicated that there are multiple dangers waiting for Germany and foremost among them is nationalism. It is stated that states prefer to being more self-enclosed and protectionist in terms of economy with this increasing nationalism. According to the president of International Diplomats Association Günther Meinel, members of European Union are not defending the ideas which are justifications of establishment. The perception of union, gives place to prosperity of states and nationalism.

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## KARDAK-IMIA CRISIS AGAIN



On 29th January 2017, Commander of the Turkish Armed Forces general Hulusi Akar visited Kardak base. Right after his visit, two boats belonging to Greek Navy entered Turkish territorial waters. Turkish boats however intervened forcing Greek boats to retreat near the Kalimnos Island, 1.5 miles away from Kardak. With this intervention, the tension between Greece and Turkey calmed down. After the tension, Greek minister of defence, Panos Kammenos visited Kardak and laid a wreath on the Kardak Greek soldiers who died marking the anniversary of Kardak crisis. However, this tension increased day by day. Turkish minister of foreign affairs, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu declared that if commander of the Turkish Armed Forces Akar had wanted to land in Kardak, Akar would have done it. In response to Çavuşoğlu, Kammenos defended the idea that Kardak is a Greek island. Kammenos stated that there is no such possibility to landing of Turkish Armed Force in Kardak, if there will be a possible intention to setting foot of Turkish Armed Forces in Kardak, there will be a quick response and resist against this. Whereas Çavuşoğlu described Kammenos as “a spoiled child of Europe and Coalition” and referred to the Kardak crisis in 1996 by stating that “Greek government know what Turkish Armed Forces will do in case of need, I recommend them to tell this spoiled child what Turkish Armed Force have done.”



Actually this tension that has lasted over twenty one years, do increase intentionally. Since there is great debate between Turkey and Greece in the matter of eight soldiers who fled and took refuge in Greece after the 15 July coup attempt in Turkey, Turkey expected that Greece who is one of the few countries that Turkey has a good relationship as a neighbouring country and as an ally of NATO, will send back those eight soldiers. That is the core reason behind the visit of Hulusi Akar to Kardak. Furthermore, there are some other reasons behind this tension. Ankara observes that Greece steps into action for opening settlement in more than ten islands. Lastly, Ankara has reactive attitude towards the requests of Greece and Southern Greek Region about retreating of Turkish Armed Forces in Cyprus.

### **WHAT HAPPENED DURING KARDAK-IMIA CRISIS IN 1996?**

On 25th December 1995, a Turkish vessel called Figen Akat grounded in Kardak 3.8 miles away from Bodrum. After that, Greece declared that this vessel has been grounded in Greek territorial waters. On the other hand, Turkey claimed that aforementioned island belongs to them. Greece's offer of help was refused and the vessel named



Figen Akat was freed through its own means. However with the great debates about Kardak in the press of both Greece and Turkey, this tension increased. The peak point of the crisis was the planting of flags by Greeks and Turks in the Kardak. In 26 January 1996, Priest and mayor of Kalimnos(Kilimli) Island which is the closest island to Kardak with his sons landed in Kardak and they planted Greek flag there. On 27th January, a group of Turkish journalists from Hürriyet flew to Kardak by a helicopter. Despite the bad weather conditions, they landed in Kardak and planted Turkish flag. This tension increased more after the news of these Turkish journalists with the photograph of the Turkish flag in Kardak was shown. Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Çiller stated that “this soldier will leave, this flag will remove.”



On 28th January, Greeks landed in eastern part of Kardak. On 30th January, Turkish underwater demolition team led by Ali Türkşen landed in western part of Kardak at night. At that time in Kardak, there were both Greek and Turkish flags. Greek chief of staff wanted to bombard the western part of Kardak where Turkish underwater demolition team was. However Greek prime minister Konstantinos G. Simitis refused his idea and Greek chief of staff was dismissed that night. This crisis was nevertheless solved with the efforts of the President of USA, Bill Clinton and Richard Holbrooke. The parties left the Kardak and removed their flags mutually.

The tension of Kardak between Turkey and Greece can be seen as a transitory tension. The main reason behind this mutual tension arises from the discontent of Turkey about the fugitive soldiers. Greece did not give back these soldiers because it has some reservations about the their trial processes. As it is seen in this Kardak tension, it can be understood that 15th July and struggle with Fetö became important elements of Turkish foreign policy recently. Lastly, it is a visit just like a reference for Greece as a warning. The intensive and conflicting events in domestic policy of both Turkey and Greece influence their foreign policy as well as it was in the 1996.

*Bahar TEMİR*

## **WHAT IS TERRORISM? WHAT ARE THE REASONS OF TERRORISM?**

Terrorism produces widespread fear on society, terrorizes people, and it is the intimidation of all acts. Terrorism is used to achieve a political aim. There are various reasons of terrorism. Some of them are the common causes of terrorist incidents in every part of the world, locality and even may be the special qualities of a terrorist group or a terrorist leader. Except these special qualities as everyone knows, there are psychological reasons which are very important and can be seen with a psychological perspective. Whatever the reason may be, the truth is that the attack on innocent civilians is the easiest and the most important way for terrorism. Terrorism is evaluated as “Rigour Movement From Below” since it aims to destroy and show hatred for the political order. It however doesn't come from below always. In fact, terror took it's place in the literature for the first time in the world as an oppression which is applied by the government, and in 1795 it is described as “Ruling with Intimidation”

### **WHAT IS PKK'S STRATEGY?**

#### **STRATEGIES OF TERRORISM**

Terrorist organizations uses violence and terror to achieve their political goals with particular strategies on certain targets. In addition to this, terrorism mainly tries to create a psychological effect on the targeted objective in order to create a political achievement which is used by terrorist organizations strategically. In this sense, it does not matter if the terrorist attacks are directly targeted for the military, strategically the purpose behind these attacks targets the society and the politics.

### **A- STRATEGY OF ATTRITION**

Targeted objective: Society

Aim: Creating frustration on society, creating an oppression on the government to accept the terms of the terrorist groups.

Method: Creating a long term conflict and carrying out vigorous terror attacks.

### **B- STRATEGY OF PROVOCATION**

Targeted objective: Society, security forces

Aim: Creating a way for polarisation and radicalisation by creating a conflict between the segments of the society.

Method: Causing civilian casualties by provoking security forces with acts of terrorism, creating a conflict between the segments of the society by attacking the social values with acts of terrorism which represents the social values.

### **C- STRATEGY OF SUBJUGATION**

Targeted objective: Society

Aim: Tries to take the support of the society while facilitating within the society, forcing the society to collaborate or making them stay impartial, in fact, legitimizing its political authority.

Method: Creating terrorist acts towards the society within the operated society.

These strategies are absolutely inseparable, and each strategy carries the trait of another's strategy. Hence, a terrorist attack reflects the strategies in many ways.

### **WHAT IS THE SOLUTION?**

In King's College London, Simon Waldman who makes a research on the Middle East said that: *“Turkey is facing with two dangers. One is ISIL, and the other one is PKK. By the way, Turkey is also involved in Syria. In many ways, Turkey's foreign policy, lives the failure of the unsuccessful privilege among its enemies. Turkey must decide who possess the danger and who is the enemy of Turkey. After this decision, Ankara must attack to the enemy with full force and compensate the dangers.”* The region is in a chaos for years and there are attempts to change the borders. No terror organization can carry on without the foreign support. Thus, the diplomacy and the cooperation between the governments is a significant way against the terrorism. Well if you ask, *“what are the ways during the fight”* As long as the neighbouring countries hosts them, creates an opportunity to host them, supplies and hosts them in the Europe, this problem will continue. There is no way to achieve an absolute solution as long as there is a foreign support. On following policies, the national interests must be taken into consideration before the every political ideology. The main factors which shapes the foreign policy must be chosen very carefully, must be analyzed and it should be applied while paying regards to the sentiments. The real policy, like political and philosophical movements came into existence after a slow evolution of a process. Nations who do not have a real policy are bound to collapse. Briefly, it is realpolitik, meaning that taking the consideration of the current situation, not aiming the morality but for the prosperity. To the utmost, the national interests shall be privileged

## **DO THEY HAVE THE STRENGTH TO ESTABLISH A STATE?**

PKK does not have the strength to establish a state. However, it can continue its existence where there is a lack of authority and power. PKK is aware of the fact that they are unable to defeat Turkey militarily. Therefore, their strategy is to attack as much as possible, intimidate and tire the country. PKK aims to make a deal with Turkey in order to stop the bloodshed. Therefore, they will gain a political legitimacy recognized among the nations.

*Written by : Aslıhan BULUT - Merve KARAÇELİK  
Translated by: Mert TUNCER*

## **BEING REMEMBERED AS SEXIST, RACIST, AND HYPOCRITICAL; NOT AS A PRESIDENT OF THE US**

Donald Trump won the electoral college with 304 votes compared to 227 votes for Hillary Clinton. He became 45th president of the US.

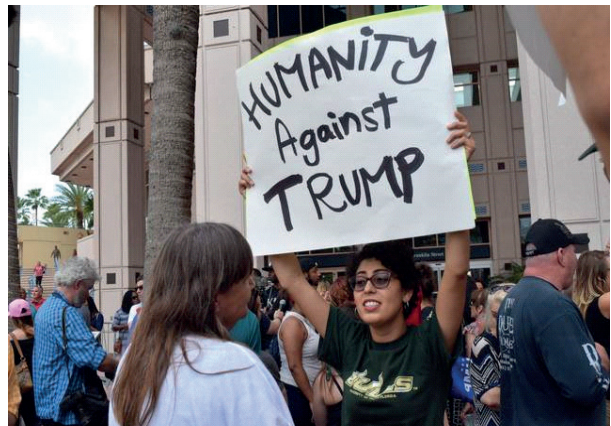


### **Who is Donald Trump?**

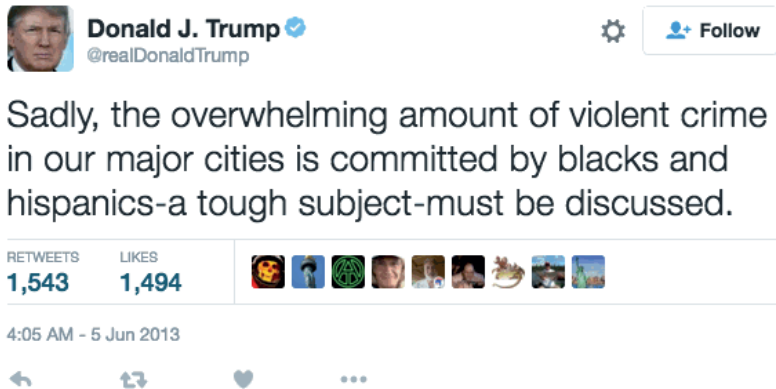
He is an American businessman, television personality, and politician. He was born and bred in Jamaica Queens, New York. He took charge of his family's real estate and firm which is later called as The Trump Organization. Throughout his business career, he built and managed hotels, office towers, and casinos. His name was used in brandizations. In 2016 he became the 324th wealthiest person in the world, listed by Forbes. He was also the 113th richest person in the US. Since 2000 he has involved in elections. In 2000 he withdrew before voting began. He was also planning to attend the elections in 2012, but he did not. In June 2015 he announced his candidacy. He won the general election on November 8, 2016. With this elections he became the wealthiest and oldest person as a president.

### **Why are people against Donald Trump?**

One of the reasons is his hypocrisy. He takes any and all opposition or criticism as a personal insult and he responds accordingly. The political correctness is the thing he hates so much. He does not respect other people's sensitivities. He only supports the marriage between a man and a woman. That is to say he does not respect LGBTQIA and their rights.

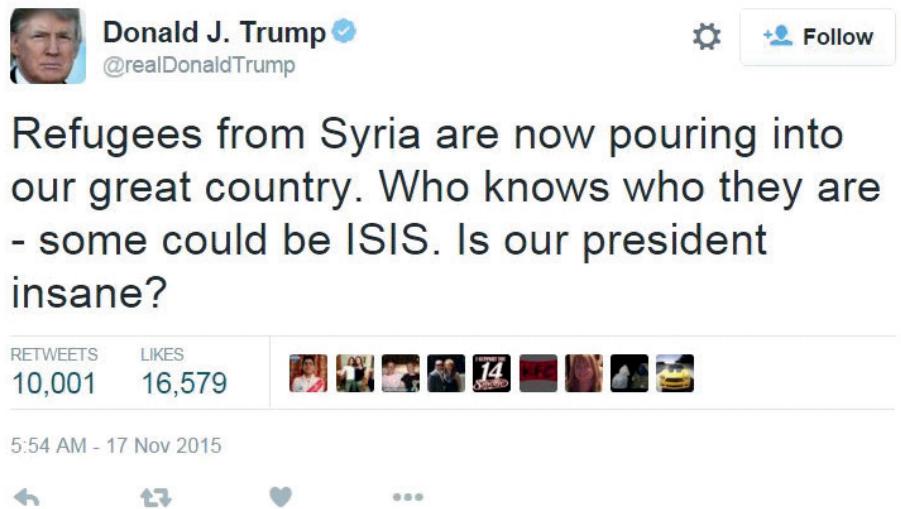


Another reason is related to his wealth. He is a billionaire. He also experienced bankruptcy many times. He is not good at making decisions about money. People are anxious about the question: What if he does the same to America?



It is not strange to call him as a racist because he himself shared a post on Twitter which says 'Most of the crimes are committed by blacks and Latinos'.

On a record of him he argues that giving access to Europeans to America, and lead to get citizenship are possible. However, it is not valid for Latinos. He does not care about the minority communities of America like Scottish whom are left homeless by him. Last but not the least reason is that, as he loves the idea of creating 'the other' he does not want refugees to enter the US.



He also has sharp prejudices toward Muslims. He even cannot bear to see them in the country.

### **Why are women against Donald Trump?**

While writing about his sexual assaults, we should not only focus on his recent actions and ideas but also we should take his past actions into account. For instance, in 1980 he used to threaten his employee named Louise Sunshine showing her fat picture in his drawer to others if she did not do what he wanted from her. In 1990s he used this sentence to his wife in an interview: 'I would never buy Luana any decent jewels or pictures. Why give her negotiable assets?' Then in 1991 he called women as 'beautiful pieces of ass'. He has a famous phrase about women which says 'you have to treat them like shit'. When he was married to Marla Maples he said 'I think that putting a wife to work is very dangerous thing... Unfortunately after they are a star the fun is over for me. It is like a creation process. It is almost like creating building. It is pretty sad.' In May 2000 he listed the women whom he wanted to sleep with. In that list there were Melania Knauss, and Princess Diana. In his speech 2011 he called breastfeeding as 'disgusting'. He always uses insulting words to women. Saying 'bimbo' to journalist Megyn Kelly can be given as an example. He sees abortion as a punishable thing.



### **How did Women's March start and spread all over the world?**

On January 21, 2017 in Washington, dozens of people with their independent coordinators gathered to walk to White House. However, Washington was not the only place, they inspired other women around world. They organised Sister Marches. It was a proactive international movement. These marches were for representing the voices of progressive people around the world. There were considerable amount of people in these marches. They achieved to reach these people through social media. They created a web page. They informed people through this page. Ending violence, reproductive rights, LGBTQIA rights, worker's rights, civil rights, disability rights, immigrant rights, and environmental justice were their main concerns. All they wanted was creating a society in which women –including black women, native women, poor women, immigrant women, disabled women, Muslim women, lesbian and trans women- were free and had the same rights. They had also some sponsors. American Civil Liberties Union which is one of these sponsors has created an useful guide for demonstrations and protests about knowing our rights.



### **What we think about the Marches**

The women's march was not just a protest that was only about the domestic issue of America. We do sympathise with those people who were at streets. It is not remote for us to understand the worries of people for having such a president. It was the largest single-day demonstration in the history of the US . Their problem did not remain as domestic. It became worldwide in a short time. They were there not only for themselves but also for everywomen all around the world as what they were defending concerns all of us.

The problem is the electee, not the election. There is a president who does not respect us because of some titles that we have. We did not choose to be Muslim-born, Turkish citizen or women. However, he chose to be a racist, sexist, and a hypocritical. We should not forget that they wanted to build bridges not walls!

*Ceren GÜLER*  
*Selen CEYLAN*



**IMPROSIS**



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