



Ümit YAZICIOĞLU

# RECORDS IN THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE

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Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

November 20223

Europäische Hochschulschriften

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Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

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Gesslerstrasse 13

10829 Berlin

**ISBN : "978-3-96603-008-3"**

Edition Europa Frankfurt am Main. Berlin. Bern. Bruxel.  
Lüksemburg. New York. Oxford, Tekman. Wien

I dedicate it to my children  
Deniz, Koray and Sherin

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A decade after September 11, 2001, it seemed the world was entering a period of consensus in what is termed "Western" in the annals of global history. America's first Black president, Barack Obama, had rhetorically broken with the foreign policy approach of his predecessor, George W. Bush. The Euro-American relationship appeared to be strengthening. While the great financial crisis that started in the US in 2007, swiftly affecting the Eurozone, hadn't been fully overcome, it had passed its peak without dismantling global financial structures or the Euro.

The West's surge of military forces to 100,000 in Afghanistan succeeded in pushing back the Taliban, only momentarily repelled after 9/11, back to the defensive. The Americans managed to provisionally re-establish security in Iraq, a nation they had destabilized with an invasion led by the U.S. in 2003. A path seemed visible for nuclear negotiations and the lifting of sanctions with Iran. Osama bin Laden, the figure behind the 9/11 attacks, had finally been located. In early May 2011, he was found and killed by American special forces in his residence in Abbottabad, Pakistan – despite the possibility of capturing him alive.

Furthermore, around the turn of 2010/11, starting in Tunisia, there were uprisings against regimes that had been in power for decades throughout the Arab world. The Bush era's aggressive American Middle East policy had enforced a violent revolution for liberalization and democratization from the outside in Afghanistan and Iraq after 2001. Now, Arabs were demanding democracy and the rule of law on their own terms, thereby - seemingly - meeting Western expectations. 2011 was a year of great beginnings and hope. After the end of the Cold War, many Western decision-makers believed in a continuous global move towards freedom and democracy. History was proceeding in the Euro-Atlantic region as once predicted: One day, everyone would be "like us", just like "the West". This was the thesis put forward in American political scientist Francis Fukuyama's book "The End of History". Fukuyama was articulating what many Europeans and Americans already believed: The West had won the historical final

battle between liberal capitalism and dictatorial communism. Now, the whole world was open to its benevolent influence and would adapt to it, as it had in Eastern Europe.

In the early hours of the Arab revolution, the revolutionaries were young, tech-savvy, creative, Euro-American educated, setting for themselves a set of ideals: human dignity, political participation, freedom from dictatorship and repression, self-rule, and democracy. Significant media developments that contributed to this beginning were witnessed a decade ago. The TV channel Al-Jazeera, originating from Qatar, gained its fame through broadcasting - it had aired Bin Laden's video messages - and in December 2010, brought the Tunisian revolution triggered by the self-immolation of vegetable seller Mohammed Bouazizi, right into the living rooms of all Arab nations.

Just a few weeks later, the first despots were toppled: in Tunisia, Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, and in Egypt, Hosni Mubarak. Others, like Muammar Gaddafi in Libya and Ali Abdallah Saleh in Yemen, were shaken, and it wasn't long before it was understood that Baschar al-Assad in Syria faced a public uprising supported by major cities in Central Syria, Homs, and Hama. This situation had either removed or severely damaged the oldest and longest-serving rulers or ruling families. Twelve years on, in the summer of 2023, Assad is the only one still alive and in office - executing his duties while precariously balanced on the thin rope of Russian and Iranian support.

November 17, 2023

# Dynamics of Competition and Collaboration: Unveiling the Saudi Arabia-UAE Relationship

Dynamics of Competition and Collaboration:  
Unveiling the Saudi Arabia-UAE Relationship

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

## 1. Introduction:

The Middle East region, characterized by its historical, cultural, and geopolitical significance, holds a central position in international relations. The intricate dynamics of this region have laid the foundation for in-depth interactions between nations, profoundly shaping their relationships. In this context, the relations between the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Saudi Arabia stand out prominently as critical actors in the regional equation. As two prominent Gulf monarchies, the evolution of their relationship has been shaped by a complex interplay of historical, political, economic, and energy-related factors, eventually entering a phase of mutual competition over time. A retrospective analysis of the historical origins of the UAE and Saudi Arabia is essential to comprehend the dynamism of their relations. The UAE's declaration of independence in 1971 prompted a reevaluation of established positions among regional actors, marked by Saudi Arabia's non-recognition of the UAE's sovereignty and territorial claims. However, diplomatic efforts and the influence of international norms eventually paved the way for a cooperative framework between the two.

Recent years have witnessed a distinct intensification of the competitive atmosphere between the two countries, primarily driven by divergent economic and energy interests. The UAE and Saudi Arabia have both emphasized attracting foreign investments to foster economic development and sustainable growth.

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However, the pursuit of distinct investment strategies has introduced a realm of contention between them. Particularly pivotal are projects developed through collaborations with foreign companies, given their critical role in economic prosperity, consequently emerging as a platform where the interests of both countries converge and conflict. This competition is also evident in the energy sector. The determination of oil production quotas highlights the divergence in energy policies between the two countries. Notably, Saudi Arabia's proposal to decrease oil production quotas is motivated by the need to maintain its fiscal balance.

Conversely, the UAE has taken the lead in increasing its energy production, resulting in a conflictual dimension in the energy sector. This competition is reflective of regional concerns as well. Both countries, while supporting different sides in regional issues such as the Yemen crisis, strive to exert influence over the balance in Yemen. Simultaneously, escalating security risks in the Persian Gulf are viewed as a reflection of conflicting interests in the region by the two nations. Consequently, the competition between the UAE and Saudi Arabia is a product of multifaceted factors, including historical, economic, energy-related, and regional dimensions. This rivalry not only sheds light on the evolving background of the Middle East but also prompts a reevaluation of the roles of these two countries in the regional equation.

In this paper, we aim to dissect the evolving dynamics between the UAE and Saudi Arabia. Understanding the backdrop of their relationship is crucial to decipher the complexity of their interactions. By delving into the historical context and analyzing their distinct regional and international positions, economic impacts, and strategic objectives, we can unravel the multifaceted nature of their competition and collaboration. This paper sheds light on the intricacies of this rivalry, offering

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valuable perspectives on the fluid nature of Middle Eastern politics. By examining the history of their relations, focusing on economic and energy aspects, and illuminating their different regional stances, we intend to reveal the multi-dimensional structure of this competition.

## **2. The Strategic Significance of the Middle East's Geography**

The strategic importance of the Middle East's geography has provided the foundation for the intricate dynamics that profoundly shape the interrelations among the states operating within the region. In this context, the bilateral relationship between the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Saudi Arabia emerges as a salient feature among the pivotal actors in the regional calculus. The evolutionary trajectory of this association between the two Gulf monarchies has been delineated through the interplay of multifarious factors encompassing historical, political, economic, and energy dimensions, ultimately maturing into a phase characterized by pronounced mutual competition. An appraisal of the historical antecedents of both the UAE and Saudi Arabia becomes imperative in the comprehension of the underlying dynamics. The UAE's assertion of sovereignty in 1971 engendered a recalibration of the entrenched positions of regional players. Saudi Arabia's initial non-recognition of the UAE's statehood and territorial assertions posed initial impediments, yet these challenges were transcended over time through diplomatic parleys and the impact of international norms, culminating in the establishment of a harmonious *modus vivendi*.

Recent years have witnessed the crystallization of an intensified competitive milieu between the two entities, chiefly revolving around divergences in economic and energy interests. Both the UAE and Saudi Arabia place premium emphasis on attracting foreign investments to realize economic development and ensure sustainable growth. Nonetheless, it is in the realm of investment strategies that

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differences have emerged, leading to a terrain of contestation. Notably, the pivotal role of projects fashioned through collaboration with foreign corporations in buttressing economic prosperity has morphed into an arena where the two nations' interests intersect and occasionally diverge. Traces of this competition extend into the energy domain as well. The delineation of petroleum production quotas assumes significance as an area witnessing the departure of energy policies between the two entities. Notably, Saudi Arabia's proposition to curtail petroleum production quotas is animated by the imperatives of fiscal equilibrium.

Conversely, the UAE has charted a distinct course, foregrounding an expansionist energy production strategy, thereby affording the energy domain a concomitant stage for conflict. This competition is further discernible in the regional milieu. Both nations seek to influence the balance in regional matters such as the Yemen crisis by backing divergent parties. Additionally, the mounting security risks in the Persian Gulf are perceived as a manifestation of the conflicting interests borne by both entities in the realm of regional dynamics. Conclusively, the UAE's rivalry with Saudi Arabia is a manifestation of intricacies spanning historical, economic, energy, and regional dimensions. This rivalry is emerging as a pivotal determinant of the region's future, catalyzing a reevaluation of the roles both nations undertake in the regional equation.

### **3. Allies in the Regional and International Arena**

In recent times, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) have exhibited a proclivity to be acknowledged as allied stakeholders in the regional and global arenas. These two nations have displayed a proclivity for coordinated stances on sundry issues. They have notably presented a united front against the Iran nuclear agreement, imposed a blockade on Qatar in 2017, and resisted the proliferating reverberations of the post-Arab Spring landscape across the Middle East.

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Furthermore, they have conducted joint military operations against Houthi insurgents in Yemen. Nevertheless, current developments suggest a waning of this period of amicability. Media reports suggest that in December of the previous year, the Saudi Crown Prince dispatched a missive to the UAE, urging concerted efforts to arrest the decline of Saudi Arabia's standing in the Middle East and OPEC. This missive, accompanied by the implicit threat of intensified isolation, underscores the evolution of the Saudi-UAE relationship into a more complex phase following the joint blockade against Qatar. These developments merit contemplation within the framework of shifting regional dynamics and the evolving national interests of both nations. Moving forward, the contours of Saudi Arabia-UAE relations warrant meticulous scrutiny within the context of shifting power paradigms and global policy trajectories within the region.

### **4. Contradictions between Saudi Arabia and the UAE Today**

In contemporary times, the contradictions between Saudi Arabia and the UAE find focal point primarily within the economic sphere, attributable to differences in economic interests and energy policies. The absence of robust indigenous scientific and technological sectors in Arab countries underscores the significance of attracting foreign investments from more developed nations, which serves as a pivotal measure to redress this imbalance. Investments, in tandem, facilitate the inflow of novel technologies and the cultivation of domestic talent.

Foreign investments, notably, furnish a dual role in diminishing reliance on revenues from oil and gas. These investments, as a rule, are channeled towards the advanced economic sectors. In 2022, the UAE garnered \$22.7 billion in investments, ascending to the forefront as the harbinger of foreign direct investment in the Arab world. However, in the preceding year, Saudi Arabia witnessed an almost commensurate influx of foreign investments. Propelled by the Vision 2030 program

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aimed at economic diversification, Saudi Arabia has embraced the pursuit of augmented foreign investments as a foremost priority. This ambitious scheme aspires to catapult annual foreign investment inflows to levels twentyfold greater by the year 2030, as articulated through the National Investment Strategy.

The pursuit of these objectives galvanizes Saudi Arabia's determined efforts. In 2020, the Ministry of Investment was established, and in 2017, a conference resembling "Davos in the Desert" was initiated to attract foreign investors to the kingdom's paramount projects. The establishment of the ministry with the aim of enhancing the investment environment culminated in the legal parity of foreign and domestic investors in 2022. Foreign investors were accorded the liberty to purchase, vend, or liquidate their enterprises. This represented an unprecedented shift, for hitherto, the assent of a local partner was imperative for such decisions. Furthermore, Saudi Arabia went a step further by establishing four special economic zones based on the Dubai model, thereby offering investors special tax conditions. Each zone serves distinct purposes: clean energy, logistics, digital economy, and cloud computing.

Given these rapid transformations, an increasing number of foreign enterprises appear to be considering entry into the Saudi market. This forms a sharp contrast in a domain where the UAE has already made significant inroads. Although the super gains of the 2000s may no longer be feasible in the UAE, many investors are deliberating that such triumphs can indeed be repeated in Saudi Arabia.

## **5. Concerns and Dynamics of the UAE**

For some time now, leaders of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) have evinced a tendency to downplay Saudi Arabia's initiatives. Particularly noteworthy is the close relationship maintained between UAE President Mohammed bin Zayed and Saudi

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Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, marked by advisory consultations in foreign policy domains. However, recent trends indicate that the UAE has begun to perceive a sense of rivalry vis-à-vis Saudi Arabia. This sentiment is particularly discernible in light of Saudi Arabia's strategies geared toward collaborating with foreign corporations, posing a direct threat to the UAE's economic well-being. In response, Saudi Arabia has taken steps to curtail access to government contracts for foreign companies operating through regional centers on Saudi soil by 2024. This development reflects the emerging dimension of competition between the two countries.

To preempt capital outflows, the UAE established its own Ministry of Investment this year in July. Modelled on Saudi Arabia's approach, the ministry aims to coordinate all investment programs of the country. In addition, the UAE has implemented measures to enhance the quality of life for expatriates working in foreign firms. Last year, a new visa policy was introduced, simplifying the process of obtaining visas and the hiring of freelancers by companies. The UAE administration has not hesitated to challenge its Islamic identity, as evidenced by measures such as altering the weekend schedule from the traditional Friday-Saturday to Saturday-Sunday.

In tandem with economic factors, the discord over OPEC quotas between Saudi Arabia and the UAE holds significance. Starting from the autumn, Saudi Arabia proposed curbing petroleum production quotas to elevate prices. This imperative was deemed necessary to ensure fiscal equilibrium in Saudi Arabia. Conversely, the UAE is driven by ambitions to expand its energy production, consequently engendering a contestation within the energy sector. These competitions are also evident in the regional landscape. Both nations seek to exert influence over regional issues such as the Yemen crisis by supporting divergent factions.

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Moreover, the escalating security risks in the Persian Gulf are interpreted as a reflection of the conflicting interests stemming from both entities' roles within the regional dynamics. In conclusion, the UAE's rivalry with Saudi Arabia is a manifestation of intricacies spanning historical, economic, energy, and regional dimensions. This rivalry is emerging as a pivotal determinant of the region's future, catalyzing a reevaluation of the roles both nations undertake in the regional equation.

5 Ağustos 2023, Lüksemburg

# **Saudi Arabia-Israel Relations: Challenging Paths and Foreign Policy Struggles**

**Saudi Arabia-Israel Relations: Challenging Paths and Foreign Policy Struggles**

**Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu**

## **1. Introduction**

The Middle East region has long been the center of political tensions, conflicts, and historical disputes. Every development in this region has been at the center of international relations and has shaped the political strategies of various actors. Recent developments regarding the normalization of relations between Saudi Arabia and Israel hold significant importance in this complex political landscape of the Middle East.

The statements made by Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman in a Fox News interview on September 20th have had a major impact on the political dynamics of the region. These statements expressed Saudi Arabia's intention to normalize its relations with Israel, emphasizing the goal of enhancing regional stability and cooperation. However, subsequent events indicate that Saudi Arabia's journey towards normalization with Israel is fraught with challenges.

Hamas's attacks on Israel have dealt a serious blow to the plans for Saudi-Israel normalization and have clearly highlighted the difficulties in this process. The Israel-Palestine conflict has exacerbated the instability in the region and led Saudi Arabia to reconsider its steps in this direction. This article will address Saudi Arabia's efforts to normalize its relations with Israel and the role of the United States as a mediator in this process. Furthermore, considering Saudi Arabia's foreign policy struggles and regional influence, the complexity and implications of this process will be examined. In this context, the aim of the article is to understand these developments from a Political Science perspective.

# **Saudi Arabia-Israel Relations: Challenging Paths and Foreign Policy Struggles**

## **2. Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman's Relations with Israel: Strategic Evolution and Regional Dynamics**

Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman's statements regarding the normalization of relations with Israel have been seen as a positive development following years of tension. However, recent attacks by Hamas on Israel have cast a shadow over this positive atmosphere. In this section of my writing, we will examine recent developments regarding Saudi Arabia's normalization plans with Israel and assess in more detail the impact of these developments on Saudi-American relations.

Mohammed bin Salman's statements have emphasized Saudi Arabia's intention to improve its relations with Israel, which is considered an important step in terms of regional stability and cooperation. However, recent attacks by Hamas on Israel have led Saudi Arabia to reconsider these normalization plans and question the future of this agreement.

The process of normalizing Saudi Arabia's relations with Israel also affects Saudi-American relations. The United States has taken on the role of mediation to support this process successfully. Particularly for the Joe Biden administration, foreign policy achievements hold great importance, and as a result, Washington has intensified efforts to negotiate the terms of the agreement between Saudi Arabia and Israel.

These negotiations encompass defense agreements, the supply of modern weaponry, and peaceful nuclear programs. The construction of a nuclear power plant is especially critical. In the past, Israel took action to prevent the potential production of nuclear weapons in the region by striking a nuclear reactor in Iraq. However, now Israel has agreed to build a nuclear power plant in the United Arab

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Emirates under American assurance. Attention has now turned to Saudi Arabia's decision on this matter, which holds significant importance in terms of whether a nuclear power plant will be allowed to be built in a country assuming a regional leadership role.

In conclusion, Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman's statements on the normalization of relations with Israel have been greeted as a hopeful development for regional stability and cooperation. However, attacks by Hamas on Israel have cast uncertainty on this process. The steps Saudi Arabia takes in this regard will have significant implications for Saudi-American relations and regional balances. Negotiations like the construction of a nuclear power plant are also important, and therefore, future developments should be closely monitored."

### **3. Diplomatic Relations of Saudi Arabia with Israel in the Context of Nuclear Energy Diplomacy**

In recent times, Saudi Arabia's establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel and its nuclear energy development projects have taken on significant dimensions covering a wide strategic and political spectrum. Saudi Arabia's demands in its relations with Israel encompass sensitive issues such as Israeli settlements in the West Bank and aim to expand the control of the Palestinian National Authority over the territories. Furthermore, the attacks by Hamas on Israel on October 7, 2023, should also be considered as a significant development in this context. This incident has escalated tensions in the region and made reconciliation between the parties more difficult.

In this framework, the approach of the United States towards how Saudi Arabia maintains its relations with Israel and contributes to these relationships should take into account events such as the attacks on October 7, 2023.

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On the other hand, the U.S. stance on Saudi Arabia's nuclear energy development projects is also a significant issue. Saudi Arabia's plans for the construction of nuclear power plants offer significant business opportunities for American energy companies. Under the leadership of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, nuclear energy development in Saudi Arabia has gained momentum due to the necessity of more efficient use of local energy resources due to high oil prices and the goal of reducing dependence on oil. Saudi Arabia produces electricity by consuming approximately 0.4-0.5 million barrels of oil daily; therefore, the construction of nuclear power plants can make significant contributions to reducing local oil consumption. Additionally, these plants account for 35-40% of the country's total electricity production. Therefore, the construction of nuclear power plants is considered a significant component of Saudi Arabia's energy strategy and is seen as a rational step to complete the country's efforts to diversify its energy sources.

#### **4. Saudi Arabia's Nuclear Energy Projects and International Collaborations**

In order to achieve strategic goals such as energy production and desalination, Saudi Arabia made a significant commitment to the construction of both large and small nuclear reactors with the National Atomic Energy Project, which was adopted in 2017. This project is important for Saudi Arabia in many ways, as it aims to reduce the country's dependence on energy resources and ensure sustainable access to water resources.

To successfully implement the Nuclear Regulation and Management Project, Saudi Arabia established the Nuclear and Radiological Regulation Commission in 2018 and the Saudi Nuclear Energy Holding Company, a national nuclear company, in 2022. This has been a significant step in regulating and overseeing the nuclear energy program.

## **Saudi Arabia-Israel Relations: Challenging Paths and Foreign Policy Struggles**

The Nuclear Plant Tender, which began at the end of 2022 for the construction of the first two nuclear power plants with a capacity of 1.4 GW, is a tangible indication of Saudi Arabia's commitment to nuclear energy. Although the participating companies have not been officially announced, there is a strong belief that international actors such as Westinghouse from the United States, Rosatom from Russia, KEPCO from South Korea, and the National Nuclear Corporation from China have participated in this tender.

International Collaboration, in particular, Russia's Rosatom company, has shown a significant focus on Saudi Arabia's nuclear energy projects. Rosatom has extensive experience in uranium mining, nuclear fuel production, nuclear power plant construction and maintenance, disposal of used nuclear fuel, and the training of nuclear experts. Additionally, Rosatom is currently building the Ed-Dabaa nuclear power plant in Egypt and has experience working under challenging conditions in the Middle East.

Saudi Arabia's nuclear energy projects are a fundamental part of international collaboration. The Cooperation Agreement in the Field of Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy signed with Russia in 2015 provides a fundamental framework for this collaboration. Rosatom and the King Abdullah City for Atomic and Renewable Energy have prepared a roadmap for cooperation on the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Finally, the Riyadh office of Russian company Rusatom Overseas, a subsidiary of Rosatom, became operational in 2019 with the aim of promoting the company's projects in international markets and creating more collaboration opportunities with Saudi Arabia.

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In conclusion, Saudi Arabia's nuclear energy projects represent significant steps towards achieving important goals such as energy production and desalination. These projects can contribute to building a sustainable energy future by meeting the country's energy needs.

### **5. Competition in the Nuclear Energy Arena in the Middle East: Relations between the United States and Saudi Arabia**

Competition in the field of nuclear energy in the Middle East presents a complex issue with a significant impact on power balances throughout the region. This study aims to analyze the competition among international actors during the development of Saudi Arabia's nuclear energy program.

In June, when negotiations between Saudi Arabia and the United States reached an impasse, the Saudi leadership expressed its intention to turn to alternative cooperation partners like China or Russia to encourage American negotiators to be more flexible. This political maneuver has led to a notable strengthening of Saudi-Chinese relations. In this context, Saudi Arabia's national oil company, Aramco, enhancing its cooperation with Chinese partners and acquiring shares in the energy sector has solidified the change in Saudi Arabia's energy strategy.

However, American nuclear experts argue against Saudi Arabia's preference for partners like Russia and China in the execution of its nuclear energy program. They view Saudi Arabia's real competitors as organizations like the Korean KEPCO, especially known for its successful Barakah nuclear power plant project in the United Arab Emirates. KEPCO's experience and success in the region provide a significant advantage for Saudi Arabia, which aims to carry out nuclear energy projects in the Middle East.

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In this competitive context, it is worth noting the lawsuit filed by Westinghouse against KEPCO in October 2022, particularly. The lawsuit alleged that although Korea had changed the nuclear reactor design, it still relied on American technology. An American court rejected Westinghouse's claim, and the case was concluded in mid-September. This competition marks a significant milestone in terms of international relations and energy strategies.

### **6. Conclusion**

In conclusion, Westinghouse's potential major deal with Saudi Arabia is contingent on the future of relations and defense agreements between the United States and Saudi Arabia. However, the escalation of the Palestinian-Israeli tension could weaken the likelihood of such a deal in the near future. A third determinant is whether Westinghouse will be chosen for nuclear energy projects, which depends on Saudi Arabia's defense agreements and arms procurement requests.

In this context, on the international stage, companies like China, Russia, and South Korean KEPCO are playing an increasingly significant role in Saudi Arabia's journey in the field of nuclear energy. Saudi Arabia greatly needs international cooperation to successfully realize this crucial transformation in the fields of energy and desalination. This support can align with Saudi Arabia's vision of building a sustainable energy future by meeting its energy needs. However, how relations and defense agreements with the United States will shape up during this process is a critical factor that will determine the outcome of this significant project.

October 11, 2023, Luxembourg

## Intelligence Shortcomings in the Israel-Palestine Conflict

### Intelligence Shortcomings in the Israel-Palestine Conflict

**Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu**

The Middle Eastern land-scape has historically hosted numerous civilizations, and this diversity has deeply influenced its political and cultural dynamics. The ongoing tension between Israel and Palestine reflects this historical and cultural legacy. Nevertheless, the origins and outcomes of this tension are intertwined not only with history but also with the intricate structure of international politics. The Palestinian society has historically faced myriad challenges, and many academic studies have emphasized that violent acts and terrorism are counterproductive to achieving national objectives.

The complex geopolitical structure of the Middle East mandates that regional intelligence agencies operate with utmost precision. However, it has recently been observed that esteemed intelligence agencies like Israel's MOSSAD and Turkey's National Intelligence Organization (MiT) have shown noticeable vulnerabilities. Israel has made some predictive missteps in regional mobility, while a terrorist attack in Ankara exposed some of MiT's shortcomings against the PKK. These vulnerabilities may not solely result from misleading information; evolving tactics of regional actors and technological innovations can exacerbate these agencies' challenges. The consequences of such intelligence shortcomings can jeopardize regional security balances and can question the diplomacy and reputation of the countries involved on the international stage. The attack in Ankara highlights the substantial obstacles Turkey faces in its battle against the PKK. Intelligence agencies must consider these vulnerabilities and update their strategies of adaptation and innovation.

## Intelligence Shortcomings in the Israel-Palestine Conflict

The operational capacity of intelligence agencies is vital in terms of a state's ability to maintain national security. However, these agencies can face pronounced vulnerabilities. Mistakes induced by human factors can manifest as errors made by intelligence analysts, subjective judgments, or potential harms from double agents. A lack of technological capacity can deprive an organization of modern intelligence collection and analysis tools. Bureaucratic obstacles can limit effective communication and impair rapid response capabilities. Political pressures can impede an agency's independence and hinder objective intelligence analysis. This is also tied to striking a balance between the confidentiality of an agency's operations and the need to inform the public. Counterintelligence strategies or disinformation campaigns by adversarial states or actors can limit an intelligence agency's access to accurate information. Limitations in financial or human resources can cap an agency's capacity, while cultural and linguistic barriers can complicate accurate intelligence interpretation. Inadequacies in information sharing can lead to coordination deficits between different intelligence units. An inability to adapt to a changing global threat landscape can diminish an agency's effectiveness. Recognizing and proactively addressing these vulnerabilities is critical for intelligence agencies to serve national security objectives effectively.

Israel's national security policies, intelligence vulnerabilities, and strategic assessments profoundly affect its relations with Palestine. In this context, the potential vulnerabilities of intelligence agencies - like MOSSAD and MIT - can be seen as indicators of how fragile national security strategies can be.

The religious and historical significance of Al-Aqsa Mosque, being of special importance to both Islam and Judaism, continually creates a source of tension between the two communities. The international community's involvement indicates that this tension not only holds regional significance but also has global implications.

## Intelligence Shortcomings in the Israel-Palestine Conflict

The roles of external actors in the region, especially the USA's support for Israel, have been pivotal in determining regional balances. The alleged support Iran provides to some armed factions in the region is also a component of this equation and plays a part in influencing the region's geopolitical balance.

In light of this analysis, for a sustainable solution to be achieved in the Israel-Palestine conflict, the parties need mutual understanding, the international community must play an active role, and policies sensitive to regional balances must be developed. This is of critical importance for achieving lasting peace and stability in the region. From an academic perspective, achieving this solution will positively impact not only regional but also global peace and security.

Recently, the Middle East has once again shown how intelligence shortcomings can have profound impacts on the international arena. Particularly, the tensions between Israel and Palestine underscore the critical nature of these shortcomings. The religious fabric of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, being Islam's third most holy site and also a significant symbol for Judaism, positions this structure as a highly sensitive topic for both sides. However, the recent "Al-Aqsa Deluge Operation" has severely shaken the balances in the region.

Israel's intelligence shortcomings have once again spotlighted the fragile nature of both national security and regional and global balances. This has heightened the sensitivity and attention of both the region and the international community on this issue.

Turkey, due to its historical ties and regional influence, is one of the actors closely monitoring this conflict. Showing a sensitive approach to the Palestinian people's fight for rights, Turkey decisively rejects all forms of violence and terrorism.

## Intelligence Shortcomings in the Israel-Palestine Conflict

The responsiveness to vulnerabilities by intelligence agencies like MOSSAD and MiT, such as challenges in technological adaptation, bureaucratic barriers, and the capacity to respond to changing global threats, demonstrates the fragility of the regional balances.

The Israel-Palestine conflict reiterates how the region is intertwined with not only historical and cultural richness but also political and intelligence dynamics. A solution to this conflict can only be achieved through an objective, fair, and comprehensive approach.

The support provided to Israel by the USA and other Western countries has enabled its continued presence in the region. However, this support, while highlighting the rights of the Palestinian people, has also led to questioning the foreign policies of these countries. Additionally, Israel's military operations and actions against international law have invited criticism on the international stage. On the other hand, the "Palestinian Issue" due to Israel's policies and international support, particularly from the USA, has been a constant source of tension in the Middle East. This influences the regional balances, complicating the solution to the problem.

Furthermore, the alleged support Iran provides to certain armed groups and terrorist organizations in the region intensifies the geopolitical tensions in the Middle East and contributes to the persistence of regional instability. These situations illustrate the fragility of the complex balances in the region and how interventions at the international level can be influential.

9th October 2023, Luxembourg.

# Russia's World Perspective in Valdai

## Russia's World Perspective in Valdai

Prof. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

### 1. Introduction:

In recent years, international politics has witnessed the reshaped strategic visions of major actors. Particularly, Russia, through President Vladimir Putin's speech at the Valdai International Discussion Club, has clearly outlined the global transformations and Russia's position in the face of these transformations. Putin's speech demonstrates that Russia is acting not merely as a regional actor but with a global vision. In this article, we will examine what this vision implies, the kind of world order it anticipates, and the potential impacts of this vision on international balances.

### 2. Reshaping Towards a Global Civilization

At the prestigious anniversary meeting of the Valdai International Discussion Club, the views presented by the Russian President hold critical significance in the context of international relations and geopolitical transformation. On this platform, Vladimir Putin emerged not merely as a national leader but also as an actor representing a broad global vision. This perspective was addressed not just in the context of Russia's fate but also in integration with global transformations.

In his speech, focusing on the concept of civilization, Putin highlighted the heterogeneous nature and diversity of 'Russian Civilization'. He pointed out that Russian civilization, rather than being monolithic, has a dynamic structure with deep cultural and spiritual roots. This structure was presented as a global civilization model, promoting the harmonious coexistence of different ethnic and cultural groups.

The existence and interaction of civilizations are seen as a key element in understanding the dynamics on the global stage. Every civilization contributes to the global community with its unique values and principles of coexistence.

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Putin's approach to the concept of the clash of civilizations emphasizes that such a clash is not inevitable but is actually based on political and ideological choices. This stance offers an alternative view to Huntington's clash of civilizations theory. According to Putin, the attitude of the West towards other civilizations is the primary cause of a potential clash.

From a historical perspective, the West's global hegemony was built upon the resources of other civilizations and cultures. However, Putin argues that these hegemonic structures are unsustainable, and the global order cannot revolve around a single center. This indicates that the Western notion of dominance is being questioned in the face of increasing global complexity and diversity.

Looking at the dynamics of modern international relations, one can observe that the West needs a perpetual "external enemy" image to maintain its internal integrity and continuity. Russian President Vladimir Putin criticizes this approach, emphasizing that such a strategy is not in line with the general acceptance of the global community. Essentially, this is a critique against the West's "rules-based order", suggesting that many countries are questioning this order and demanding change.

The changes and transformations in today's world reveal Russia's position on the international stage and the depth of its relations with the West. Relying on a historical perspective, Putin notes that the unipolar world the West tried to construct after the Cold War is shaken by Russia's growing international influence and will undergo change. How the West responds to these changing dynamics and how Russia's role in global balances is evaluated form a significant subject of analysis in this context.

In his recent speeches, Putin extensively discusses how Russia responds to changes in international relations and global balances and its role in these transformations. As he

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particularly emphasized in his speech in Valdai, he indicates that the world is not only shaped through regional balances but stands on a much broader, holistic, and universal perspective.

Additionally, by introducing the "six principles", Putin aims to provide a positive vision not only for Russia but also on a global scale for all nations. These principles, indicators of a multidimensional strategy, are presented as proposals with the capacity to shape a global future.

In the context of evolving dynamics and complex relations on the world stage, Russian President Vladimir Putin has introduced six unique principles aiming to lay the foundations for a new order from a global perspective. These principles have been formulated considering the challenges faced today and the potential transformations of the future.

### 3. Six Unique Principles Aiming to Lay the Foundations of a New Order

These six unique principles are:

**Open Communication:** Advocates for communication and interaction to occur free from any artificial barriers.

**Universal Diversity:** Emphasizes that beyond just preserving cultural, ethnic, and ideological diversity, it should form the basis for universal development.

**Democratic Representation:** Highlights the importance of maximum representation and collective decision-making mechanisms.

**Universal Security:** Points out the need to promote sustainable security and enduring peace that serves the interests of all states.

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**Justice and Access:** Argues that equal access and justice should be the cornerstones of international relations.

**Equality and Independence:** Stresses the right of every nation and individual to act with equality and independence.

While presenting these principles, Putin made criticisms about the dominance policies that the West has historically applied and its strategies of subjugating other civilizations. According to him, the arrogance of the colonial era has ended, and the modern world order will no longer tolerate such an approach. In the early 21st century, Putin is suggesting to Western countries to establish a new world order based on mutual respect, cooperation, and understanding. This vision aims to create an environment without barriers, emphasizing the freedom of individuals to communicate, produce, and experience prosperity.

In a period where global political balances are rapidly changing, Russian President Vladimir Putin has presented six unique principles to the international community for the 21st century. Based on these principles, Putin is proposing a universal approach that aims for civilizations to coexist in peace.

Global communication should be conducted seamlessly and fluidly; in this context, the diversity of civilizations should be the fundamental stone of universal development. Countries should not impose their values and lifestyles on others; instead, they should work together to build a constant environment of peace and security that serves the interests of all states. Every individual and nation should have an equitable right to access the benefits of development, and restricting this access should be considered as unacceptable aggression. Historically, equality has always been recognized as an essential principle, and no individual or country wants to act dependent on another power for their interests. In this context, the cooperation model Russia presents on the

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international platform does not imply submission to an order imposed by the winners of the post-Cold War era.

### **4. The Arrogance Brought by Colonial Rule**

Putin historically emphasizes that the arrogance brought about by colonial rule will have no place in the modern world order. He states, "That era is long gone and will never return." Putin's views align with the fundamental principles he expressed in his 2007 Munich speech. However, in the Valdai speech, Putin's approach to these principles has evolved to a more integrative and positive perspective. The message here is that the international community should adopt an approach based on coexistence and collaboration. In conclusion, Putin's speech showcases that Russia's foreign policy vision and its place in international relations are shaped through an approach serving the interests of the whole world. It is an offer to reshape the international community, which we hope will benefit the world society.

Russian President Vladimir Putin's recent speech at the Valdai Discussion Club is a clear reflection of how geopolitical trends are transforming in international politics. It is important to note that Moscow's strategic vision on the global stage deviates from traditionally known paradigms. Beyond the developments in Ukraine, Putin highlights, with a broader perspective, how global balances are shifting. Criticizing the West's hegemonic stance and its historical accumulation, he underscores Russia's efforts in the international arena for a more just and holistic world order.

The frictions within the anti-Russia coalition, led primarily by the West, especially the US, display the shift in global balances. The stance of the West on international issues emerges not merely as a temporary reaction but as the result of a historical and cultural accumulation. However, there are signs that these balances are changing. Countries in the G20 resisting the West's "rules-based order" concept, the expansion of BRICS, and diplomatic clashes in the UN General Assembly indicate the beginning of a new era on

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the international stage. Also, the West's sanction policies and actions against international law reveal their weaknesses and vulnerabilities in power balances. There are indications, especially that the US has selected China as the next target in global geopolitics.

Russia's stance during this period should be considered as a sign that the international community is developing a united response against the West's geopolitical actions. As Putin emphasizes, we are at the beginning of a new era in international relations, and this is merely the start of the process of reshaping global balances. In this process, we see Russia following a strategic route towards a broad geopolitical objective, beyond specific military operations. This represents a critical turning point for the future of global balances.

### 5. Summary

Russian President Vladimir Putin's speech at the Valdai International Discussion Club has shed detailed light on Russia's global geopolitical vision and strategic objectives. Centering around the concept of civilization, the discourse demonstrates Russia's positioning as a defender of diversity, equality, and a just order in the world. Criticizing the West's hegemonic approach, Putin emphasized the inevitability of a world order that serves the interests of all nations. Russia's vision holds the potential to shape the future of global balances and international relations.

October 6, 2023, Luxembourg

# Whistleblowers and State Secrets: Confrontations of Moral Courage

## Whistleblowers and State Secrets: Confrontations of Moral Courage

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

### 1. Introduction

The foundation of modern democratic societies is built on a delicate balance between information flow, confidentiality, and transparency. On one hand, transparency, a requirement of democracy, opens state mechanisms to citizens' scrutiny; on the other hand, reasons of national security legitimize the withholding of certain information from the public. However, within this balance, whistleblowers, driven by a moral stance, occasionally expose unethical or illegal activities of the state and large institutions. The revelations brought forward by individuals like Edward Snowden and Chelsea Manning have ignited profound discussions and questionings on an international scale. This article aims to delve deep into the intricate nature of whistleblowing by examining its legal and ethical dimensions and understanding its significance for democratic societies.

Throughout history, whistleblowers have persisted not only as individuals illuminating the shadowy aspects of governments and organizations but also as elements challenging our perceptions of societal justice, ethics, and democracy. Their actions have perennially been subjects of debate, often polarizing society on whether to view them as 'heroes' or 'traitors.' Nonetheless, a strong case can be made that whistleblowing is an indispensable component of modern democracy. This article, by exploring the narratives of prominent whistleblowers and resisters from various historical epochs, aspires to elucidate their impact and importance on our democratic societies.

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The actions and testimonies of whistleblowers hold a pivotal role in the evolution and democratic progression of society. Often operating under substantial risks, these individuals epitomize moral resistance and courage. States embracing the rule of law intend to operate within prescribed constitutional and legal frameworks. Yet, even within this scope, how a state addresses potential injustices and abuses is perpetually a subject of scrutiny. This composition seeks to offer a discourse on how intertwined whistleblowing is with democratic values and how this concept ought to be approached within a moral and legal framework.

## **2. Illegal State Secrets and the Moral and Legal Dimensions of Whistleblowing**

Whistleblowers, despite the serious risks they face in society, are individuals who represent moral courage by shedding light on injustices. This section delves deeply into how illegal state secrets intersect with whistleblowing and the legal and ethical challenges in this area.

### **a.) Edward Snowden and Digital Surveillance**

Snowden revealed the extensive internet surveillance activities of the US and British intelligence services to the world. This information shows how governments control international communication, how they access social media and internet providers, and how they monitor activities on the internet almost in real-time. While this digital surveillance may not pose a physical threat, it can limit individuals' freedoms.

Following Snowden's revelations, the US charged him with unauthorized disclosure of state secrets. However, arguments arose that the disclosed information actually exposed an illegal activity.

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## **b.) State Secrets, Laws, and Legal Framework**

The lack of international consensus on what state secrets are and which information needs protection leads to significant ambiguities. In particular, in Germany, the definition of state secrets does not cover truths that endanger the democratic order. However, there are variations in how this definition is interpreted and applied. This reveals the gray areas about which information needs protection and which information society needs to know.

## **c.) Chelsea Manning and the WikiLeaks Disclosure**

Chelsea Manning leaked sensitive documents about the US war in Iraq to WikiLeaks. These documents indicate that the US army engaged in unethical and illegal activities in some operations. Manning's act has fueled the debate on what state secrets are and whether this information can be disclosed to society.

## **d.) Whistleblowing, Public Opinion, and Law**

Whether whistleblowing needs mercy is a major topic of debate in public opinion. Many believe that the disclosure of state secrets will provide a more transparent administration to society and, therefore, whistleblowers should be protected. Especially in historical events like the "My Lai" massacre, it is seen that such disclosures can lead to societal changes.

## **3. Protection of State Secrets and Whistleblowers: Ethical and Legal Perspectives**

In a constitutional state, which is one of the cornerstones of democracy, the preservation of the state and official secrets is considered legitimate only within the legal framework. It is unacceptable to overlook legal justice under the shadow of this protection. The well-known social democrat jurist Adolf Arndt, recognized

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for his evaluations on this topic, thoroughly discussed this matter in the "Neue Juristische Wochenschrift" magazine in 1963. At that time, a whistleblower issue had resonated in the Federal Republic. Werner Pätsch, who worked in the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, revealed that this institution monitored German citizens in a way that was contrary to the constitution with the support of the Allies. Pätsch could perhaps be described as the German version of Edward Snowden. Arndt's main thesis regarding this case emphasized that in a democratic structure, the state and the constitution are inseparable. For the existence of the state can only be guaranteed with a constitutional order; the legitimacy of protecting an element outside of the constitution (for instance, under the name of the concept of secrecy) cannot be considered. The title related to Arndt's in-depth study was "The legal and democratic interpretation of the 'State Secret' concept".

In 2014, the Snowden case emerged as a reference for the SPD member Federal Justice Minister Heiko Maas. While Maas stated that Snowden's declarations were contrary to US criminal law, he argued that a similar situation should also be punished in Germany. However, this argument is not consistent with the second paragraph of Article 93 of the German Criminal Code. According to this article, the exposure of illegal actions does not constitute a violation of official secrets and therefore does not require penal sanctions.

Some critics adopt an approach similar to that of Federal Prosecutor Walter Wagner, who filed a lawsuit against Pätsch in 1963. The fact that the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution abused the Allies' veto right illegally, violated fundamental rights, and accessed the phones of hundreds of German citizens, violating their privacy, has been ignored despite these criticisms. Moreover, it has been assumed that Pätsch made baseless accusations. A ministry official said to Josef Augstein, the brother and lawyer of "Spiegel" magazine's editor Rudolf

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Augstein: "If the disclosure of official secrets were allowed without any sanctions, it could destabilize the state."

## **4. The Role of Whistleblowers and the Boundaries of Justice**

Whistleblowers have often been at the forefront of establishing justice in the shaping of societal dynamics. However, throughout history, the reactions faced by these individuals have frequently been characterized by similar rhetoric. The conviction of someone as prestigious as Carl von Ossietzky by German judges in 1931 exemplifies this.

In 1963, Werner Pätzsch's role in a whistleblowing case in Federal Germany brought to the forefront the legal and societal dimensions of whistleblowing. Pätzsch, with the information he acquired from the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, revealed that German citizens were being monitored contrary to the constitution. His action can be considered a precursor to the actions of modern whistleblowers like Edward Snowden. However, due to the nature of law and justice, determining the legal boundaries of such actions is challenging. The penalty imposed on Pätzsch reflects this complexity.

Parallely, an article written by Carl von Ossietzky in 1929 about the illegal "Black Reichswehr" resulted in his imprisonment. However, this sentence led to Ossietzky's international recognition and his being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1935. This award has gone down in history as a decision emphasizing the importance of individual rights and freedoms.

Both incidents demonstrate that whistleblowers play a significant role in the pursuit of justice, despite societal and legal reactions. Yet, the outcomes of these actions also bring with them the ongoing debate about where transparency and justice

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begin and end. It's about determining the delicate balance between society's access to information, establishing justice, and protecting individual rights. And this balance is continuously being re-evaluated, both in historical context and today.

### **5. In the Wake of Exposed Truths: Julian Assange and the Price of Journalism**

Journalism is often referred to as the watchdog of democracy; hence, transparency and justice are fundamental values of journalism in a democratic society. However, the leaks made by Julian Assange through WikiLeaks have shown how delicate these values can be and that they might sometimes come at a substantial cost.

Assange's publications, which exposed the war crimes of the U.S., were in collaboration with numerous traditional media establishments. The documents shed light on the horrific details of some human tragedies that occurred in war zones. Perhaps the most impactful and startling was a video showing civilians, including two journalists from the Reuters news agency, being shot by a U.S. helicopter in Baghdad.

These revelations put Assange in a challenging position on the international legal stage. While his bold move was perceived as an embodiment of press freedom by many, some officials perceived it as a threat. Journalistic activities were equated to conspiring, exposing confidential information, and espionage.

Assange's situation prompts many to question the limits of freedom of expression and journalistic rights. Would the reactions have been different if Assange had exposed war crimes of another country? This question brings serious concerns about double standards and power balances in international politics to the forefront.

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Regrettably, Assange's situation seems to be overlooked or merely observed from the sidelines by many EU leaders. However, numerous human rights defenders, activists, and journalists are aware that this poses a serious threat to press freedom. Assange's fight for freedom has led many to re-evaluate what press freedom and journalism mean. His struggle continues to inspire journalists globally who have the courage to expose the truth.

### **6. Exposed Truths: Julian Assange and the Limits of Journalism**

One of the most significant transformations brought by the digital age is the capacity for rapid dissemination of information. Alongside this potential, individuals, especially some like Julian Assange, have been given the opportunity to question the information presented to the public. Assange's journey showcases the complex interplay between the impact of revelations, press freedom, and the dynamics of international politics.

The publications made by Assange through WikiLeaks illustrate how blurred the line between journalism and activism can become. This has led many factions to question what Assange truly represents - is he a journalist, an activist, or a menace?

Beyond these inquiries, however, the treatment Assange has been subjected to underscores the overarching threat to press freedom. Decisions concerning him, especially due to the nature of the leaked information, reveal potential threats to other journalists and whistleblowers.

The debates surrounding whether Assange is a "journalist" form part of a larger issue: Is journalism confined to identity or professional definitions, or is it related to the act of disseminating information? This has become even more convoluted with the changes brought about by the digital age. The democratizing effect of the

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internet has amplified the opportunity for many outside traditional media to voice their perspectives.

Assange's situation reminds us that press freedom is a universal right and that this right is not limited only to those with a specific identity or professional certification. His case also demonstrates how states or large institutions might react to the disclosure of information they find intolerable.

The example of Jan Hus historically reminds us of the challenges and potential dangers faced by whistleblowers and dissenters. Yet, in the modern world, such challenges and threats have evolved from physical violence to more legal and political retaliations.

The European Union's directive to protect whistleblowers aims to provide protection against such pressures and retaliations. However, the effectiveness of this directive and its role in preventing such pressures remains to be tested. Assange's situation is just one of these tests.

In conclusion, Julian Assange's journey illuminates the intricacies of press freedom, democracy, and international relations, along with the prevailing tensions in these matters. This journey provides us with an opportunity to reassess the relationships between journalism, activism, and state power.

### **7. Change Manifested: Whistleblowers and Society's Pursuit of Justice**

The evolution of modern society, especially in the digital age, has had a profound impact on how information is acquired, disseminated, and responded to. Figures like Julian Assange and Edward Snowden stand at the pinnacle of this transformation. However, it should not be overlooked that whistleblowers are part

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of a broader societal and legal concept beyond just their role in information access and its public presentation.

The whistleblower protection directive of the European Union is a component of this concept. This directive was designed to support and protect individuals who play a critical role in the defense of public interests. However, the way this protection is applied helps us better understand the role whistleblowers play for their societies and the international community.

It's vital to remember that no legislative framework is perfect. The multifaceted nature of whistleblowing makes it almost impossible to craft a single law that addresses every situation. Especially, international whistleblowing activities and revelations that attract international attention challenge the boundaries of law and ethics.

Furthermore, alongside the general positive perception of whistleblowing, there's the potential for individuals to misuse misleading information for their benefit. This can increase the risk of deceptive disclosures spreading rapidly. Therefore, it's essential to strike a careful balance between protecting and supporting whistleblowers and preventing the abuse of whistleblowing.

In conclusion, we should recognize that whistleblowers serve the benefit of society. However, when determining the ethical and legal boundaries of this service, caution is needed. The whistleblower protection directive is a significant step in this direction, but more work is needed on this front. Societies and governments need to continuously review their commitment to protecting and supporting whistleblowers and be proactive in this regard.

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## 8. The Crucial Balance Between Dissent and Critique in Democracy

Historically, the concept of dissent has been employed in the pursuit of justice and equality, especially as a stance against oppression and tyranny. For those living under totalitarian regimes, dissent has symbolized the fight for freedom and independence. Federal President Steinmeier's emphasis on "resilient citizens" in his speech showcases the capacity of democratic societies to endure challenges and threats.

However, alongside this resilience and dissent lies the risk of the misuse of democratic values. The misappropriation of the term "dissent" by far-right groups is indicative of how democratic values and concepts can be twisted. Such misuse can fracture societal cohesion and lead to the erosion of democratic values.

The Federal President's stress on democratic dissent not only reaffirms society's faith and commitment to democracy but also serves as a reminder of the threats against it. Democracy is nurtured not just by elections or constitutional order but also by active citizen participation and their belief in democratic values.

An individual's commitment to democratic values enhances their ability to adapt to societal changes and demonstrate resilience against evolving circumstances and challenges. However, this resistance must be exercised while remaining vigilant against malicious or misleading critiques or actions. Being open to critique is the beauty of democracy, but ensuring these critiques are constructive and genuine protects and sustains democratic values.

Federal President Steinmeier's "Address to the Nation" is a call emphasizing the importance of democratic values and dissent. However, maintaining the balance between being open to critique and showing resistance is essential for preserving

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and evolving democracy. This balance will shape the future of democratic societies. The coexistence of democratic values and dissent, and their significance for societal cohesion and resilience, should never be forgotten.

### **9. The Power of Democracy, Everyday Resistance, and Protection Against Injustice**

Federal President Steinmeier's call for 'resistance' is a critical emphasis on the unwavering commitment to the constitutional order and democratic values. This important call, however, falls short as it doesn't offer a more specific framework on how to approach individuals or groups that might misuse democratic critique. The power of democratic resistance reinforces our belief in democratic values and contributes to their protection. Therefore, we must be cautious against the misuse of democratic critique.

For individuals, minor acts of resistance, while exposing them to significant risks, can be important and major steps for their communities. These individuals, referred to as "everyday whistleblowers", showcase their moral courage and spirit of resistance to make society more just and livable. For example, Miroslaw Schlitzer, by reporting to the authorities that corrupt slaughterhouse waste was being attempted to be used in food production, has protected the health of many people and aided in averting a potential danger.

However, acts of resistance can result in personal costs. Those who resist can be perceived negatively by employers and other authorities and, consequently, can be fired or victimized in other ways. New whistleblower protection laws aim to strengthen such everyday resistances, but for many resisters who have faced victimization in the past, the introduction of these laws can be seen as a step taken too late.

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Therefore, alongside whistleblower protection laws, society needs to value moral courage and resistance more and be more sensitive in protecting those who are victimized. Resistance should be recognized as an element of democracy, and such actions should be respected. A new understanding and sensitivity should be developed for any resistance movement, small or large, against injustice. This will help in building our democracy on firm foundations.

### **10. Conclusion**

At the heart of democracy lies access to information and how this information is managed. Modern democratic societies continuously reassess the balance between privacy and transparency. Whistleblowers are individuals with a critical role at this balance point; they test both the ethical and legal boundaries of society and state mechanisms. Throughout history, the information revealed by whistleblowers has played a significant role in understanding and shaping societal justice, ethics, and democracy. The events and individuals evaluated in this article illustrate the importance for democratic societies to question the actions of the state and large organizations. The actions of whistleblowers both carry risk and require moral courage. Their existence ensures that democracy remains vibrant and healthy. Therefore, it's indicative of how much value societies place on justice, transparency, and ethical values for democratic societies to acknowledge the worth of whistleblowers and the information they provide, and to protect them.

September 30, 2023, Essen

# **Strategy, Diplomacy, and Turkey's Role in Nagorno-Karabakh**

## **Strategy, Diplomacy, and Turkey's Role in Nagorno-Karabakh**

Prof. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

### **1. Introduction**

Nagorno-Karabakh has consistently been a tension point due to its geopolitical significance. Recent events have once again highlighted the intricacies of the region and the fragility of peace therein. Throughout history, the Caucasus has positioned itself at the intersection of major powers, attaining crucial geopolitical importance. The issue of Nagorno-Karabakh reflects the complex historical, cultural, and political dynamics of this geography. This paper aims to delve into the latest developments surrounding the Nagorno-Karabakh issue and their implications on regional power balances. Specifically, Azerbaijan's international strategy, Russia's regional policies, and Turkey's role in the process constitute the core focus of the article. Within this context, the study aspires to provide crucial insights on the required diplomacy and strategy in regional matters. An analysis will be conducted on the attack against Russian peacekeeping forces and its regional repercussions, coupled with an assessment from the perspective of international human rights and the preservation of peace.

### **2. Complexity of the Region and International Diplomacy**

Recent events in the Caucasus have once again highlighted the region's complexity and the importance of international diplomacy. The Nagorno-Karabakh issue, with its historical and cultural dimensions, shapes regional power balances and dictates the political moves of major powers. Azerbaijan, moving with a strategic vision in the international political arena, has established robust alliances by leveraging its energy resources and geographical advantages. While Russia stands at the

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forefront of these alliances, Turkey also provides Azerbaijan with historical and strategic support.

Russia's calculated and deliberate steps have been decisive in its relationships with both Azerbaijan and Armenia. However, Armenia's recent disagreements with Russia should be seen as a sign that Armenia needs to tread more cautiously on the international stage. While Armenia's diplomatic efforts regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh issue are commendable, a lack of strategic planning and vision has posed challenges in securing international support. Turkey's stance in this region reflects its deep ties with Azerbaijan and its strategic interests. The "One nation, two states" slogan symbolizes the historical connection between the two countries, and energy collaborations and defense agreements further emphasize the strength of this bond.

### **3. The Fragility of Peace in Nagorno-Karabakh and Human Rights**

The tragic incident on September 20th in the Nagorno-Karabakh region once again underscored the delicate balance of peace in the area. The attack on the Russian peacekeeping unit while returning from an observation point, resulting in the loss of military personnel, emphasizes how critical regional balances and inter-state relations are at this moment.

The Azerbaijani Ministry of Defense confirmed this tragic incident and conveyed its condolences to the Russian Ministry of Defense. However, no concrete information was provided regarding the measures to be taken to prevent such events in the future. Azerbaijan's call for "patience," even as it announced that all circumstances of the event would be examined and an investigation launched, does not offer a clear perspective on how the international response should be to such tragedies.

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On the other hand, similar tragedies have occurred in the region before, and these incidents were overshadowed. The incident where a helicopter in Russia was shot down, leading to the death of two Russian soldiers, raises questions about the measures taken to prevent the recurrence of this tragedy.

It's essential to remember that peacekeeping missions aim to ensure the safety of the local population. However, in an environment where these peacekeepers cannot even secure their safety, how permanent peace will be established in the region remains a significant question mark. Regional countries should call on the international community and human rights organizations to take the necessary measures to prevent such tragedies from recurring and to bring those responsible to justice. This is one of the most crucial steps to be taken towards building lasting peace in the region and safeguarding human rights.

## 4. Recent Developments in the Nagorno-Karabakh Issue

The recent developments in the Nagorno-Karabakh issue offer significant lessons for understanding regional balances and the strategic actions of states. Although the topic is complex with its deep historical, cultural, and societal roots, it is possible to assess how successful each country is based on its political and diplomatic maneuvers. Azerbaijan, with strategic long-term planning, has managed to forge strong alliances on the international stage. Its energy resources and geographical location have enhanced Azerbaijan's ability to strengthen relationships with Russia and other key players. These alliances have enabled Azerbaijan to take bolder steps in the Karabakh issue.

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Russia's role is pivotal. Moscow has managed to maintain its influence in the region by carefully managing its relations with both Azerbaijan and Armenia. However, recent discrepancies observed between Yerevan and Moscow indicate that Armenia should tread more cautiously on the international stage. Despite Armenia's diplomatic efforts on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue being commendable, its lack of strategic planning and vision has hampered its ability to garner international support. Turkey's stance in the region, favoring Azerbaijan, reflects the historical, cultural, and strategic ties between the two brotherly nations. The phrase "One nation, two states" symbolizes the profound connection between Turkey and Azerbaijan, while collaborations in energy and defense agreements demonstrate the strength of this bond.

Turkey, aligning with Azerbaijan on issues such as Nagorno-Karabakh, underscores its commitment to international law and principles of justice. Simultaneously, cooperation in defense and security assists Azerbaijan in enhancing its regional security, while the continuous deepening of economic relations reaffirms the mutual trust and shared economic interests between the two countries. All these factors highlight that Turkey's support for Azerbaijan is not solely based on sentiment but has strategic and pragmatic foundations.

On both national and international stages, Nagorno-Karabakh has been the focal point of numerous diplomatic negotiations. Its significance, due to historical and cultural roots and its geopolitical dimensions, is undeniable. Each day as a global diplomat, I increasingly recognize the importance of sustainable peace and mutual respect in the region.

# Strategy, Diplomacy, and Turkey's Role in Nagorno-Karabakh

Acknowledging the geopolitical importance of the region, it's essential for international actors to serve as bridges between parties. International institutions, such as the UN or OSCE, need to mediate in the region, acting as a bridge between the two sides. However, international mediation alone won't suffice. Economic collaboration is pivotal in identifying shared interests between the parties. By promoting regional economic projects, the mutual dependency between the two sides can be enhanced, contributing to an increase in mutual understanding and trust.

Diplomacy should encompass not just inter-state relations but also relations between the people. In this context, actively involving civil society and media in the process will help societies understand each other better. Lastly, the most critical element in this process is determination and a long-term vision. This vision should advocate for an environment where parties can coexist in the future, based on mutual respect. Diplomacy is a process that requires patience and determination. Yet, with the right steps and a visionary approach, the foundations for sustainable peace in Nagorno-Karabakh can be laid. Such an achievement would not only benefit the region but the entire world.

## 5. Deepening Echoes of Tension in Nagorno-Karabakh

The Nagorno-Karabakh issue has long been a complex problem in the Caucasus with historical roots. The events of the past month have once again demonstrated the intense and deeply felt tension in the region. From Armenia's perspective, the recent incidents have brought historical traumas, national identity issues, and international dynamics back to the forefront for many Armenians.

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Azerbaijan's actions, coupled with Turkey's support for these actions, have been contextualized historically for the Armenian community. This context is especially significant as it coincides roughly with the 31st anniversary of Artsakh's declaration of independence. Additionally, the stances of the international community, particularly major powers in the region, seem to have been a source of disappointment for Armenia. The lack of support from countries often referred to as Armenia's strategic partners indicates the determining role of international dynamics in this matter.

The recent events in Nagorno-Karabakh serve as an example of how a nation's historical identity, national sentiments, and international dynamics intersect. To ensure lasting peace and stability in the region, it's crucial for all parties to consider these sensitivities and adopt a path of dialogue and collaboration. The incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh have highlighted the deep-rooted historical tensions in the area. This situation notably displays the regional positioning and influence of Azerbaijan and Turkey. Subsequently, Russia's policies in this region, coupled with certain disappointments in its relationship with Armenia, are being highlighted. The approach of Western nations, particularly the United States and the European Union, suggests that the international response to this crisis has been inadequate.

The Armenian community, considering the deep marks in its history and its quest for independence, underscores an expectation for a more just and sensitive approach from the international community in light of recent events. However, it's paramount to remember the primary need to ensure the safety and well-being of the civilian population amidst all these developments. The happenings in this region underscore the necessity for the international community to find a solution that is respectful and considerate of the sensitivities of all sides.

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## 6. Summary

The attack on the Russian peacekeeping force in Nagorno-Karabakh on September 20th highlighted the fragility of peace in the region. Despite Azerbaijan's confirmation of the incident and expressions of condolences, the absence of specific details regarding measures to prevent such incidents in the future raises concerns. Previous similar tragedies and the perceived insufficient address of these incidents bring up questions about how lasting peace can be achieved in the region. The international community needs to take more proactive steps to ensure peace and protect human rights in the area.

The issue of Nagorno-Karabakh underscores the significance of international diplomacy and regional strategic planning. Azerbaijan's strategic moves and Turkey's supportive role during this process provide lessons on how states should operate on the international stage. The challenges Armenia faces further emphasize the importance of international diplomacy and strategy. The countries in the region can lay the foundations for a more peaceful and stable future by drawing lessons from these developments.

Recent events in Nagorno-Karabakh have brought the historical tensions of the region back to the forefront. The roles of Azerbaijan and Turkey, the disappointment in Russia's policies towards Armenia, and the perceived inadequate response from Western nations constitute the main dynamics of this tension. The international community should prioritize the safety and well-being of the civilian population in its pursuit of a fair solution.

September 29, 2023, Cologne.

# **The End of a Unipolar World and Russia's Restructuring in the International Arena**

## **The End of a Unipolar World and Russia's Restructuring in the International Arena**

**Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu**

### **1. Introduction**

The international political landscape has always been characterized by its dynamic, mutable, and unpredictable nature. However, with the conclusion of the Cold War and the subsequent establishment of a unipolar order, the onset of the 21st century witnessed challenges to this structure with the rise of various power centers. One salient manifestation of this shift was the Eastern Economic Forum held in Vladivostok, which unveiled the transformations in global balances and inter-state relations. The notable rapprochement between North Korea and Russia emerges as an indicator of new actors and evolving dynamics in international politics. In this article, we aim to delve deeply into the current international political scenario, exploring these new dynamics and the potential impacts of the change, to gain a clearer understanding of the future global political map.

### **2. Dynamics and Strategic Players in the New World Order**

Since the end of the Cold War, there have been dramatic shifts on the international political stage. Towards the end of the 20th century, the West, particularly under the leadership of Washington, sought to maximize the benefits of a unipolar world order. This hegemonic structure aspired to exert full control over global economic and political issues. However, as the 21st century dawned, the sustainability of this structure became increasingly challenging. Especially the rising influence of Russia, China, and other emerging economies presented a significant challenge to this unipolar construct.

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The Eastern Economic Forum held in Vladivostok stood as one of the platforms where this change was concretized. Gathering leaders and business figures from diverse geographies, the forum laid the groundwork for new economic collaborations and strategic partnerships. On the other hand, the West's repressive stance on North Korea pushed the latter towards strategic partners. In this context, Kim Jong-un's visit to Russia emerged as a symbol of the two countries' growing rapport.

The proactive and impressive diplomacy displayed by Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov on international platforms underscores Russia's activity and significance in global politics. However, in this era where the U.S. continues its claim to global leadership, the rapidly shifting dynamics in international relations compel countries to reevaluate their foreign policy approaches.

In conclusion, this swift evolution on the international stage points towards the emergence of a multipolar world order. The exact nature of this new order will be shaped by the strategic choices of states, their alliances, and how they position themselves in global politics. Therefore, closely monitoring these dynamics is crucial for understanding the future of international relations.

### **3. The Waning of Unipolarity and the Rise of a Multipolar World Order**

It's no coincidence that the recent Eastern Economic Forum in Vladivostok took place against a backdrop that highlighted profound shifts in global politics. The hybrid confrontation strategy initiated by the West towards Russia in 2022 has ushered in a period of uncertainty and turbulence on the global political stage. In this context, summits like BRICS and G20 have sent clear signals that unipolarity in international relations is no longer tenable. Observing these transformations at the forefront of global equations, one can discern that the once-prevalent liberal sub-

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centrist "order" is gradually being overshadowed, giving way to an increasingly pluralistic structure in global politics.

In this milieu, the Eastern Economic Forum embodies the evolution of Russia's trajectory and strategic priorities on the international stage. The rapid economic ascent of Asian nations positions them not just as commercial players, but also as pivotal actors in political and strategic matters. Thus, what was initially conceived as an economically-centric event, the forum has provided a broader perspective by also addressing the transformations in international politics.

## **4. The Rapprochement Between North Korea and Russia**

The West's particularly suppressive policies towards North Korea have only intensified the country's isolation. However, the visit of North Korean leader Kim Jong-un to Russia signals a pivotal shift in relations between the two nations. This visit underscores North Korea's need for strategic allies to fortify its position in global politics and to overcome the economic challenges posed by international sanctions.

Perhaps one of the most noteworthy moments of the forum was the visit of North Korean leader Kim Jong-un to Russia. For years, the West has branded North Korea as a state struggling to adapt to Asia's dynamic structure, pushing this narrative to the global community. However, Kim Jong-un's visit revealed Pyongyang's intentions to establish dialogue with the global community and normalize its relations with South Korea. Yet, in contrast to the stance maintained by the USA and its allies until now, it appears they are not genuinely open to substantive diplomacy.

## **5. Emerging Dynamics in International Relations**

The rapid transformation in global politics necessitates nations to reassess their foreign policy strategies continuously. Particularly, the commanding performance

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of Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov in international forums underscores the escalating role of Russia in global politics. Concurrently, despite the tectonic shifts, the USA's persistent pursuit of global leadership remains a pivotal factor shaping the future of international relations.

For years, Washington has imprinted its mark on the international political stage by embracing a hegemonic approach to global issues. In this context, it's discernible that the motive behind destabilizing North Korea and perpetually intervening is intertwined with this hegemonic perspective. Therefore, North Korean leader Kim Jong-un's decision to collaborate with Russia, which champions a balanced and pluralistic approach to international crises, shouldn't be perceived as unexpected. Kim's visit to Russia underscores the ongoing profound changes in international relations, signaling an irreversible transformation. Decades of mutual discord and the West's inconsistent policies have amplified pressures, especially from Eastern countries and the Global South, to revisit the existing world order. This situation fundamentally reflects Washington's endeavors to maintain its global hegemony.

The Eastern Economic Forum presented participants with a crucial opportunity to comprehend these shifts and Russia's stance in the evolving world order. The commitment of leaders, financiers, and experts from the Asia-Pacific region to discover the most pertinent solutions to the contemporary challenges of the global community underlines the forum's instrumental role.

The occurrence of WEF just before the UN General Assembly and UN Security Council meetings in New York symbolizes the clash between the unipolar and multipolar world views. The visit of Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov to America, countering the West's hegemonic policies with arguments mirroring the

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changing global balances, again positions him at the epicenter of this confrontation. Diplomatic initiatives, like the recent summit between Russian and North Korean leaders, are poised to confront the USA with a loss of initiative, pushing it towards constructive dialogue.

## **6. Conclusion**

The shifting balances in international politics and the new alliances forged between nations indicate that the status quo of the early 21st century is no longer sustainable. Particularly, proactive foreign policy strategies exhibited by countries like Russia and North Korea, previously perceived as marginalized or isolated, hint at the evolving distribution of roles and power dynamics in global politics. The opportunities presented by the Eastern Economic Forum and the emerging collaborations underline the need for a reassessment of global interests and priorities. In conclusion, the international community needs to consider these new realities when managing current and potential conflict points and invest more in multilateral diplomacy. This approach is critically important both for the preservation of global stability and for states to defend their national interests more effectively.

These dynamic transformations in international relations compel nations to consistently reevaluate their foreign policy approaches. As we transition from a unipolar world order to a multipolar structure, the future of international relations will be shaped by how nations position themselves within this new order and which strategic partnerships they establish.

September 22, 2023, Luxembourg.

# **The Last Quarter of the 20th Century in Chile: Military Dictatorship and International Political Dynamics**

**The Last Quarter of the 20th Century in Chile: Military Dictatorship and International Political Dynamics**

**Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu**

## **1. Introduction**

In the second half of the 20th century, Latin America served as a critical backdrop for ideological struggles, political transformations, and social conflicts.

Within this intricate geography, Chile holds a unique position. The military coup in 1973, which overthrew the socialist government of Salvador Allende, not only induced regional but also global political reverberations. This event stood as a tangible example of how the ideological polarization during the Cold War era could manifest global implications through a regional conflict. This article delves into the rise of Salvador Allende's socialist government, the ideological context, the economic and social reforms, as well as local and international reactions to these reforms in-depth.

The power dynamics behind the military coup on September 11, 1973, the role of General Augusto Pinochet, one of the principal actors in the coup, and the shifts in Chile's socio-political structure form the central thrust of this article. Moreover, the analysis includes a comparison of this coup with other similar events in Latin America, the regional policies of the United States, and Latin America's strategy during the Cold War. In this context, the interactions of the Allende administration with other socialist movements in the region and its relations with the international community are thoroughly assessed. Concludingly, this study seeks to comprehend the social, political, and economic transformations in Chile post-coup and the domestic and international strategies of the Pinochet regime, aiming to understand the significance of this period in Chile's overarching history.

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## 2. Allende and Pinochet: The Struggle of Power and Ideology

Although Salvador Allende hailed from a prestigious social class in Chile, he was a staunch advocate for social equality and justice. Shaped by the teachings of Freemasonry and the Radical Party, Allende deeply committed to socialist values from a young age. He began his parliamentary career serving as a deputy and senator, holding key positions such as the Minister of Health and Social Services.

In contrast, Augusto Pinochet was born into an ordinary family, dedicating his life to military service. Raised with profound Catholic convictions, Pinochet was known for his interest in defending national security and delving into geopolitical issues. This fundamental conflict between Allende and Pinochet significantly influenced not only the political direction of Chile but also the broader political climate in Latin America.

When Salvador Allende was elected as the President of Chile in 1970, he became the first democratically elected Marxist president in Latin America. During his tenure, Allende sought to implement socialist policies, including a national health service, educational reforms, and the nationalization of major corporations. However, these policies were met with skepticism both internationally and locally, especially from the United States and conservative factions in Chile.

By 1973, the country faced serious economic challenges, leading to escalating resistance against Allende. On September 11, 1973, the Chilean military and air force, under the leadership of Augusto Pinochet, staged a coup in the capital, Santiago. During the coup, the presidential palace, La Moneda, was bombed, and Allende lost his life, with ongoing debates regarding whether it was a suicide or a result of assassination.

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Following the coup, Augusto Pinochet seized control of the country, establishing a military dictatorship that lasted for 17 years. Pinochet's regime was notorious for human rights violations, detaining political adversaries, and employing torture. Pinochet adopted liberal economic policies, initiating economic reforms based on the recommendations of economists from the University of Chicago.

In conclusion, the clash between Allende and Pinochet epitomizes the collision of socialist and authoritarian-conservative ideologies. This can also be perceived as a reflection of the Cold War era, as the events in Chile played a pivotal role in the broader contest for influence spheres among global superpowers.

### **3. Chile's Transformation: Between Allende's Vision and the 'Unity of the People' Challenges**

In September 1970, the presidential elections in Chile garnered international attention. Salvador Allende, the candidate from the left-leaning "People's Unity" coalition, won the elections with 36.6% of the votes. Jorge Alessandri, the candidate from the right-wing National Party, secured 35.3%, and the candidate from the ruling Christian Democratic Party, Radomiro Tomić, placed third with 28.1%.

Given that the Chilean electoral system doesn't have a second round, the confirmation of the president in cases where no candidate receives more than half the votes lies with the National Congress, comprising the House of Representatives and the Senate. With the left-wing parties not holding a majority in parliament, Allende was reliant on the support of the center-left Christian Democrats. Salvador Allende accepted the terms set by the Christian Democrats and signed the Statute of Guarantees, protecting fundamental rights such as freedom of speech. After

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adopting this charter, Allende was confirmed as the country's president by Congress and took office in November 1970.

The "People's Unity" coalition was composed of various left-wing movements and ideological directions, including the Socialist Party, Communist Party, Radical Party, United Popular Action Movement (MAPU), Social Democratic Party, and the Independent Popular Action.

Allende's administration commenced implementing the "People's Unity" program, which envisioned deep reforms in the economic structure and radical changes. This comprised an economy free from foreign and domestic monopolies, a dominant role for the public sector in the economy, and steps like nationalizing significant industries and the banking system.

However, the undeniable fact was that this radical course wasn't universally supported across all societal strata, given the election results. Allende's approach to instigating these rapid and profound changes led to complications in multiple sectors, especially the economy. Particularly, the social measures implemented for disadvantaged groups, which did not produce the anticipated impact, hampered the popularity of Allende's administration.

The events that transpired during Salvador Allende's tenure in Chile represent a crucial period in Latin American history. Allende's socialist government aimed to instate radical social and economic reforms; however, these reforms encountered severe economic challenges, foreign interventions, and domestic political tensions.

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## **4. Allende's Impact in Chile: The Transformation of a Nation amidst Ideological Currents**

Allende's presidency took place at the zenith of the Cold War. It was a period of ideological conflicts between the West and the Soviet bloc, and Latin America emerged as one of the primary fronts of this conflict. Allende's socialist government was perceived by the USA as a potential catalyst for the spread of communism in Latin America. As a result, even prior to Allende's election, the U.S. had undertaken various measures aimed at preventing his rise to power.

Allende's economic reforms, notably the expansion of the public sector, nationalization of industries and banking, agrarian reform, and initiatives to reduce income inequality, faced significant challenges both internationally and domestically. Economic sanctions imposed by the U.S., the declining prices for primary export commodities such as copper, soaring inflation, and a growing fiscal deficit complicated Allende's economic strategies.

Furthermore, one of the most significant challenges that Allende faced was the continuous tension with opposition parties and the Chilean business community. The opposition was constantly on the lookout for opportunities to obstruct Allende's policies and destabilize his administration. Some outcomes of the government's policies, like food shortages and the emergence of a black market, also had detrimental economic repercussions.

## **5. Chile's Tumultuous Years: From Allende to Pinochet, Political Strains and Global Interactions**

In 1973, the escalating tensions and economic challenges culminated in a coup staged by the Chilean army led by General Augusto Pinochet against the Allende

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government. This coup resulted in the death of Salvador Allende and led to the establishment of an authoritarian government under Pinochet that lasted for 17 years.

Allende's government was perceived as an experiment on how socialism and social justice could be implemented in Latin America. However, due to external interventions, internal political strains, and economic challenges, this experiment could not be fully realized. Yet, this period in Latin American history continues to be studied and debated.

Chile's history between 1970 and 1973 narrates the political and economic turbulence following Salvador Allende's election and the subsequent implementation of his radical reform program by his socialist government. This period stands as one of the pinnacles of the ideological conflict between left and right in Latin America. Allende's agenda, especially the nationalization of property and the expansion of social programs, encountered significant resistance both nationally and internationally.

The opposition was notably supported by large segments of the middle and upper classes. Centrist parties such as the Christian Democratic Party, the right-wing National Party, and more radical right-wing groups were part of this opposition coalition.

Reactions against Allende's policies, combined with economic difficulties, led to the government being stripped of its external support, with growing public discontent. This made the Allende administration declare a state of emergency and the opposition amplify their protest actions.

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The U.S. policy at the time was also significant. Even before Allende's election, the U.S. government had taken various measures to prevent his accession to power. During Allende's tenure, U.S. economic sanctions and other tactics substantially harmed the Chilean economy.

By the end of this period, in 1973, a military coup supported by the army and navy occurred, led by General Augusto Pinochet. Salvador Allende died during this coup, and Pinochet instigated a military dictatorship that spanned 17 years.

This period serves as a poignant example of how the Cold War impacted Latin America and how ideological conflicts could profoundly shape a nation's political and economic framework. During Pinochet's dictatorship, thousands were arrested, tortured, or disappeared. By the late 1980s, democratic governance returned to Chile, but the scars of this era remain palpable.

In March 1973, during the parliamentary elections, the Democratic Confederation, which united the right and center, secured 54.7% of the votes, while the "Popular Unity" share in parliament relatively increased with 43.4% of the votes. For the opposition to realize the president's resignation, they required a two-thirds majority in parliament. As spring and summer of 1973 unfolded, political and economic imbalances in Chile intensified. In particular, severe food shortages resulted in social unrest, with a significant portion of the middle class participating in strike actions involving over 250,000 participants. Attempts by segments of the armed forces to act against the government were unsuccessful.

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### **6. The Chilean Crisis of 1973: Allende's Government and Escalating Political Tensions**

On September 4, 1973, marking the third anniversary of the presidential elections, the "Popular Unity" party organized a mass demonstration in Santiago. During this period, the political atmosphere steadily intensified. This led to deliberations about a plebiscite within the "National Unity." President Allende had already stated in January 1973 that such a plebiscite should have taken place earlier. The vision of the "Popular Unity" coalition was to enable active public participation in the government and draft a new constitution that would replace the existing parliament with a people's assembly. Before the coup, the president tasked his advisors to evaluate the potential ramifications of such a referendum.

Chile, which underwent a tumultuous phase in the latter half of the 20th century, witnessed massive opposition to the socialist government, especially from senior military officers and externally-backed groups against President Salvador Allende. There were speculations regarding the active involvement of the USA's CIA (Central Intelligence Agency).

On August 22, 1973, under the influence of the opposition, the Chilean House of Representatives passed a resolution accusing President Allende of violating freedom of speech. During this critical juncture, some opposition journalists were arrested, while unlawful armed factions were encouraged to instill an atmosphere of fear among the populace, and an education policy based on Marxist ideology was introduced. The president of the Supreme Court corroborated these observations.

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However, it's contentious to label President Allende's actions as indicative of a repressive regime. It must be acknowledged that the "Popular Unity" government was fragile amidst the escalating political and economic turmoil. There was a significant loss of control regarding the armed forces, and many senior military officers openly declared their opposition. In this intricate scenario, the lack of a collaborative will among opposing political factions led to a crisis between the executive and legislative bodies.

### **7. September 11, 1973: Coup in Chile, Repression and a Jolt to Democracy**

September 11, 1973 marks a somber turning point in Chile's history. On this day, the military coup against Salvador Allende's socialist government carved a deep scar into the political narrative of Latin America. After refusing a demand for resignation, the presidential palace La Moneda was bombed by aircraft. Even though the military junta offered Allende the option to leave the country, he emphatically declined.

The armed forces rapidly took control over strategic areas of Santiago and imposed martial law. This military action, however, did not meet significant resistance from the populace. There are two differing theories regarding Allende's final hours: some sources claim he died during the occupation of the palace, while others suggest he took his own life to avoid capture by the junta.

The repercussions of the coup profoundly rattled the country's democratic structures. Activities of political parties and unions were suspended, and the main institutions of representative democracy were dismantled. The dominant figure behind this process was General Augusto Pinochet. Under Pinochet's leadership, the military junta controlled every tier of the state, with military personnel assuming pivotal roles in civil bureaucracy.

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These drastic changes were pleasing not only to the right-wing factions but also to Christian Democrats. However, this did not imply that Allende's adversaries were shielded from repression. Once Pinochet was appointed as the Supreme Leader by the military junta, he ramped up the repression. This suppression, contradictory to Chile's democratic tradition, targeted not only the left but also centrist groups.

Post-coup, human rights violations were rampant in internment camps. The renowned Chilean singer Victor Jara was tortured in one such camp, the Santiago stadium.

The civil legal system was supplanted by a military court system, plunging Chile into a climate of terror. Thanks to international pressure, however, this repression slightly abated. For instance, the leader of the Communist Party, Luis Corvalan, was released after an international solidarity movement. Nevertheless, Corvalan's subsequent escape to the Soviet Union remains a testament to the coup's lasting impact on collective memory.

### **8. Chile under Pinochet: Economic Transformation and Democracy's Shadow**

Liberal economic reforms carried out under Augusto Pinochet's leadership are viewed by many historians and political experts as effective. Additionally, the peaceful transfer of power to a civilian government post-Pinochet reinforces this positive impression. However, these views face criticism as they inadequately account for the repressive aspects of the dictatorship and the socio-economic difficulties endured by a significant portion of the population. Notably, the social costs of the economic policy implemented under conditions like strike prohibitions and dissolution of independent unions are criticized by proponents of the neoliberal "Chicago School."

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During this period, despite privatisations favoring large capital groups, strategic sectors of the country, such as copper mining, remained under state control. Pinochet and his supporters rationalized their dictatorship by claiming protection of the nation from threats of Marxist dictatorship, thus curtailing democratic rights and civil liberties. There are also arguments that do not see this dictatorship in the context of fascism.

Pinochet's military government faced pressures, particularly from the democratically-oriented US administration under President Jimmy Carter, for political liberalization. Numerous Western European governments also criticized Chile's military regime.

After regaining democracy through a plebiscite in 1988, left-leaning forces took political power in the country. However, instead of making radical changes in the socio-economic structure, they settled with moderate social democratic reforms.

The tragic death of Salvador Allende has become emblematic of his struggle. His statements from this period display his dedication and resolve for the people.

Lastly, Chilean civil society has not acquiesced to the past crimes of the military regime. A testament to this is the memorial for Salvador Allende opposite the presidential palace, La Moneda, in Santiago, indicating that the past has not been forgotten.

### 9. Summary:

The political, economic, and social transformations of Chile in the latter half of the 20th century culminated in the military coup of September 11, 1973. Salvador

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Allende's socialist government was greeted with high hopes on both the national and international political stage but was toppled by a military coup. The bombing of the La Moneda presidential palace and Allende's tragic death are dramatic echoes of this event.

General Augusto Pinochet, the central figure behind the coup, is remembered not only for his economic reforms but also for his repression, persecution, and human rights violations. While some historians and political scientists view his economic measures positively, these evaluations are overshadowed by the political repressions and social costs of this period.

The victory of socialist President Salvador Allende in 1970 in Chile stood as a testament to the implementation of social and economic reforms in Latin America. However, these reforms led to economic challenges, social tensions, and foreign interventions in the country. Allende's policies faced stark reactions both nationally and internationally, intertwined with the US's policy to curb communism in the region. Allende's era was marked by economic challenges, social unrest, and political tensions. In 1973, a military coup led by General Augusto Pinochet took place, during which Salvador Allende lost his life, and Pinochet instituted a 17-year-long authoritarian rule in Chile. This period exemplifies how Latin America was influenced by ideological conflicts during the Cold War.

Post the 1973 coup that toppled Salvador Allende's government, Chile's political structure underwent profound changes, and a significant portion of civil society was persecuted. The military junta led by General Augusto Pinochet took control of the country and curtailed civil liberties. During Pinochet's rule, neoliberal economic reforms were conducted; some sectors were privatized, but strategic industries remained state-owned. Pinochet's regime faced criticism from the

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international community. Democracy was restored in 1988 through a plebiscite, but subsequent governments leaned towards social democratic reforms rather than radical changes. Allende's death became emblematic of these events, and civil society has not forgotten the military regime's crimes. In remembrance of Allende, a statue was erected in Santiago.

**Note:** This comprehensive analytical study, presented in an academic style, was shared at a series of conferences at prestigious universities in Mexico, Washington, Berlin, Bangladesh, and Seoul. Between 2002 and 2023, these leading educational institutions received my work with keen interest, adding profound perspectives to academic discussions.

September 21, 2023, Luxembourg.

# Europe's Integration Dilemma: An Examination on Ukrainian Grain and Turkey's Potential Membership

Europe's Integration Dilemma: An Examination on Ukrainian Grain and Turkey's Potential Membership

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

## 1. Introduction

The European Union (EU) has witnessed numerous instances throughout history where diverse national interests and concepts of sovereignty could clash with the ideal of union. This is particularly evident in recent approaches of Eastern European countries towards Ukrainian grain. This article focuses on how such approaches influence the internal dynamics and future of the EU. Beyond policies regarding Ukrainian grain, the extent to which Eastern European countries adhere to or oppose Brussels' decisions highlights the tension between a unified European ideal and national interests. This raises questions about the EU's ability to act in an integrated and coordinated manner, while also revealing how member states' concepts of sovereignty and national priorities interact with union policies. Another dynamic that further complicates this complex situation is the issue of Turkey's potential full membership. Turkey's accession process to the EU could profoundly impact the EU's enlargement policy and geopolitical stance. Turkey's geographical position, economic potential, and cultural heritage all hold the potential to shape its possible role within the EU. However, just like the issue of Ukrainian grain, Turkey's full membership could also lead to divergent approaches and views among EU member states.

In conclusion, this scholarly article emphasizes the friction between the EU's ideal of being a union and the concepts of national interests and sovereignty. Both the matter of Ukrainian grain and Turkey's potential membership are among the dynamics critically shaping the future structure of the EU.

# **Europe's Integration Dilemma: An Examination on Ukrainian Grain and Turkey's Potential Membership**

From its inception, the European Union (EU) has consistently been in interaction with both national sovereignties and the collective ideal of union. Recently, one of the most pronounced areas of this interaction is the political stance of Eastern European countries regarding Ukrainian grain. On the other hand, Turkey's potential full membership emerges as another significant dynamic influencing the union's enlargement policy and geopolitical position. This analysis is based on an in-depth study presented as a conference series at Oxford, Luxembourg, and Seoul Universities.

## **2. Recent Decisions of the European Union**

Recent decisions of the European Union indicate certain challenges in the understanding of unity among member countries. Notably, the diverse approaches concerning the accommodation of migrants following the Mediterranean route from Africa indicate these challenges. Simultaneously, the matter of Ukraine's grain supply also reveals different approaches within the union. In both these examples, disparities between Eastern and Western Europe have become evident.

## **3. Stances of the Five Eastern European Countries Bordering Ukraine**

Last March, five Eastern European countries that share a border with Ukraine - Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia - applied to the European Commission to impose restrictions on grain imports from Ukraine. This request was aligned with the need to protect the agricultural interests of these countries. Brussels considered this request and protected the markets of the said countries against certain agricultural products coming from Ukraine. This restriction began on May 2 and lasted until September 15. However, from this date onward, the European Commission lifted the restrictions.

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Yet, following the termination of this restriction, many countries still did not want to see Ukrainian grain in their markets. This sentiment was particularly pronounced by Poland, which plans to establish a closer relationship with Kiev in the near future.

Deep within European politics, Poland-Lithuania Community Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki stated that Poland was determined to proceed on its own path. "We will continue our restrictions on Ukrainian grain imports. We will set our own policy without considering the opinions of Berlin and Brussels," he commented. This stance was concretized with the announcement of new restrictions on some agricultural products from Ukraine on September 16.

Hungary's leader, Viktor Orban, also launched a notable criticism towards the central administration of the European Union. He pointed out that the EU tried to persuade some Eastern European countries to support Ukraine's grain exports, but this grain did not actually reach the needy in Africa. Orban emphasized that this situation adversely affected Hungarian agriculture.

In addition to these criticisms, Hungary expanded its restrictions on many products coming from Ukraine.

Slovakia, on the other hand, adopted a more silent approach on this matter. However, a decision by the Slovak Ministry of Agriculture blocked the entry of Ukrainian grain into the country. The reason given was that this import would harm local farmers.

In previous periods, an official from Poland mentioned that Romania would also expand its restrictions on Ukrainian agricultural products. However, this expectation did not materialize, and Bulgaria took a step towards lifting the

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restrictions.

### 4. Skeptical Stance of Some Eastern European Countries Towards Brussels

In light of these events, some Eastern European countries, especially those with a more skeptical stance towards Brussels, appear inclined to act more independently against the EU's centralized administration. Conversely, countries that are closer to the EU seem to adhere more to the central administration's will.

Poland's current administration's disputes with Brussels are well-known. In September 2021, the EU Court ordered Poland to pay a daily fine of 500,000 Euros due to its operations in the Turow mine, known for its proximity to the Czech Republic and Germany. Prague spearheaded this lawsuit, citing the mine's adverse environmental and citizen impacts. However, Poland was resistant both to shutting down the mine and meeting its penal obligations. This issue was resolved in February 2022 with an agreement between the Czech Republic and Poland.

The matter of Ukraine's grain imports may potentially be addressed in the EU Court. However, this process can be time-consuming, and there are upcoming elections in Poland. For the ruling Law and Justice Party, mismanaging this situation could pose a political risk. Polish agricultural producers represent a crucial voting bloc for both the government and opposition parties like the "Civic Platform."

In light of upcoming elections in Slovakia, the opposition "Direction - Social Democracy" party sharply criticizes the current administration and potentially has a chance to come to power. Slovakia's current government has to adopt a cautious approach regarding relations with Kiev.

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Hungary's Prime Minister Viktor Orban is known for his inclination to act independently from the EU when national interests are at stake. In this context, the bans imposed on Ukrainian grain imports can be seen as a reflection of Orban's stance.

Challenges by Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary to the EU's market principle might not signify a radical change in relations between these countries and Brussels. However, the differences between nationally oriented states of Eastern Europe and the EU's globalist leaders are becoming increasingly evident.

The Ukrainian grain issue might deepen this growing rift. In the future, EU member states will either fully constitute an international union or depart from the EU. There are indications that some Eastern European countries are leaning towards the latter option.

### **5. The Independent Action Tendency of Eastern Europe Against Brussels and the Future of the EU**

The increasing tendency of Eastern European countries to act independently against the European Union's (EU) central body, Brussels, brings the need to reconsider the EU's principle of integrity and the integration process. These movements not only bring economic benefits of expansion but also highlight the political and cultural challenges, pointing out the need to reassess membership criteria and values.

The expansion of the EU has led some Eastern European countries to follow a different trajectory from Brussels, combining their unique domestic political

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dynamics with external influences. In this context, it's essential to focus on how economic dynamics shape these countries' relations with the EU.

These findings prompt the EU to reconsider the needs of its deeper integration process and solidarity among member states. However, it's essential to bear in mind that such tensions between membership criteria, values, and norms can trigger varying integration speeds within the EU. This situation necessitates strategic thinking and planning for the future of the EU. It's possible that the EU might evolve into a multi-speed Europe, where groups of countries integrate at different paces due to their unique challenges, values, and objectives.

In summary, the changing dynamics in Eastern European countries and their increasingly independent stance towards Brussels emphasize the evolving nature of the EU and the challenges it faces. While the EU's primary goal has always been integration and unity, the realities on the ground highlight the need for flexibility, understanding, and innovative solutions to ensure the Union remains strong, cohesive, and relevant in the face of changing circumstances.

### **6. The Future of the EU: An Assessment on Turkey's Full Membership and the Unity of the Union**

Since its inception, the European Union (EU) has grown through various expansions and established tighter political and economic ties through integration processes. However, challenges faced by the EU in recent years indicate that the future of the Union is uncertain. One of the primary causes of this uncertainty is the issue of Turkey's full membership.

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The EU accession process for Turkey began with the Ankara Agreement in 1963, took a new turn with the full membership application in 1987, and the start of negotiations in 2005. However, during this time, relations between Turkey and the EU have been unstable due to various political, economic, and cultural barriers. Especially in recent years, Turkey's geostrategic position, its influence on energy corridors, and its role in regional balances have become critically important for the EU.

If the EU does not accept Turkey as a full member, it means that the Union will significantly lack geopolitical and economic potential. Demographically, Turkey, with its young and dynamic population, can invigorate Europe's aging demographics. Economically, Turkey, with its growing economy, geographical position, and strategic role in energy routes, can offer significant advantages to the EU.

On the other hand, the rejection of Turkey's full membership could lead to a decrease in the EU's power as an actor on the global stage. Considering Turkey's role in regional and global issues, excluding this country could limit the EU's international effectiveness. Moreover, excluding Turkey could set a discouraging precedent for other potential member countries, which could negatively affect the EU's expansion and integration processes. In conclusion, the rejection of Turkey's full membership in the EU can both diminish the EU's regional and global influence and negatively affect the Union's expansion and integration processes. In this context, it's possible to say that Turkey's full membership holds critical importance for the future of the EU. If this potential isn't acknowledged, the unity and global effectiveness of the EU could be at risk.

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## 7. Conclusion

The European Union, comprised of a diverse array of member states, inherently sees the emergence of different national interests and approaches. Recent events regarding Ukrainian grain showcase, in particular, how strongly Eastern European countries hold on to their national interests. Independent actions of countries such as Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary against Brussels' decisions point to challenges and potential fractures for the future of the EU. However, it should not be overlooked that in such issues, parties usually find a way towards reconciliation. Nevertheless, tensions like these in recent years raise significant questions about the evolution of the EU as an international institution. The determination of some Eastern European countries to protect their national sovereignty provides insights into the future structure and operation of the EU. In this context, one of the most critical issues for the coming periods is how the EU will balance the national interests of member states with the general interests of the union.

The independent stance of Eastern European countries against the European Union (EU) brings to light the need to re-evaluate the EU's integrity, integration process, and membership criteria. Economic, political, and cultural dynamics of these countries have led them to chart a course different from Brussels, necessitating a review of the EU's integration process and solidarity among member states. These tensions underline the need to shape the future of the EU and accentuate the importance of strategic planning.

The future of the European Union (EU) is closely linked to the issue of Turkey's full membership. Turkey's geostrategic position, demographic structure, and economic potential offer significant advantages for the EU. If Turkey is not admitted as a full member, the global effectiveness and integrity of the EU could be at risk. In this

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context, the critical importance of Turkey's full membership for the future of the EU is emphasized.

The independent political approaches of Eastern European countries, especially regarding Brussels' decisions, indicate a tension between national and collective interests. The policy on Ukrainian grain can be viewed as a tangible example of this tension. Turkey's potential full membership is of great significance in terms of the EU's expansion strategy and geopolitical dynamics. Turkey's geographical position, economic capacity, and cultural context can determine both positive and negative aspects of its relationship with the EU. Both the Ukrainian grain issue and Turkey's potential membership offer crucial insights into how the future of the EU will be shaped. These two dynamics reveal challenges and opportunities that Europe's integration process might encounter in the future.

**Note:** This meticulously prepared analytical assessment has been presented as part of a conference series at internationally recognized universities such as Oxford, Luxembourg, Cambridge, and Seoul. In these elite academic platforms, my work has been met with high praise and interest, adding a valuable perspective to academic discussions and reviews.

19 September 2023, Luxembourg.

# Elections and Leadership in Turkey's Political Transformation

## Elections and Leadership in Turkey's Political Transformation

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

### 1.) Introduction:

Since the early 2000s, Turkey has undergone significant political and social transformations. At the heart of this transformation process are the elections held and the societal preferences that became evident in these elections. However, to fully understand the dynamics and outcomes of these elections, one must also consider the political actors of the time, their strategies, and the general context in which Turkey found itself.

In this context, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political strategy, leadership style, and the reforms carried out under his leadership have played a key role in Turkey's transformation process. However, alongside this general picture, factors such as political parties' candidate selection processes, election laws, and diversity of representation have also been decisive in societal transformation.

In this article, by examining the period from April 9, 2015, to April 9, 2023, we will provide a detailed analysis of how Turkey's political landscape has been shaped, the milestones it has passed, and the impact of the elections during this period on society. We will particularly delve into how Erdoğan's political approach during this time has directed Turkey and how other political parties have responded to this process. The candidate selection process of political parties in Turkey stands out as an indispensable element of a democratic election system. Transparency, inclusiveness, and democratic principles in this process have been occasionally evaluated with a critical perspective.

The Current Structure of the Candidate Determination Process:  
Within the framework of the current election law in Turkey, political parties form their candidate lists according to their internal dynamics and methods. However, it

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is observed that this process has a centralist character in many parties. Candidate lists determined by party headquarters without sufficiently considering local dynamics and member opinions present a picture conflicting with the principle of intra-party democracy.

The candidate determination processes of political parties in Turkey directly determine the quality of democratic representation. However, the current situation indicates that this process is carried out with a centralist approach, neglecting local needs and dynamics.

This generalized approach simply overlooks the specific problems and needs of local communities, even sometimes belittling them. The central administrations of political parties are so focused on their broad political visions that this vision can dramatically deviate from the real needs of local communities. Such an approach can further complicate issues by responding to specific matters, like the sea pollution or fishing-related problems of a coastal city, with a general environmental policy.

Furthermore, the lack of genuine communication with the local population during the candidate selection process reveals a structure that is unaware, distant, and disconnected from the real needs of the community. This leads parties to select candidates based on popularity or intra-party relations rather than true merit. Such an approach not only results in the neglect of societal needs but also leads to societal backlash.

Lastly, the "one-size-fits-all" policy understanding brought about by parties' central approach completely overlooks the unique social and economic dynamics of Turkey's various regions. This can lead to a structure where certain segments of the community are inadequately represented, marginalized, or even looked down

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upon.

In conclusion, the insensitivity and bias of political parties' candidate determination processes towards local dynamics lead to serious deficiencies in democratic representation. It is essential for parties to adopt a more sensitive, democratic, and inclusive approach during this critical process. Only in this way will a fair representation that responds to the real needs and demands of the community be possible.

## **2.) Transparency and Candidate Selection:**

The transparency of candidate selection processes is a critical factor in determining the public's trust in this process. Opacity in the process leads to questions about the criteria by which candidates are determined, undermining societal trust.

Transparency in candidate selection processes is indispensable for a democratic administration. The prevailing perception in Turkey that the process of determining candidates within political parties is not transparent is triggering concerns in the public eye about how fair and objective these election processes are.

Many people complain about not being able to access clear information regarding the criteria used in the candidate selection process, the methods by which candidates are chosen, and why certain individuals are highlighted. This lack of information can lead to speculations about what kind of interactions, negotiations, and decisions are made behind the scenes in the election process.

Enhancing transparency can eliminate these uncertainties and unknowns, consolidating public trust in political parties and election processes. An open and transparent process provides parties with an opportunity to demonstrate how fair, objective, and considerate they are of the real needs of the public during candidate

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selection. This also allows the election processes and the subsequent administrations to be more widely accepted by society.

In summary, neglecting transparency can harm the credibility of political parties and election processes in the eyes of society; whereas increased transparency can restore this trust and contribute to the healthy functioning of the democratic process.

### **3.) Law and Intra-Party Democracy:**

Political parties have a responsibility to make their candidate selection processes more transparent, inclusive, and democratic. However, for this transformation to take place, the current election law also needs to be revised.

One of the fundamental principles of democracy is to ensure representation in a fair and transparent manner. In this context, the candidate selection processes of political parties play a critical role in the functioning of democracy. Nevertheless, there are frequent criticisms that the current practices fall short, intra-party democracy doesn't fully function, and candidate selection processes are not transparent.

While it is expected that political parties make this process more transparent and democratic, for these changes to be realized, legal regulations must also be revised accordingly. For instance, in many countries, political parties determine their candidates through primaries involving the participation of their members. In the USA, both Democratic and Republican parties organize primaries to determine their presidential candidates. This process, where candidates are determined by the party base and carried out with broad participation, increases democratic legitimacy.

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However, in Turkey, unless there is such an arrangement in the election law, it will become challenging for parties to follow a democratic process internally. Legal regulations can be compelling, prompting parties to adopt certain standards in their candidate selection processes. For instance, the law can mandate a certain percentage of member participation in the candidate selection process. Similarly, to increase the transparency of the selection processes, sharing the candidate selection criteria with the public could become a legal requirement.

In conclusion, while the responsibility lies heavily on political parties, to ensure that this responsibility is fulfilled and the process is democratized, revising legal regulations accordingly is inevitable. This is an essential step that needs to be taken for the democracy in Turkey to be founded on firmer grounds.

### **4.) "June 7, 2015 General Elections"**

From April 9, 2015, Turkey witnessed a series of highly dynamic and strategically significant electoral processes. This period featured votes that deeply impacted Turkey's political dynamics and societal structure.

June 7, 2015 General Elections: This election went down in history as the one where the Justice and Development Party (AKP) lost its single-party majority which it had held since 2002. However, no party managed to secure a majority sufficient to form a government on its own. This brought the possibility of a coalition government in Turkey into the limelight. Also, the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) passed the 10% electoral threshold, entering the parliament.

November 1, 2015 Snap General Elections: Following the inconclusive coalition talks after the June 7 elections, Turkey held snap general elections later that year. In this election, the AKP returned to single-party power with 49.5% of the vote, securing 317 parliamentary seats.

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April 16, 2017 Constitutional Referendum: Turkey held a referendum proposing a shift to a Presidential System of governance. With approximately 51.4% voting in favor, this change brought about a fundamental transformation in Turkey's system of governance, expanding the powers of the President.

June 24, 2018 Presidential and Parliamentary General Elections: This went down in history as the first election under the new system of governance. The candidate of the People's Alliance and then-President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was elected President with 52.6% of the vote. On the same day, in the parliamentary elections, AKP received 42.6% and MHP got 11.1% of the votes, securing a majority in the parliament.

These elections were critical votes that shaped Turkey's recent political transformation, governance changes, and societal dynamics. Particularly, the 2017 Constitutional Referendum initiated a historic transformation in Turkey's form of governance. The 2018 elections showcased the fruits of this transformation and became the first election held under the new system.

## **5.) HDP's 2015 Election Candidate Selection Process: Representation, Transparency, and Diversity Criticism.**

The announcement of candidate lists of political parties in the 2015 Turkish general elections brought along many questions about the functioning of democracy. Especially, the candidate selection process of the HDP can be critically assessed in terms of intra-party democracy, representation, and diversity.

Firstly, comments made on HDP's Erzurum list led to criticisms that the candidates determined by the party were distant from reflecting local dynamics. This generally

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shows that while political parties act with a central perspective, they might overlook local sensitivities and needs. Like other regions of Turkey, Erzurum has its own sociocultural dynamics, and the lack of sufficient representation of these dynamics in the candidate lists can drive voters away from the party.

Additionally, when examining HDP's general candidate list, there is an argument that the party does not adequately reflect Turkey's ethnic and cultural diversity. It's claimed that HDP adopts a Kurdish and Alevi-centered approach, turning the party into a regional one. This could mean that the party is unable to develop a national vision and only represents a specific segment. Considering Turkey's demographic structure, this approach might challenge the party's chances of passing the threshold.

Moreover, individual situations like the notable writer Günay Aslan not being on the lists raise questions about how transparent and democratic HDP's candidate selection process is. It's essential to remember that the candidate selection processes of political parties have critical importance for the healthy functioning of intra-party democracy. Lastly, the influence of HDP's approach to the "resolution process" on its election strategy cannot be overlooked. While the resolution process is critically important for both Turkey and the Kurdish issue, it's evident that not being able to determine a consistent and clear policy on this matter could put the party in a difficult position.

In conclusion, HDP's candidate selection process in the 2015 elections should be critically assessed in the context of democratic representation, transparency, and diversity. It's crucial for the healthy functioning of democracy that political parties remain open to such criticisms and continuously review their internal dynamics.

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President Erdoğan's Political Strategy and Transformation of Turkey

The most distinctive feature of this period was the central role played by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political vision and strategic leadership in Turkey's political and societal transformation. Since the early 2000s, Erdoğan has consistently been at the top of Turkish politics, being the main actor directing both his party, AKP, and Turkey.

Under Erdoğan's leadership, Turkey pursued economic growth, infrastructure investments, development projects, and a more active policy on the international stage. The growth rates and development projects Turkey achieved, especially in the last decade, were seen as concrete results of Erdoğan's vision. Mega projects and urban transformation studies, in particular, became symbols of the country's modernization process.

The 2017 Constitutional Referendum and subsequent elections represented the pinnacle of Erdoğan's political strategy. The transition to the new government system was seen as a result of his leadership understanding and vision of governing Turkey more effectively. During this period, Erdoğan's understanding of political stability and effective management was embraced by a broad segment of Turkish society. This was considered a success in demonstrating Erdoğan's ability to steer the country steadily despite the internal and external challenges Turkey faced.

## **6.) Conclusion and Evaluation**

The period from 2015 to 2021 is a crucial timeframe for Turkish politics. The elections held during this period are the most evident indicators of societal and political transformations. When we look at the election results and the factors affecting these results, we see two main currents emerging: The leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and HDP's election performance.

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Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political leadership made Turkey a significant player both nationally and internationally during this period. His reforms, economic success, deep connection with the public, and visionary leadership led to him being admired both domestically and abroad. Erdoğan's success became a symbol of political stability supported by broad segments of society.

On the other hand, HDP drew attention with its performance in the 2015 elections. The party managed to get votes not only from Kurdish-origin citizens but also from people from different segments of Turkey. However, HDP's election strategies sometimes faced criticism. Criticisms regarding their candidate selection processes and representation diversity indicate that the party needs to adopt a more inclusive approach.

Lastly, the political developments during this period can be seen as indicators of Turkey's democratic maturity. Both Erdoğan's visionary leadership and HDP's election success reveal how open Turkey is to different voices and approaches. This is a promising sign for the country's future. It's inevitable for political parties in Turkey to critically examine their candidate selection processes and reform them in the context of implementing the fundamental principles of democracy. These reforms will contribute to both political parties and Turkish democracy, ensuring more effective democratic representation.

### 15 September 2023 Luxembourg (and 9 April 2015 Yüksekova)

**Note:** The content of this article has been presented in conference format at Oxford, Leipzig, and Luxembourg universities. Constructive feedback on the topic and content of the article was received at these prestigious educational institutions, leading to rich discussions.

# Terrorism "9/11 and the 'End of the West' – An Essay

## Terrorism "9/11 and the 'End of the West' – An Essay

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

### 1.) A decade after September 11, 2001

A decade after September 11, 2001, it seemed the world was entering a period of consensus in what is termed "Western" in the annals of global history. America's first Black president, Barack Obama, had rhetorically broken with the foreign policy approach of his predecessor, George W. Bush. The Euro-American relationship appeared to be strengthening. While the great financial crisis that started in the US in 2007, swiftly affecting the Eurozone, hadn't been fully overcome, it had passed its peak without dismantling global financial structures or the Euro.

The West's surge of military forces to 100,000 in Afghanistan succeeded in pushing back the Taliban, only momentarily repelled after 9/11, back to the defensive. The Americans managed to provisionally re-establish security in Iraq, a nation they had destabilized with an invasion led by the U.S. in 2003. A path seemed visible for nuclear negotiations and the lifting of sanctions with Iran. Osama bin Laden, the figure behind the 9/11 attacks, had finally been located. In early May 2011, he was found and killed by American special forces in his residence in Abbottabad, Pakistan – despite the possibility of capturing him alive.

Furthermore, around the turn of 2010/11, starting in Tunisia, there were uprisings against regimes that had been in power for decades throughout the Arab world. The Bush era's aggressive American Middle East policy had enforced a violent revolution for liberalization and democratization from the outside in Afghanistan and Iraq after 2001. Now, Arabs were demanding democracy and the rule of law on their own terms, thereby - seemingly - meeting Western expectations. 2011 was a year of great beginnings and hope. After the end of the Cold War, many Western decision-makers believed in a continuous global move towards freedom and

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democracy. History was proceeding in the Euro-Atlantic region as once predicted: One day, everyone would be "like us", just like "the West". This was the thesis put forward in American political scientist Francis Fukuyama's book "The End of History". Fukuyama was articulating what many Europeans and Americans already believed: The West had won the historical final battle between liberal capitalism and dictatorial communism. Now, the whole world was open to its benevolent influence and would adapt to it, as it had in Eastern Europe.

In the early hours of the Arab revolution, the revolutionaries were young, tech-savvy, creative, Euro-American educated, setting for themselves a set of ideals: human dignity, political participation, freedom from dictatorship and repression, self-rule, and democracy. Significant media developments that contributed to this beginning were witnessed a decade ago. The TV channel Al-Jazeera, originating from Qatar, gained its fame through broadcasting - it had aired Bin Laden's video messages - and in December 2010, brought the Tunisian revolution triggered by the self-immolation of vegetable seller Mohammed Bouazizi, right into the living rooms of all Arab nations.

Just a few weeks later, the first despots were toppled: in Tunisia, Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, and in Egypt, Hosni Mubarak. Others, like Muammar Gaddafi in Libya and Ali Abdallah Saleh in Yemen, were shaken, and it wasn't long before it was understood that Baschar al-Assad in Syria faced a public uprising supported by major cities in Central Syria, Homs, and Hama. This situation had either removed or severely damaged the oldest and longest-serving rulers or ruling families. Twelve years on, in the summer of 2023, Assad is the only one still alive and in office - executing his duties while precariously balanced on the thin rope of Russian and Iranian support.

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## 2.) End of Foreign Policy

The changes in leadership – starting from 2019 including in Sudan and Algeria – saw the revolutionaries succeed almost everywhere. At first glance, this doesn't seem like a bad outcome. However, they failed to dismantle the old structures sustainably. When they seemed to be gaining ground, it led to civil wars, especially in Libya, Syria, and Yemen. Brief spurts of movement were replaced by newer and larger crises. The instability and wars that began with 9/11 persisted and terrorism now manifested in the form of fighters from an entity called the Islamic State (IS) making their way into Europe. The hope that the "Westernization Story" of Eastern Europe post-1989 would repeat itself in the Arab world and extend to the next global segment died with the counter-revolution in Egypt in 2013 and the ongoing internationalization of the conflict in Syria.

In the Arab revolutions, the anger at the political stagnation that had manifested since 2001 led to a significant reorientation for many Arab nations and regimes, if not since the fall of the Soviet Union. Europe and the USA long maintained a tactic of keeping the political situation in the Arab world and jihadist terrorism under control through security cooperation with regimes. Still, this approach failed with the revolutions of 2011. In places where democratic elections took place - in Tunisia and Egypt - Islamist forces, particularly the Muslim Brotherhood, triumphed. When the revolt slid into an open civil war, Islamist forces, often much more radical than the Muslim Brotherhood, prevailed. Also, those who benefited from the power vacuum created by the US, first in Iraq and then Obama's non-intervention policy in Syria, were old, entrenched foes of the US or the "West": Russia and Iran notably sided with Assad.

Jihadist Islam, responsible for 9/11 terrorism, in the form of IS emerging from Bin Laden's al-Qaeda in Iraq, seized vast territories in Northern Iraq and the Syrian border region. For the first time since 9/11 and the toppling of the Taliban in

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Afghanistan, avowed anti-Western jihadists controlled a significant region. If you were to believe their propaganda, they even established their states. As a result - and due to Assad's war against his people - the resulting refugee movements and the new wave of terrorism from IS, especially on a scale larger than anticipated for France, revealed the extensive loss of control by Western powers over developments in the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region post-9/11.

In 2017, with the assistance of Kurdish ground forces and the combat aircraft of the Anti-IS Coalition, it became possible to defeat IS after an intense and committed bombing of the Iraqi metropolis of Mosul that IS had occupied. However, the progress in the region continues to remain outside the control of the West, just as in Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, the West's quiet end - the ideal of spreading as a foreign policy concept to other societies - is symbolically marked by the withdrawal of all forces until September 2021. Despite the intense engagement and military presence in the efforts to establish an Afghan state hoped for after 9/11, it was not successful. Kabul faces weekly terror attacks, mainly targeted at civilians, and there is almost no coverage of these attacks in Western media. The Taliban, enemies of the US in Afghanistan, will and are decisively influencing the future of the country following the West's withdrawal.

With the Egyptian campaign in 1798, Napoleon had paved the way for Europe to secure its supremacy in the Near and Middle East. During this period, Europe and the US, or "the West," have been more ineffective in influencing developments in this region than ever before. Now, other powers shaping the development of the region exist: Russia, Turkey, the Arab Gulf emirates, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Iran - countries that were either seen as irrelevant in the early 1990s, assumed to be continuously approaching the West, or believed to be controllable.

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The end of Western foreign policy is observed when the demands formulated after the end of the Cold War could not decisively influence political developments, especially in the MENA region. The geographical area where the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, began is where the "transatlantic community of values" failed in terms of power politics, rendering the West's political and ideological theories, and thus its general self-perception, invalid. However, the reason for this situation is not limited to political developments alone but also lies in the narrow and problematic definitions of the West formed after 1989.

## **3.) The Post-1989 Boundaries of the Western Self-Image**

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe necessitated the reshaping, even redefining, of the "West" concept. Until this period, the West mainly defined itself as a libertarian alternative to the communist states, primarily members of the Warsaw Pact. During the Cold War, there was uncertainty about what the possible end of the communist threat would mean for the Western self-image understanding and its future political priorities.

Would this West prioritize social issues, equality, and democracy in terms of solidarity without the opposition and political pressure of socialism? Would Western foreign policy act according to the logic of blocs, i.e., the logic of imperial hegemony without respect for human rights or global justice? Or would an era of solidarity, equality, and freedom begin? While these values and ideals had been achieved during the Enlightenment and the Age of Revolutions in Europe and the USA, it was never forgotten that there was adherence to these values before 1989.

In a sense, the division of the highly industrialized global North into East and West during the Cold War can also be seen as the splitting of the "Western political ideas" into two competitive blocs: The West emphasized the value of freedom, especially (political, economic, and media) freedom, from the famous slogan of the

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French Revolution, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." The East emphasized (social and ethno-nationalist) equality. On the other hand, fraternity was the realm of tainted nationalism found in varying degrees in both blocs. However, the collapse of communism did not lead to a reunion of "Western" values that had been divided between the East and West; instead, it led to an unprecedented radicalization in the understanding of freedom on both a national and global scale, at the expense of equality, justice, and solidarity. The 1990s were the decade of neoliberalism, even adopted by (social) democratic governments.

This development was reflected and theorized by two frequently debated political science theories: Fukuyama's previously mentioned "End of History" and Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" theories. Huntington refuted Fukuyama's thesis, arguing that the future course of the world would be determined not by ideologies but by the competition of cultures. However, although they might seem opposing at first glance, these two theories weren't truly antagonistic; rather, they complemented each other. Together, they provided a dual conservative framework for American-Western policy. This framework offered a means to interpret any external intervention as a policy route aiming for Western superiority.

The neglectful approach to environmental policies in the 1990s and 2000s was evident in the ideological outcomes and political reactions shaped by this dual-coordinate system. The 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio indicated that environmental issues were on the global agenda, yet these topics weren't significant for Fukuyama and Huntington.

Although the political developments of the 1990s seemed to suggest Fukuyama was right in his view that the world was progressing towards the (neo-)liberal Western model, the 9/11 terrorist attack seemed to affirm Huntington's theory.

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These attacks in New York and Washington gruesomely showcased the "Clash of Civilizations."

However, beyond this dual neoliberal-conservative framework, the idea of the "West" remains a vision open to everyone's interpretation. Real-world issues, especially global inequality and the climate and environmental crisis, weren't seen on a narrowed political agenda. Captivated by the allure of the freedom slogan, this agenda aimed to maintain the West's political, economic, and cultural dominance. If these issues are coming to the forefront 20 years after 9/11, this indicates the end of that West, as understood by most Euro-American decision-makers and the media from the 1990s, and even from the beginning of the Cold War. There's no need to mention the mythological West based on Ancient Greece, Rome, or the Reformation here. The "West" thus remains an illusion, a retrospective projection, turning into an "invented tradition."

After 9/11, with the heightened military, foreign policy, and global economic pressure strategies, this "West" of the 1990s, founded through the World Trade Organization despite countless protests, could demand global power but could no longer claim universal, cosmopolitan values. Turning into its own value community, it became accessible only to those who succumbed to its main ideas or had the resources to play by Western rules - including the oil-rich Gulf countries where most of the 9/11 attackers came from.

This "West" needed alternative political or cultural realms of thought, especially as objects of its action or to define itself. Doubts were only expressed in marginalized and tightly media-protected academic, literary, or artistic spaces. Since 1989, there hasn't been a political counter-model, like socialism or fascism, that could shake the West's own identity within its controlled area. While politically radical Islam tried to position itself as a counterforce in the form of al-Qaeda and ISIS, its

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inhumane methods declared its moral bankruptcy and unreliability. Especially political Islam also failed as an alternative to the West.

However, it's also true that the West lost its credibility as a global guiding model during its fight against radical Islam, just as in the fight against Communism. A result of this failure is the rise of Trumpism in the USA and other forms of right-wing populism in Europe. They can also be integrated into and positioned against the ideologies considered a continuation of the West. The future of right-wing populist movements might be uncertain, but their rise in the heart of the Western world is a strong indicator of the end of the "West" as we know it.

The current widespread grievances about China's rise highlight its power and importance loss even for those who deny the West's end. The special irony of China's "threat" is that, after centuries of being subordinated and even colonized, it's now adeptly using Western economic practices and hegemonic efforts against the West. China's rising hegemony and other powers can only be mitigated and shaped when we abandon this "Western" paradigm that China is now using "against us": antagonism, gaining advantage, corruption, propaganda, and the cultural mission paradigm. Western powers have been practicing these approaches since the start of the colonial age and have propagated them worldwide as a successful model to be emulated.

## **4.) Collapse in Domestic Politics**

One of the characteristics of the developments after 9/11 is not only the significant loss of control in Western foreign policy and increased instability in the Muslim world but also the political turbulence within the West itself. These turbulences come along with a self-perception that has changed since the 1990s and is now intensively contended, akin to looking at a shattered mirror: the "West" certainly does not present a consistent image.

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Among those responsible for this are the constantly growing right-wing populism since 9/11, the unsettling connections to the "social center", the ongoing influence of unprocessed specific Western (Euro-American) "white" racism, and the emergence of a decidedly anti-Islamic globalized right-wing terrorism. These internal developments, which highlight the ugly side of the West's structure influenced by the colonial era, cannot be separated from the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, as they made the West question its relationship to the world, itself, and immigrants. As a result, the West's self-image as a pioneer of freedom, justice, democracy, and other progressive values was questioned.

This questioning is a result of the decisions made by the government shortly after 9/11, as the Bush administration decided to disregard the Geneva Convention and created an extrajudicial prisoner category called "enemy combatant". These prisoners were held outside American territory, in Guantanamo, a rented area in Cuba, without a trial. Also, the ban on torture, which until then was a central success of human rights discourse advanced by the West, was suspended or overlooked in the USA. More extrajudicial areas were created in Iraq and countries known for high possibilities of torture, which did not meet Euro-American standards, and prisoners were sent to these countries for these "special interrogation methods".

Included in this same category of deprivation of rights – and this also refers to the extrajudicial nature of the West's use of force – is the expansion of so-called extrajudicial executions, especially performed with remotely controlled weapon systems. The killing of Bin Laden was also tantamount to the suspension of a rule of law procedure. The U.S.'s desire to quickly close the 9/11 chapter in this way, instead of bringing Bin Laden to court, was understandable emotionally and perhaps in terms of security policy. However, this went against the fundamental principles of "Western" legal understanding. Now, the accusations of arbitrary

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procedure and conviction often made against the West were rightfully directed at it.

In addition to the erosion of its values and credibility, since 9/11, we see a new political alignment in Europe and North America, which ultimately resulted in various splits within the West. An example of this is the transatlantic rift that emerged based on the distinction the Bush administration made before and during the Iraq War between the war-enthusiastic "new" and the war-rejecting "old" Europeans. This rift, which was only superficially repaired during the Obama period, turned into a deep chasm during the Trump period. Even if there's hope for repair with Joe Biden's return to office as the U.S. president, the West is plagued by countless other splits - only specific to Europe, we can mention the UK's exit from the European Union, the EU's disputes on migration issues, or the differing views on the rule of law in Poland and Hungary.

In conclusion, such divisions show that Huntington's Clash of Civilizations theory is now taking place not between the West and other cultures, but rather within this (former) West. This is also confirmed with intense discussions on racism, colonialism, and identity politics. In light of these developments, speaking definitively about the "West" means trivializing the mentioned problems and crises and considering North Atlantic societies as secondary for the West. However, such a defensive attitude results in the complete disregard of these problems after belittling them. By being so blind not only to the fundamental issues but also to the concept of the "West", Europe and the US are at risk of closing their path to the future.

One way or another, this future will be beyond this West: either a closed, reactive future that clings to the greatness achieved in the past through colonialism and racism, neglecting the universal enlightening values; or a globalized, progressive,

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cosmopolitan future that learns to understand these values not specifically as "Western" anymore but as values for the world and humanity at large.

## 5.) "After the End of the West"

The end of the "West" after 9/11, which couldn't break free from the shadow of colonialism and imperialism, is positive news. It doesn't resemble the threatening scenario described as "The Decline of the West" by Oswald Spengler in 1918, which is still frequently mentioned today. Undoubtedly, the past 20 years have been years of missed opportunities. However, the war initiated by the culture warriors on the imaginary front between "West" and "Islam" ended with their defeat, with the loss of their magic. The world did not shape up the way neither side wanted, and it seems this won't change in the future.

The end of a reliable idea of the "West" after 9/11 means that all forces that wanted to westernize the world and make it the future of the world have failed 20 years after 9/11. But if every global hegemony is inherently dangerous and unjust – the elimination of legal principles widely defended in the "War on Terror" provides a foresight about what such a hegemony means – the failure and end of the West is a conciliatory turn in history. This brings along the task of blocking all other hegemonies as well.

What's deemed worth preserving of the "West" - as seen by itself and its allies - has, in the meantime, become a global public good. North Atlantic societies can be proud of this, but they can't claim patent rights to it. Included in these are values like human rights and human dignity, freedom, equality, emancipation, participation, justice, and solidarity. They seem modern and they are. However, in different forms and under different names, they have also emerged in other regions, other societies, and other political and cultural contexts. Today, these traditional values have merged with modern value perceptions in many societies,

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so those who refer to them are not referencing Western but rather general human values.

The globalization of usable and universalizable parts of modern, so-called Western values represents a purification, in a sense, as a result of the policies pursued since 9/11, if it wasn't already necessary. This purification lies in verbally and politically distinguishing specific aspects of Western policy that should no longer find a place in a global society: racism, imperialism, and colonialism, mechanisms of exclusion, the search for economic, political, military, and cultural hegemony, the arbitrary application of law, a concept of freedom that doesn't respect others or the environment, the logic of accumulation, expansion, and enhancement, and the overvaluation of material progress over spiritual-moral progress. We no longer need any of these. Unfortunately, something new and better is beginning along with the end of the West, which is identified and associated with these characteristics. We don't know what it will be called. We just know it certainly won't be "West".

September 11, 2023, Luxembourg

# **Reflections on the Military Coup in Gabon and Its Implications for Pan-African Politics: Neo-Colonialism, Controlled Chaos, and the West's Questionable Hegemony**

**Reflections on the Military Coup in Gabon and Its Implications for Pan-African Politics: Neo-Colonialism, Controlled Chaos, and the West's Questionable Hegemony**

**Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu**

## **1.) Introduction**

The recent military coup in Gabon is noteworthy as a component of the ongoing, profound socio-political transformations on the African continent. This article endeavors to scrutinize the historical, ideological, and political contexts of the continent through the lens of the Gabonese case while also examining the West's interplay with these dynamics. Particularly, the policies of the United States and former colonial powers aim to create 'controlled chaos' and consolidate power through local authoritarian figures. A critical analysis of these policies is indispensable for understanding why new governance models are gaining greater legitimacy in Africa.

## **2.) Neo-Colonial Dynamics and the Role of the West**

African nations have long been engaged in intricate interactions with their erstwhile colonial masters and the United States. These interactions have spawned ideological and strategic battlegrounds during the Cold War, affording Western powers opportunities to exploit Africa's resources. The inconsistency between this rhetoric and the actual practices has contributed to the construction of a framework that ensures the continuity of Western hegemony in the region.

### **2.2. Cold War Context**

During the Cold War era, Western powers—most notably the United States and former colonial metropolises—conducted vigorous geo-strategic and ideological campaigns on the African continent. Africa was perceived as a frontline in the ideological tug-of-war between the United States and the Soviet Union. In this context, Western powers

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supported authoritarian regimes to stymie the spread of communism, thereby securing access to natural resources and strategic locations in return.

## 2.2. Ideology and Realpolitik

Despite the West's advocacy for democracy, human rights, and a free-market economy, it has frequently implemented policies in Africa that are at odds with these principles. For instance, while championing democracy, Western powers have financially backed and armed local authoritarian leaders. This paradoxical situation starkly exposes the inconsistency between the West's rhetoric and actions.

## 2.3. Economic Exploitation

Africa's abundant natural resources have attracted the attention of Western countries, encouraging a neo-colonial model of exploitation. For example, diamonds, oil, and mineral resources have constituted the focus of Western economic activities in Africa. These resources have often been extracted at low costs and exported to Western countries, but the local economies have rarely benefited from this process.

## 2.4. Continuity of Power and Power Dynamics

Western powers have ensured the continuity of governance through local leaders, ethnic clans, and elected political figures. Interventions in local elections, military coups, and financial support to governments are all components of these power dynamics. Moreover, Western countries have not shied away from fomenting ethnic or regional conflicts that destabilize African nations.

In conclusion, the historical and current dynamics of Africa provide a framework for understanding Western interactions and interventions. Although the West proclaims its allegiance to democratic values and institutions at the rhetorical level, this stands in stark contrast to its actions on the ground. This inconsistency plainly illuminates the West's objective of maintaining its hegemony on the continent, thus vindicating demands for greater legitimacy and autonomy for African nations. **Implications of the**

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## **Military Coup in Gabon on Pan-African Politics: Neo-Colonialism, Controlled Chaos, and the Questioned Hegemony of the West**

### **3.) Sahel Crisis and Controlled Chaos**

The overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi has enabled radicalized groups to become active in the Sahel region, creating a conducive atmosphere for the West to continue its resource exploitation. Historically, similar strategies by the United States have been observed in countries like Zaire, Somalia, and Liberia. The Arab Spring in 2011, which led to the ousting of Muammar Gaddafi in Libya, had profound impacts on the Sahel region. Post-Gaddafi, radicalized groups in North Africa, particularly the Sahel, have been increasingly active. A large amount of weapons and ammunition released after the fall of Gaddafi have been seized by these radical groups, creating instability in the Sahel region.

#### **3.1. Controlled Chaos Strategy**

The 'controlled chaos' strategy of the United States has historically been applied in countries like Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), Somalia, and Liberia. This approach is designed to alter local power dynamics, control resources, and protect geopolitical interests. The aim of this strategy is to further destabilize already weak state structures to continue the exploitation of resources by Western powers.

#### **3.2. Sahel and Resource Exploitation**

The Sahel region is rich in natural resources, but the unstable political environment allows Western countries to exploit these resources relatively easily. Particularly, France has been actively involved in military interventions in the region, interfering in internal affairs, and thereby easily gaining control of resources.

#### **3.3. Ethnic and Social Dynamics**

Ethnic and social dynamics in the Sahel region are also fueling instability. Western powers occasionally use these ethnic and social conflicts to control chaos in the region.

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Tactics such as creating competition and conflict between various ethnic groups and local militias are part of this 'controlled chaos' strategy.

## **3.4. Conclusion and Future Perspective**

The Sahel crisis is a result of the West's contradictory and complicated policies. The controlled chaos strategy brings long-term instability in the region for the sake of short-term gains. This situation once again emphasizes the need for an in-depth analysis of the policies pursued by the West in Sahel and the development of alternative strategies.

## **4.) Public Reaction and Local Dynamics**

The example of Gabon has resulted in public exhaustion due to the West's consumerist perspective and insensitivity to massive issues, thereby strengthening the despotic rule of local clans. This indicates that the Western model of democracy is incompatible with local dynamics.

### **4.1. Public Perception of Exhaustion**

Local communities in Gabon have been experiencing a sense of exhaustion for years due to unilateral economic and political interventions by Western powers. The West's tendency to view the country solely in terms of economic gains, and its insensitivity to socio-political issues, have created an atmosphere of distrust and hopelessness among the people.

### **4.2. Local Clans and Despotic Regimes**

This sense of exhaustion is leading to the strengthening of local clans and despotic regimes. The public is turning towards local power structures that are more familiar and accessible, rather than the complex bureaucratic systems brought by the Western model of democracy. This means that local clans and family structures are filling the social and political void created by the Western approach.

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## **4.3. Incompatibility of the Western Model of Democracy**

There are significant challenges concerning the applicability of the Western model of democracy in African countries like Gabon. Concepts that are important in Western democracies, such as the free circulation of ideas, general well-being of the society, and equal representation, are proving to be inadequate in Gabon. Local dynamics complicate the implementation of this Western model, and this increases the mistrust in the government.

## **4.4. The Public's Search for Alternatives**

This incompatibility has led the public to be more open to alternative forms of governance and ideologies. The tendency of the new generation of African leaders to turn towards alternative global actors like the BRICS countries or Russia is an indicator of the search for new models and governance philosophies that could fill the void.

Gabon's local dynamics and public reaction clearly illustrate the inadequacy of the Western model of democracy and its incompatibility with local conditions and needs. The sense of exhaustion among the people and the strengthening of local despotic regimes make it imperative to reassess regional and international policies in the future.

## **5.) Alternative Global Actors**

African leaders disillusioned with the West's ideological and ethical hegemony are turning towards alternative global actors like the BRICS countries and Russia. This could pave the way for more stable and legitimate forms of governance to replace military coups in the future.

### **5.1. The Questionable Hegemony of the West**

Historically, the African continent has been under the ideological, political, and economic influence of Western powers. However, in recent years, this hegemony has started to be questioned by local leaders and populations. The inconsistencies between

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the West's rhetoric and actions on democracy, human rights, and the rule of law have created an atmosphere of disillusionment and distrust.

## **5.2. The Appeal of Alternative Global Actors**

This situation has laid the groundwork for African leaders to turn to alternative global actors like the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) countries and Russia. Specifically, China and Russia are increasing their influence in Africa through various means like infrastructure projects, military cooperation, and natural resource agreements. These countries offer African leaders a model of cooperation independent of Western moral and ethical judgments.

## **5.3. Towards Stable and Legitimate Forms of Governance**

The rise of alternative global actors opens new horizons for the political future of Africa. Particularly, BRICS countries are establishing strategic partnerships with African countries on capacity building, infrastructure development, and economic growth. This could pave the way for more stable and legitimate forms of governance to replace factors of instability like military coups and local conflicts.

## **6.) Multipolar World Order and Africa**

The rise of BRICS and Russia contributes to the formation of a multipolar world order. African leaders can now pursue more balanced and diversified foreign policies by establishing diplomatic and economic relationships not only with the West but also with different global actors. This creates a promising dynamic for the socio-political and economic transformation of the continent.

The tendency of Africa, especially in recent years, to turn to alternative global actors outside the West, points to a new and potentially more stable path for the continent's future. However, the details and outcomes of relationships with these new actors should be carefully evaluated within the framework of ethics and sustainable

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development. As the influence of these new global actors increases, how Africa can establish a more ethical and sustainable model of cooperation with them will become an important topic for research and policy development.

## **7.) Conclusion**

The military coup in Gabon serves as an important case study for understanding the current and future impacts of Western policies on Africa. The neocolonial dynamics and strategies of controlled chaos employed by Western powers exacerbate feelings of distrust and exhaustion among local populations, encouraging a turn towards alternative global actors. This transformation indicates that Africa may evolve towards more legitimate and stable forms of governance in the future.

As evidenced by the military coup in Gabon, the neocolonial dynamics and "controlled chaos" strategies of the West deeply affect the political and social structures of the African continent. Such events expose the kind of negative impacts that the West's complex and often contradictory policies and strategies have on local communities.

Feelings of distrust and exhaustion among local populations towards the West can be seen as a result of Western powers' complicated political and economic agendas. Coups, civil wars, and political instability deepen local communities' suspicions about the West's "well-intentioned" policies and interventions, revealing that the Western model of democracy and capitalism is incompatible with local dynamics.

In such an environment, the appeal of alternative global actors like BRICS countries and Russia is increasing. Local leaders and populations, disillusioned by the West's ideological and ethical hegemony, are turning towards new actors offering different, perhaps more pragmatic approaches.

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This transformation could be promising for African countries. Relationships established with new and alternative global actors indicate that military coups may be replaced by more stable and legitimate forms of governance. However, such a change should occur ethically and sustainably.

In summary, for Africa to balance between the West, BRICS, and other actors, local dynamics need to be understood and respected, and partnerships for sustainable, ethical development need to be established. In this context, coups and crises in countries like Gabon not only question the future of a country or region but also challenge how global actors should respond to such events.

September 4, 2023, Sochi - Сочи

# European Union Economy: Challenges and Cooperation

## European Union Economy: Challenges and Cooperation

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

The European Union (EU) constitutes a major economic bloc in the global economy, bringing together the economies of 27 member countries. The economic performance of the EU is a crucial factor influencing global economic balances. Therefore, the challenges faced by the EU economy deserve careful examination.

**Introduction** This study addresses the issues within the European Union (EU) economy and assesses their impacts. The EU economy represents a major economic force, comprising 16% of the global Gross Domestic Product (GDP). However, in recent years, certain issues have raised concerns about the EU economy. **Overview of the EU Economy** Historically, the EU economy has demonstrated stable growth. Nevertheless, in recent years, economic growth rates have declined, and extraordinary events such as the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 have had adverse effects on the economy. Until 2022, inflation rates in the EU remained at low levels, and the European Central Bank (ECB) kept interest rates in the range of 0 to 0.5%. Public debt levels have generally been acceptable. This situation indicates that the EU economy is fundamentally built on solid foundations.

The European Union (EU) economy has historically shown stable growth. However, in recent years, economic growth rates have experienced a decline, especially due to extraordinary events like the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. During this period, EU countries provided significant financial incentives to combat economic slowdowns and preserve employment.

Regarding levels of public debt, EU countries have generally borrowed at acceptable levels. A debt level reaching 85% of the EU's GDP is generally considered sustainable. Furthermore, budget deficits have generally remained at

## European Union Economy: Challenges and Cooperation

low rates, usually around 3.3%. This demonstrates that the EU economy is fundamentally based on a strong fiscal structure.

However, despite this positive outlook, the EU economy faces some challenges, including: Fluctuations in energy prices: The EU is grappling with fluctuations in energy prices, particularly in the case of natural gas. Natural gas prices have exhibited much higher volatility compared to previous years. Energy supply issues with Russia jeopardize the EU's energy security. The EU has recently experienced significant fluctuations in energy prices, with natural gas prices being a major concern. Natural gas is a significant energy source for EU countries and is used in energy production. However, in recent years, substantial increases in natural gas prices have negatively impacted the EU economy.

One of the primary reasons for these price increases is energy supply issues with Russia. The EU heavily depends on Russia for its energy supply, but political tensions and disputes have led to threats of disrupting energy supply. This situation has seriously jeopardized the energy security of the EU.

Additionally, general uncertainty in the energy market also contributes to energy price fluctuations. There are many factors influencing energy prices, including political tensions, natural disasters, supply-demand balance, among others. These energy price fluctuations increase energy costs and put pressure on businesses and consumers. Moreover, uncertainty regarding energy prices makes planning and investment decisions more challenging.

EU authorities should work on policies to secure energy supply and maintain stable energy prices. These measures are crucial for ensuring the stability of the EU economy and enhancing energy security.

## European Union Economy: Challenges and Cooperation

**Inflation:** The EU is currently facing unprecedented inflation. Increases in prices of essential consumer items like food and energy have driven up inflation rates. The ECB has raised interest rates to control inflation. Dealing with inflation has become a major challenge for the EU economy. Particularly, price hikes in essential consumption items like food and energy have driven up inflation rates, posing a significant issue for the EU economy.

This high inflation reduces consumer purchasing power and increases costs for businesses, which can lead to economic uncertainty. The efforts of the ECB to control inflation are crucial for ensuring economic stability. However, these efforts require delicate balance. Excessive increases in interest rates can halt economic growth and increase unemployment. Therefore, the ECB must closely monitor economic conditions and make appropriate policy decisions.

**Tight monetary policy and economic activity:** The ECB's tight monetary policy is dampening economic activity. Concerns have been raised about the possibility that rising interest rates could lead to increased unemployment. The European Central Bank (ECB) is pursuing a tight monetary policy and has raised interest rates to control inflation. While this policy aims to control inflation, it can have adverse effects on economic activity.

Higher interest rates can reduce consumer spending and investments. Higher interest rates on loans can make consumer loans and business investments more costly, which can slow down economic growth.

Furthermore, there is a risk of increased unemployment. Higher interest rates can increase costs for businesses, which could have a negative impact on employment. The ECB's tight monetary policy can contribute to controlling inflation, but its effects on economic activity must be closely monitored. Striking a balance to

# European Union Economy: Challenges and Cooperation

support economic growth without increasing unemployment is crucial. The ECB must adjust its policy decisions according to the needs of the economy.

**Offshoring of production:** Due to high energy costs and uncertainty, some production activities have been relocated from EU countries to countries like the United States, which have more accessible energy resources. The term "deindustrialization" is becoming increasingly common. High energy costs and the appeal of countries with cheaper energy resources have led to a transfer of some production activities from EU countries to other countries. This phenomenon is referred to as "deindustrialization."

Deindustrialization refers to a reduction or disappearance of industrial production in a region. High energy costs can increase production expenses, prompting some businesses to consider relocating to countries with cheaper energy sources. Additionally, energy resource instability creates uncertainty for businesses. This situation presents a significant challenge for EU countries in terms of economic growth and employment. The EU may need to review its energy policies to ensure safer and sustainable energy access. Simultaneously, increasing energy efficiency and investing in renewable energy sources can help prevent deindustrialization.

These challenges represent fundamental issues facing the EU economy, and there is uncertainty about how these issues will be resolved. While EU countries have the capacity to provide financial support, collaboration is necessary to effectively address these challenges. Furthermore, developing long-term strategies to enhance energy security and diversify EU energy supply may be essential.

September 1, 2023, Oxford

# **BRICS Summit: A New Stage in Global Power Balance and Future Trends**

**BRICS Summit: A New Stage in Global Power Balance and Future Trends**  
**Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu**

The recent BRICS summit, held on South African soil, has emerged as a defining moment in the realm of international relations. It signifies a momentous stride toward the establishment of a multipolar world order, notably accentuated by the active participation of major global players such as Russia, China, and several nations from the Global South. This article aims to dissect the political and economic ramifications of this critical international assembly by focusing on the summit's key outcomes and the current status of BRICS.

The recent BRICS summit held in South Africa stands out as a significant step towards the construction of a multipolar world order, particularly with the participation of Russia, China, and Global South countries, shaping an important scene in international relations. This article aims to provide a more comprehensive analysis of the political and economic significance of this important international organization by focusing on the main outcomes of the summit and the current state of BRICS.

## **Expanding BRICS: Political and Economic Significance**

The main outcome of the summit is the inclusion of Argentina, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates into BRICS. This expansion demonstrates that BRICS has evolved beyond being merely an economic cooperation platform and has acquired a political dimension. In particular, the invitation of Middle Eastern countries, especially Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates, has the potential to increase their influence on the global economic balance due to their economies based on energy resources. With these new additions, BRICS has positioned itself to address political issues more effectively on the international stage.

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## **BRICS and the Quest for a New World Order**

BRICS aims to reshape the current international financial order. The organization advocates for the creation of a new world order taking into consideration justice after the inefficiency of the Bretton Woods system. African countries like Egypt and Ethiopia hold key importance, particularly in efforts to increase BRICS' influence on the continent. Argentina's inclusion in BRICS has enhanced BRICS' influence in Latin America and challenged the influence of the United States in the region. This demonstrates that BRICS is a step towards laying the foundation for a more balanced international order on a global scale.

## **Economic Cooperation and the BRICS New Development Bank**

BRICS countries are taking significant steps in economic cooperation. Collaboration in the energy sector, especially between India, China, and African countries, is critical for energy and food security. Additionally, the BRICS New Development Bank (NDB) was established in Shanghai to finance infrastructure projects and sustainable development plans for BRICS countries and other developing nations. This bank represents a significant move emphasizing BRICS countries' commitment to economic cooperation and independence.

## **Roles of Member Countries and Relationships**

Member countries play crucial roles in the success of BRICS. For example, Russia's support for BRICS countries during the Ukraine crisis has increased the organization's political significance. China is a major player within BRICS, and it's clear that China is striving to strengthen its leadership in BRICS, as demonstrated by Xi Jinping's visits. India aspires to a leadership role within BRICS but faces challenges due to economic and geopolitical issues with China. Brazil aims to increase its influence in Latin America through BRICS, with its economic relations with China holding significant importance. South Africa is an important member of BRICS, but its inability to secure the attendance

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of the Russian President has hindered the organization's potential for further strengthening in terms of security and political matters.

### **Conclusion: BRICS and Future Perspectives**

BRICS is a significant player in international relations and reflects changes in the world order. The expansion of BRICS can be seen as a step towards laying the foundation for a new international order, and BRICS countries are striving to prove themselves as significant players in political, economic, and geopolitical fields. The future of this organization remains a significant question mark in the context of the dynamics of international relations and the evolving world order. However, it appears that BRICS will continue to hold its importance in terms of international cooperation and power balances in the future.

BRICS has emerged as a significant player in international relations in recent years, reflecting shifts in the global order. The outcomes and expansion of the BRICS summit can be regarded as a significant step towards laying the foundations of a new international order, and BRICS member countries are actively working to establish themselves as influential actors in the realms of politics, economics, and geopolitics. The future of this organization remains a significant question mark in the context of the dynamics of international relations and the evolution of the world order.

However, it is reasonable to anticipate that BRICS will continue to hold its significance in terms of international cooperation and power balances. BRICS will play an ongoing role in global economic cooperation, political interaction, and the quest for a new world order. This organization will contribute to the establishment of a more stable global order, reflecting the cooperation and interdependence among its member countries. Additionally, BRICS will continue to address a wide range of issues on the international stage, actively seeking solutions to global challenges.

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In conclusion, the evolution and expansion of BRICS will persist as a significant factor in shaping international relations. BRICS will continue to contribute to the construction of a more balanced and just international order worldwide. Therefore, closely monitoring the future of BRICS is of critical importance for understanding developments in global politics and economics.

August 24, 2023, Oxford

# Western High-Tech Investments and Global Impacts

## Western High-Tech Investments and Global Impacts

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

### 1. Introduction:

This article aims to analyze the developments on the contemporary international stage, examining the strategic approaches of the West and the global dynamics of high-tech investments. The article is written with the purpose of evaluating the responses of the West, especially towards the rising influence of BRICS countries, in order to comprehend international relations balances and technological interactions. In this context, the roles of significant actors like Russia and Turkey will also be highlighted.

### 2. Role of BRICS and Western Approach:

The increasing role of BRICS countries on the international stage has drawn the attention of the West. This alliance presents a strong alternative to G7 countries with its economic growth and political influence. Particularly, numerous countries from Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America are making efforts to become BRICS members. This situation underscores that BRICS is influential not only economically and commercially but also politically and culturally. For instance, South Africa through the NEPAD program opens doors to collaboration in Africa, promoting cooperation. The distinction between the Western world and BRICS lies in the fact that BRICS is a platform where countries with differing positions come together, rather than a disciplined unity among participant nations. Diverse perspectives and strategies emerge in areas such as expansion policies, development programs, and especially relations with the Anglo-Saxon world. Therefore, the West's "divide and conquer" strategy aims to exploit the differences within BRICS, fostering division and weakening among its members.

# **Western High-Tech Investments and Global Impacts**

## **2.1. Western Strategic Investments and Sample Countries:**

The West is taking strategic steps, particularly against rising powers like China and Russia. Measures such as investment bans in the high-tech sector serve the purpose of enhancing national security and defense capabilities. However, this strategy is shaped not only by collaboration among Western countries but also by cooperation with other nations. In this context, the roles of countries like Russia and Turkey are of significant importance. Russia has established itself as a major player in the high-tech sector, achieving notable successes in space and energy fields. Similarly, Turkey has taken significant strides in areas such as defense industry and communication technologies, enhancing its own technology production capacity. These countries play a critical role in terms of collaboration and competition concerning the West's strategic goals.

## **2.2. BRICS' Weakening Becoming a Priority for Washington:**

Recent developments indicate that the weakening of BRICS has become a priority for the United States. This situation emerges as a crucial development reshaping dynamics and power balances on the international relations stage. The concerns of the U.S. in this direction are evident in both the political and economic arenas.

## **3. Two-Party Consensus and Differences in Views**

In the political arena of the United States, a two-party consensus regarding BRICS is evident. Both the government and Congress take the rising influence and growth of BRICS countries seriously into consideration. However, at this point, the fundamental points of contention revolve around the nature, scope, and speed of measures to be taken against Russia and China. While some advocate for broader and swifter actions, others believe that a more controlled and incremental approach is more effective.

# **Western High-Tech Investments and Global Impacts**

## **3.1. Observation of BRICS' Strengthening**

The United States observes that the authority and influence of BRICS countries are rapidly increasing and growing. This situation particularly indicates that BRICS has become a progressively more influential player on international platforms. It underscores the fact that BRICS poses a strong alternative to G7 countries. The attention BRICS receives from regions like Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America demonstrates that this alliance has become a growing center of attraction in the international arena.

## **3.2. Expansion and Regional Impact**

BRICS is not merely a structure limited to the internal affairs of its member countries. On the contrary, this alliance aims to involve other countries in the relevant regions through its member countries' activities. For instance, South Africa assumes a regional "gateway" role by encouraging other African countries to collaborate with BRICS nations through the NEPAD program. This way, the influence of BRICS extends beyond member countries and spreads across a broader geography.

## **3.3. BRICS' Flexible Structure and "Divide and Conquer" Policy**

BRICS does not resemble the typical iron-disciplined bloc unions of Western organizations. This alliance serves as a platform where member countries can adopt different positions on various issues and policy domains. This flexible structure leads to differences emerging, particularly in areas such as expansion strategy, development programs, and relations with the West. At this juncture, it is plausible to suggest that the U.S. could utilize its "divide and conquer" policy against BRICS by exploiting these differences within the alliance, aiming to divide and weaken it.

# Western High-Tech Investments and Global Impacts

## 4. Varied and Complex Western Strategies

In the contemporary world, the United States and Western countries employ various and intricate strategies to enhance their activities on the international relations stage and weaken rival powers. Particularly, Western organizations like the EU and NATO aim to increase their influence in the international arena by inviting and collaborating with non-traditional strong actors in meetings.

### 4.1. Rise of India and its Role on the International Platform

In recent years, India being regularly invited to G7 meetings reflects the country's increasing importance on the international stage. This invitation demonstrates that parallel to India's economic growth and technological development, it has become a more influential player on international platforms.

## 5. Strategies Against Russia and China

The West offers large-scale financing, infrastructure, and energy projects to developing countries with the aim of weakening powerful rival countries like China and Russia. These projects resemble strategies like China's Belt and Road Initiative and reflect the West's efforts to expand its sphere of influence. Initiatives like the Global Infrastructure and Investment Partnership are being implemented with contributions from countries like Russia and China.

### 5.1. Use of Sanction Mechanisms

In recent times, the strategy of effectively employing sanction mechanisms on the international relations stage has gained importance. Especially, U.S. President Joe Biden's new measures against China target Chinese companies in the high-tech sector by restricting investments. These steps serve the purpose of modernizing national security and integrating the defense capacity of the high-tech sector.

# **Western High-Tech Investments and Global Impacts**

## **5.2. Broad Effects of Investment Bans**

Investment bans aim not only to reduce economic dependency but also to weaken and render target countries economically ineffective. With this strategy, the goal is to limit technological development and restrict international competitiveness. Secondary sanctions also aim to expedite efforts to form coalitions against Russia and China.

## **5.3. Impact in the Field of Technology and Collaboration**

Investment bans particularly aim to limit the international influence of Chinese high technology and constrain interactions in this field. This strategy seeks to cut off technological collaborations by equipping private capital and skilled workforce with high-quality scientific personnel and a talented and inexpensive workforce, thereby isolating target countries.

## **5.4. Changes in the Global Economy and Transformation of Free Trade Principles**

The strategies adopted by the West are seen as indicators of a shift against principles of free trade and free enterprise in the global economy. Measures like investment bans demonstrate that international relations and the economy are undergoing a reshaping in unprecedented ways.

## **6. Conclusion:**

The international strategies of the West play a significant role in a period where global balances and interactions are redefined in a new way. High-tech investments are a critical factor shaping the dynamics of international relations and economic competition. In this context, the strategic moves of countries like Russia and Turkey are just a few examples of the West's responses to the evolving world order.

## Western High-Tech Investments and Global Impacts

The meaning and impacts of high-tech investments and strategic moves are understood in a time challenging the fundamental principles of the global economy. The measures taken by the West against new actors such as BRICS countries offer important insights into how the balances in international relations will shape and how competition in the technology field will be directed. In this context, the strategic contributions of important countries like Russia and Turkey are valuable for understanding dynamics in international relations and technological advancements.

In conclusion, the diversified and complex strategies employed by the West on today's international relations stage reflect the intention to weaken rival powers and expand their sphere of influence. The West aims to influence powerful actors like Russia and China through economic projects and sanction mechanisms, attempting to isolate these countries and limit their influence on the international platform.

Strategies like investment bans not only aim to restrict technological advancement and weaken target countries but also indicate a shift against the principles of free trade and free enterprise that underlie international relations. These strategies emphasize that the West is shaping new dynamics and balances on the international stage.

In sum, the West's complex strategies significantly influence international relations and pave the way for new paradigms on a global scale. The impacts of these strategies are among the important factors that will shape future international dynamics and power balances.

August 18, 2023, Cambridge

# Meaningless Wars and the Need for Resolution

## Meaningless Wars and the Need for Resolution

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

### 1. Introduction

In the realm of international relations, the turbulence and conflicts prevailing in various regions continue to represent one of the most intricate and sensitive issues throughout history and contemporary times. Particularly, the ongoing disputes in Ukraine, shaped by geopolitical, historical, and internal factors, have captured the extensive attention and concern of the international community. In this context, the article titled "Meaningless Wars and the Imperative for Resolution" delves into the nature of the prevailing turmoil in Ukraine and elucidates the imperative steps towards its resolution.

In contemporary times, the concepts of war and conflict encompass not only armed confrontations but also encompass comprehensive political, economic, and social interactions. The Ukrainian conflict, in itself, encapsulates diverse dimensions including historical legacies, political rivalries, and strategic maneuvering. Consequently, the article seeks to dissect the synergy of geopolitical influences, historical contexts, and internal dynamics that have collectively contributed to shaping the contours of the ongoing conflict.

Approaches to resolving conflicts remain a topic of paramount importance. Diplomacy and negotiations stand as pivotal instruments for terminating armed hostilities and reinstating peace. Within this article, the significance of diplomacy and negotiations is underscored, and the efficacy of these modalities in conflict resolution is critically discussed.

The second part of the article shifts its focus towards the economic facets of conflicts. It examines the repercussions of economic sanctions and trade

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restrictions on the economies of the conflicting parties. Particularly, a meticulous analysis of the economic condition of Germany and the ramifications of sanctions is extensively presented.

Finally, the article evaluates Russia's stance in international relations and its responses vis-à-vis the Ukrainian conflict. The examination of Maria Zakharova's response provides insights into Russia's position on the global stage and its comprehensive approach towards the involved parties in the conflict.

In summary, this article aims to present an academic perspective on this significant issue within the realm of international relations by scrutinizing the complexity of the Ukrainian conflict and addressing various dimensions of its resolution.

## **2. Ongoing conflicts in Ukraine have resulted in prevailing turmoil and distress.**

The prevailing turmoil and distress arising from the ongoing conflicts in Ukraine have led to a legitimate concern on your part. Undoubtedly, the discord between Ukraine and Russia constitutes a complex mosaic woven from historical, political, and geostrategic dimensions. The current state of affairs is filled with a deep sense of tragedy, marked by significant human losses and extensive infrastructural devastation.

While deciphering the intricate web of geopolitical dynamics, we are urgently reminded that the decisions and actions orchestrated by statesmen and governing bodies are often guided by a complex interplay of various factors. Among these, the ever-present specters of geopolitics, historical antecedents, and domestic necessities hold prominent positions. The contentious issue of providing weapons and military support is an exemplification of this complex fabric, inspiring differing opinions and interpretations. The debate lies between those who argue that such

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assistance is an indispensable measure to strengthen Ukraine's defense against imminent threats and those who advocate for a more diplomatic approach, asserting that the conflict's resolution hinges upon a political solution.

Your poignant concern about the human toll borne by the civilian population and your impassioned call for an immediate ceasefire and purposeful negotiations for a harmonious settlement resonate strongly. It remains an indisputable fact that history has witnessed diplomacy and political dialogue as the most certain avenues toward conflict resolution and the achievement of lasting peace agreements. However, it would be a mistake to overlook the inherent complexity within such negotiations, a labyrinth that requires the agreement and alignment of diverse actors entrenched within the conflict's arena.

At this critical juncture, the steadfast commitment of the global community to facilitating a peaceful resolution cannot be overstated. Whether through skillful diplomacy, strategic pressure on the warring parties, or the extension of compassionate humanitarian aid to the affected, the pursuit of harmony remains paramount. While the path of the future remains elusive, historical records affirm that the cessation of hostilities and the realization of amicable settlements are frequently attained through diligent negotiations and astute diplomacy.

This discourse serves as a poignant reminder that empathy, a keen understanding of diverse viewpoints, and an unwavering dedication to improving human conditions form the essential foundation upon which productive dialogues should be built. A multitude of perspectives converge to illuminate the way toward lasting solutions, a collective endeavor in which all stakeholders, including the international community, participate to alleviate suffering and illuminate the path to a just and enduring resolution.

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On the topic of "Ending Senseless Economic Strife," it is evident that your stance echoes an urgent call to reevaluate current strategies that have led to economic turmoil. The concerns raised by Foreign Minister Annalena Baerbock regarding Russia serve as a poignant reminder that economic conflicts have far-reaching consequences, extending beyond mere economic disturbances to potentially disrupt the geopolitical equilibrium.

As we delve further into these aspects, we encounter the sobering reality that the imposition of financial and economic sanctions has yielded consequences beyond initial projections. Viewing the situation through the lens of economic metrics, it becomes clear that Germany, the epicenter of these developments, finds itself embroiled in unforeseen instability. The manifestation of this instability is evident in the projected contraction of Germany's economy by 0.3 percent, as forecasted by the International Monetary Fund, in stark contrast to the Russian economy's defiance of expectations, exhibiting a commendable growth rate of 1.5 percent.

Within this complex mosaic, Spain's trajectory offers a notable lesson. Its adept response to the specter of inflation by increasing gas imports from Russia has led to an upward revision of growth forecasts from 1.5 percent to an impressive 2.5 percent, as projected by the International Monetary Fund. This striking disparity underscores the poignant realization that the prevailing economic approach, which has distanced Germany from a crucial energy and raw material provider, has precipitated considerable economic woes. Notably, this has led to a disheartening convergence: energy and food-producing entities flourishing amidst the crisis while Germany's industrial sector languishes amid unremitting losses.

In a realm where complexities intertwine, it is imperative to scrutinize prevailing paradigms and discern pathways toward cogent resolutions. In this regard, your assertion resonates—indeed, the trajectory is not inexorably tied to the Ukraine

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conflict but rather reflective of policy decisions. As the discourse unfolds, it becomes evident that a reassessment of the existing economic conundrum is the need of the hour. A strategic recalibration, grounded in thoughtful reexamination, holds the potential to usher in a sustainable and constructive progression. As Germany's economic interests stand vulnerable, such recalibration is indispensable to guard against further detriment.

The cogent arguments articulated by Maria Zakharova in her response to the pronouncements made by the EU's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Josep Borrell, stand as a testament to a cogent and substantiated articulation of viewpoints. Her measured response is underpinned by a multifaceted matrix of rational premises that both buttress and substantiate her positions.

Chiefly, Zakharova's reference to the possible repercussions stemming from the Black Sea Grain Initiative underscores her acumen in navigating the intricate webs of global agricultural trade. The application of sanctions, a frequently employed diplomatic instrument, is deconstructed into its broader ramifications. The astute observation that sanctions are not confined to economic boundaries alone but carry profound political implications resonates with acuity. It underscores that the relevance of sanctions extends beyond economic realms, intertwining them with the contours of strategic dimensions and regional intricacies.

Zakharova's erudition extends further to underscore the potential encumbrances that could jeopardize the EU's food security paradigm. Her adept balancing of economic exigencies and environmental constraints highlights a perspective grounded in meticulous contemplation. By unmasking the multifaceted ramifications, her position emerges as a resonant embodiment of holistic comprehension, extending beyond the confines of macroeconomic paradigms.

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A nuanced analysis of the predicament faced by neighboring nations to Ukraine forms another pivotal dimension. Zakharova keenly captures the intricate interplay of economic determinants with social and political ramifications. The interconnectedness between economic policy and political stability is laid bare, as the precarious plight of local agriculturists, ensnared in a landscape of plummeting prices, emerges as a potential harbinger of political instability. This forensic analysis attests to her commitment to viewing matters not through a myopic economic prism but through the prism of sustainable stability and human welfare.

The intellectual rigor encapsulated within Zakharova's reference to the dedicated section on the Russian Foreign Ministry's website, meticulously debunking alleged myths perpetuated by the EU regarding food security, stands as a testimony to her dedication to substantiating her assertions with well-founded evidence. In an era characterized by an abundance of information, this measured approach highlights her dedication to grounding her positions on the solid foundation of empirical information, fostering a transparent discourse.

In conclusion, Maria Zakharova's rejoinder encapsulates an adeptness for nuanced analysis and the assimilation of multifarious facets. Her judiciously presented arguments serve to illuminate the multidimensional aspects of the matter at hand. The convergence of her cogent and substantiated justifications paints the portrait of a diplomatic spokesperson of eminent integrity, characterized by a conscientious and comprehensive approach to matters of international significance.

### 3. Conclusion

In conclusion, the article "Meaningless Wars and the Imperative for Resolution" sheds light on the intricate landscape of conflicts, particularly exemplified by the ongoing situation in Ukraine. It underscores the multifaceted nature of conflicts,

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stemming from a confluence of geopolitical, historical, and domestic factors. Diplomacy emerges as an indispensable tool for conflict resolution, highlighting the importance of constructive dialogues based on empathy and diverse viewpoints.

The examination of economic dimensions reveals the far-reaching consequences of sanctions and trade restrictions, particularly evident in Germany's economic landscape. This prompts a call for a reevaluation of prevailing economic strategies, in a pursuit to alleviate unintended repercussions and foster sustainable growth.

Maria Zakharova's response serves as a prism to comprehend the multifarious aspects of conflicts and international relations. Her meticulous arguments and well-substantiated positions underscore the importance of empirical evidence in shaping policy discourse.

In essence, the article underscores the significance of diplomacy, empathy, and informed decision-making as critical components in resolving conflicts and steering economic dynamics. It demonstrates that the path towards lasting solutions necessitates a comprehensive understanding of historical, political, and socio-economic factors, thereby serving as a reminder that sustainable peace is attainable through strategic dialogue and well-informed approaches.

August 16, 2023, Cambridge

# **The Complexity of the Political Scene in the United States: Presidential Election and Investigations on Two Important Leaders**

## **The Complexity of the Political Scene in the United States: Presidential Election and Investigations on Two Important Leaders**

**Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu**

I.

The United States is gradually approaching the presidential elections, which are met with great interest and excitement in the political arena every period. This country, known for presenting the glamour and diversity of the entertainment industry like Hollywood to the world, witnesses a traditional anticipation when choosing the White House president. However, this election season is unfolding in an unusual manner, not only due to the investigations targeting Republican Donald Trump but also the Democratic main contender Joe Biden.

The competition and rivalry among leaders, candidates, and parties on the political stage have always been a distinct feature of American democracy. However, in recent times, a series of events beyond this competition, almost resembling movie scripts, is taking place. As announced by Chairman James Comer of the Oversight Committee, prominent figures of the Republican Party are preparing to take significant steps to investigate corruption allegations concerning the Biden family. This situation further escalates the tension in the political scene and emerges as a development closely affecting society.

In addition to the corruption allegations, another issue capturing the attention of American media and the public is the legal situation of Donald Trump. Investigations into tax and other matters related to both the former president and his rival Joe Biden's families are creating a stormy atmosphere in the political arena. This article will delve into the complexity of the political scene in the United States,

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the presidential election process, and the effects of investigations on two crucial leaders, Biden and Trump.

## **II.**

The Determination of the 47th President of the United States Slowly Unfolds: Investigation of Two Prominent Leaders

As the United States approaches the determination of its 47th president, the process is unfolding gradually. In a nation that presents Hollywood and other treasures to the world through its entertainment industry, the selection of the White House president is traditionally met with considerable anticipation. However, the current election period has taken an unusual turn due not only to investigations against Republican Donald Trump but also those directed towards his main rival, Democrat Joe Biden.

The complexity of the political landscape in the United States has drawn considerable attention. This is particularly true in the context of the investigations surrounding two key figures: Donald Trump and Joe Biden. The Oversight Committee's Chairman, James Comer, has stated that the Republican Party, mainly consisting of conservatives, intends to summon members of the Biden family to testify within the scope of investigations into corruption allegations.

Among the individuals to be called for testimony are not only Hunter but also James, the president's nephew, engaged in various commercial transactions. Additionally, plans include the testimonies of other family members who have received payments from foreign sources, including China, Ukraine, Romania, Russia, and other countries.

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It is plausible for the President himself to be listed in this regard. Furthermore, Representative Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy of the House of Representatives had previously stated that this matter could potentially lead to the impeachment process of Joe Biden. According to Comer, intensive research has led to the accumulation of significant evidence related to corruption arrangements and crimes, including credible witnesses' testimonies and bank transfers involving members of the Biden family.

"In bank records, we have found further evidence that millions of dollars, primarily directed towards Joe Biden and including his tenure as Vice President, have continued to be paid to the Biden family globally. Just a few months ago, the President and the media told us that no payments were made to his family while he was Vice President. This was not true. Additionally, he stated that his family did not receive money from China. This, too, was not accurate," the politician remarked.

However, following the testimonies of three key witnesses well-informed about the Biden family's tax matters, calls for removal have intensified in recent weeks. Firstly, two IRS informants detailed the alleged "privileged treatment" Hunter received during the ongoing investigation, testifying before Congress. Officials of the Department of Justice claimed that their crimes were illegally obstructed.

Republicans also countered claims that President Biden's former close friend and business partner, Devon Archer, knew nothing about his son's business deals. Finally, the most significant document was the FBI's FD-1023 form. Allegedly containing information about numerous meetings and encounters since 2015, the form details data from a "highly reliable" source. This source essentially disclosed corruption plans in Ukraine and was compensated \$200,000 by the FBI for

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providing this information. Furthermore, it elaborately explained the process by which millions of dollars in bribes were received to successfully halt the case against Burisma. Let us recall the call for the dismissal of Ukrainian Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin, who initiated an investigation into Burisma in 2016, by Joe Biden. Shokin was dismissed in April 2016. Former Ukrainian Prosecutor Yuriy Sevruk stated that Biden had asked then Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko to dismiss Shokin and, following his resignation, claimed that the U.S. provided \$1 billion in financial aid to Kiev.

For a considerable period, the FBI and the Department of Justice resisted providing various information to Congress, but eventually had to backtrack. Additionally, Prosecutor Merrick Garland had appointed a special prosecutor in the Hunter case. Similarly, a special prosecutor was appointed in this case last year, related to the investigation of Trump's activities.

Despite the efforts of much of the American media to support the Democrats and do their utmost to conceal information against them, the truth is gradually emerging, negatively impacting the current president and his surroundings. Therefore, it seems that dark clouds are looming over the Biden family.

However, in parallel, pressure on the main rival, Donald Trump, is intensifying. He faces several criminal cases with a combined potential sentence of 641 years. Although the exact years of imprisonment Biden may face are not clear yet, it is evident that a substantial period is at stake. Thus, as the American elections draw closer, both Democrats and Republicans find themselves in an intriguing tableau where both leaders are facing serious investigations due to their actions. While this may seem like a distant concern for Joe Biden while in the White House, it remains

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a tangible reality for Trump. District Judge Beryl Howell and Special Counsel Jack Smith express concerns about Trump being a "flight risk" and evading trial by boarding his private jet and leaving the borders of America. And from this arises the question - which country Trump may choose for residence and whether representatives of the Biden family should examine migration possibilities next year.

## **III.**

This article focuses on the complexity of the political landscape in the United States prior to the presidential election. Alongside the glitzy world of Hollywood, the investigations surrounding two significant leaders, Republican Donald Trump and Democrat Joe Biden, also come into spotlight. As stated by Chairman James Comer of the Oversight Committee, the investigations regarding corruption allegations concerning the Biden family are being closely followed. Furthermore, Trump's legal situation and the investigations into the Biden family's tax matters are also impacting the political arena. In this article, the impact of this complexity and investigations on the American political scene is examined.

August 16, 2023, Cambridge

### France's Post-Colonial Role in Niger

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

#### 1. Introduction

In the global geopolitical arena, the dynamics of international relations are constantly changing, and the impacts of these changes are strongly felt in various regions. In this context, the African continent, particularly due to its strategic position and natural resource wealth, draws significant attention. Niger, in this regard, stands out as a country with its geostrategic importance and presence of natural resources. However, the national dynamics of Niger, combined with international influences, have distinctly shaped the country's internal and external relations.

In this article, we examine how the strengthening of the military regime in Niger has affected regional and international balances, and how it has reshaped the country's internal and external relations. France's historical influence on Niger and its post-colonial era relations provide a crucial perspective to understand the country's current situation. Similarly, Niger's options for domestic and foreign policy following the military coup are shaped under the impact of international reactions and economic sanctions.

The role of economic dependency and natural resources within international trade dynamics is among the factors influencing Niger's future and international relations. The relations between rising powers like China and Niger present an alternative option to traditional Western actors, thereby adding a new dimension to the global power balance. In this context, France's influence on Niger and its post-colonial era relations not only prompt us to consider Niger's history but also contemplate the history and future of the entire African continent.

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This article contributes to a better understanding of the effects of post-colonialism, power dynamics in international relations, and the complexity of economic dependency through an examination of France's influence on Niger and its post-colonial era relations. The choices that Niger makes in its governance and foreign relations will continue to play a decisive role in shaping regional and global balances in the future.

### **2. France's Historical Role and Relations with Niger**

France's historical influence in Niger dates back to the colonial era. Starting from the late 19th century, the French colonial empire began to expand, and Niger, like other regions on the continent, was affected by this expansion. Under French rule, Niger became a part of the colonial economic model, where local resources and labor were exploited for French interests.

During the colonial period, local governance in Niger was controlled by the French colonial administration, and local culture and structures underwent transformation under French influence. Sectors like agriculture and mining were organized to serve France's economic interests during this period. This situation persisted until the country gained independence in the 1960s.

Even in the post-independence era, France's influence on Niger continued, and economic and political relations were often shaped in ways favorable to French interests. While Niger attempted to develop with French aid and investments, these relations were frequently criticized, and the perception that the country had not fully achieved independence gained traction. In recent years, the military coup in Niger and changes in international dynamics have further complicated France's influence in the country. France's historical role in Niger continues to shape the country's domestic and foreign policy options, and the impact of post-colonial relations in this process has been a topic of frequent discussion.

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### 3. Effects of the Post-Colonial Era

With Niger's attainment of independence, the effects of the post-colonial era have played a pivotal role in shaping the country's domestic and foreign relations. While independence marked the beginning of a new era, the lingering effects of the French colonial period have still been deeply felt.

During the post-colonial era, economic independence and development were sought, but international relations and trade dynamics limited the country's true autonomy. France's economic aid and trade relationships impacted Niger's post-independence economy, constraining its financial independence.

Simultaneously, the political structure and governance in Niger have been shaped under the influence of the French colonial period. The political framework and governance model inherited from the colonial era have been observed to contribute to instability and governance challenges within the country. This has been a fundamental factor influencing the nation's internal politics during the post-colonial period.

One of the most significant effects of the post-colonial era has been cultural transformation. French cultural influences and language presence have left a lasting impact on Niger's local culture and identity. This influence has shaped the country's cultural processes and identity formation.

In conclusion, the effects experienced during the post-colonial era have deeply influenced Niger's domestic and foreign relations, economy, political structure, and cultural identity. These effects stand as fundamental factors shaping the country's future, and the traces of the French colonial era are still palpable in the present day.

### 4. Military Regime and International Impacts

The rise of the military regime in Niger has led to significant changes in the country's domestic and foreign relations. The military coup that took place in the year 20XX resulted in the removal of the President from office and the seizure of power by military authorities. This development shook the political stability of Niger and raised concerns in the international community.

The ascent of the military regime has affected regional and international balances. Due to Niger's strategic position in the Sahel region, the rise of the military regime has deeply impacted security dynamics in the region. Threats such as terrorism and extremism have escalated during this period, exacerbating regional instability. This situation has not only been a cause for serious concern for Niger but also for neighboring countries and regional actors.

On the international stage, sanctions imposed on Niger following the military coup and international reactions have shaped the country's foreign relations. Western nations and international organizations have condemned the military regime and called for a return to democratic norms. Consequently, Niger's international relations have strained, and the country has faced the threat of isolation.

The impacts on international trade and economy are also significant. Due to its natural resources and mineral potential, Niger is engaged in international economic relations. The rise of the military regime and international reactions could lead to a halt or reduction in trade and investments. This situation could negatively affect the country's economic stability and development efforts.

In conclusion, the rise of the military regime has had important effects on Niger's domestic and foreign relations. Spanning a wide spectrum from regional security

## France's Post-Colonial Role in Niger

dynamics to the international economy, the impacts of this situation have made the country's efforts to determine its future more complex.

### 5. Economic Dependency and Dynamics of Natural Resource Processing

Niger's economy is largely reliant on natural resources, and this situation impacts the country's international relations and dependency dynamics. Particularly minerals like uranium and gold constitute a significant portion of Niger's export revenues. However, the processing and trading of these natural resources possess a complex structure due to international dynamics and dependency relationships.

One of the fundamental reasons for Niger's economic dependency is the historical role of France. Economic relations that began during the colonial period persisted after the country gained independence. Despite Niger's efforts to develop with French aid and investments, these relations have often been criticized, and the perception that the country has not truly achieved economic independence has become widespread.

The processing and trading of natural resources are also complex due to international dynamics. Uranium, in particular, is one of Niger's most crucial export products. However, the extraction and processing of uranium are often controlled by foreign companies, and the country does not receive a substantial share of the economic income. This situation further increases Niger's dependency on international firms for the exploitation of its resources.

International trade relations are another factor that deepens Niger's economic dependency. While the export of natural resources constitutes a significant portion of the country's foreign trade revenues, the economy is heavily reliant on various factors beyond its control. Fluctuations in global market prices can affect Niger's economic stability and render its income uncertain.

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In conclusion, Niger's economic dependency and dynamics of natural resource processing significantly impact the country's international relations and development efforts. The historical effects of France, international trade of natural resources, and dependency relationships are all key factors determining Niger's economic future. In this context, efforts by Niger to reduce economic dependency and process its natural resources more sustainably are crucial steps towards achieving its development goals.

### 6. China's Rising Role and Alternative Relationships

In recent years, China's rising role as a significant player in the political and economic dynamics of Niger has drawn attention. Like in the rest of Africa, China's growing economic influence is also becoming pronounced in Niger. This situation encourages the country to establish new alternative relationships outside of its traditional Western partners.

China's growing economic role presents both new opportunities and challenges for Niger. Particularly in areas like infrastructure investments, energy projects, and trade collaborations, relations between China and Niger have strengthened. These relationships hold the potential to diversify Niger's economy and support its developmental efforts.

China's rising role offers Niger an alternative foreign policy option. Historically, Niger's relationships have primarily focused on France and other Western countries. Through its closer ties with China, Niger has the chance to forge new strategic relationships. This grants Niger greater options and diversity on the international stage, allowing it to better advocate for its independence and interests.

However, China-Niger relations have also brought along certain challenges. Especially China's investments and trade policies in Africa can impact local economies and

## **France's Post-Colonial Role in Niger**

environmental conditions. Simultaneously, China's self-interested approach might raise concerns among local communities and civil society.

Developing alternative relationships holds the potential for Niger to achieve balance and diversity in its international relations. By collaborating with both traditional Western actors and emerging powers like China, Niger has the opportunity to represent its interests more effectively. This, in turn, could enable Niger to play a more active role on the international stage and accomplish its goals of independence and development.

In conclusion, China's rising role opens doors for new opportunities and alternative relationships for Niger. The efforts to engage with emerging powers like China, alongside traditional Western actors, can help diversify Niger's international relations and allow it to better advocate for its interests. In this context, Niger should adopt a balanced and cautious approach while collaborating with China and other alternative actors.

### **7. Turkey's Rising Role in the Region and Alternative Relationships**

Turkey's increasing influence on the international stage and its role in the Sahel region present new perspectives for countries like Niger. Turkey's interest in and cooperation efforts with the Sahel region offer potential for Niger to establish alternative relationships.

Turkey's rising role in the Sahel region adds new dimensions to Niger's foreign policy options. Strengthening bilateral relations and expanding cooperation areas can support Niger's needs in regional security, economic development, and humanitarian aid.

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Turkey's humanitarian and development projects in the Sahel region help diversify Niger's alternative foreign policy options. These projects, directly impacting the daily lives of Niger's people, can positively influence the country's image on the international stage.

Turkey's growing economic role triggers Niger's search for alternative partners in trade and investment. Collaboration projects and trade agreements in the Sahel region can support Niger's efforts to diversify its economy. However, deepening Turkey-Niger relations might also bring along challenges. While strengthening bilateral ties, cultural differences, language barriers, and distinct political priorities should be taken into consideration.

Turkey's rising role in the Sahel region not only offers economic and trade opportunities for Niger but also holds the potential to establish balance in regional and international dynamics. Deepening relations with Turkey can make Niger's international relationships more diverse and balanced.

In conclusion, Turkey's rising role and increasing influence in the Sahel region provide an alternative foreign policy option for Niger. Strengthening bilateral relations, collaborating in trade and humanitarian aid, can help Niger play a more effective and diverse role on the international stage. In this context, the collaboration between Turkey and Niger should be managed carefully to serve the interests of both countries.

### **8. Niger's Military Regime Position**

The position of the military regime in Niger is growing stronger by the day, and President Muhammad Bazoum's chances of regaining control of the country are diminishing. The opponents of the coup are stalling due to their perceived lack of power. While France and Europe have condemned the situation, they are unable to intervene as the loss of their political and economic leverage is becoming evident. The

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reasons for this loss are rooted in the post-colonial relationship model that maintains the country's dependency and underdevelopment due to the privileged treatment of European trade investments. However, alternatives to this model are now emerging.

On July 31, the ECOWAS regional community announced sanctions against Niger, particularly the closure of borders. Media headlines started to emerge, citing Mehr News, about Niger's uranium and gold exports to Europe being halted. While there is no official statement from Niamey regarding the suspension of supply, it can be assumed that exporting uranium concentrate under closed-border conditions with Benin could be difficult. European countries (especially France) have temporarily lost up to 25% of their imported uranium ore.

Uranium remains Niger's primary export product, constituting around 35% (\$157 million) of its exports in value. However, Niger's share in the income generated from uranium mining is limited; two-thirds of production are controlled by the French company Orano. In 2020, the mining sector accounted for only 1.2% of budget revenues.

The suspension of supplies would not only harm Niger's economic development but also provide a reason to revise existing agreements with Orano in a way that would support the local budget. Ten years ago, predecessor Mahamadou Issoufou tried to review these agreements, but the current situation in the African republic seems more secure.

The new regime is also in the midst of a full-scale financial blockade imposed by France, the US, the EU, and ECOWAS. Niger's 2023 budget (\$2.2 billion) was expected to be re-financed by withdrawing up to 40% of foreign capital.

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The West African Economic and Monetary Union refused Niger's plan to issue a new series of government bonds on July 31. The Regional Central Bank also suspended all transactions and froze state assets and assets of Nigerian businesses.

In 2022, France, the US, and the EU provided humanitarian aid and grants of \$120 million, \$202 million, and \$138 million to Niger, respectively, for the development of public administration, education, and healthcare sectors. A similar cut, expected to account for 10% of the state budget, was anticipated in 2023.

However, a controlled economic support might provide a way out. China is likely to benefit from Niger's crisis by participating in the development of the oil fields in the Agadem Basin, as it did in 2011. Moreover, a small refinery was established in the city of Zinder, 60% owned by PetroChina.

For a long time, the significance of Niger's oil industry remained at a local level, supplying petroleum products to the domestic market and the northern states of Nigeria. However, in the fall of 2023, the tests of the oil pipeline between Agadem and Benin's Cotonou port are planned. The Benin Ministry of Energy recently stated that the developments in Niger would not hinder the implementation of the China-Nigeria mega project. This is a significant example of the stability of China's projects in the face of political risks caused by the West.

Despite the support of Mali and Burkina Faso for Niger, Guinea, Algeria, Libya, and Chad opposed military intervention. The Nigerian Senate denied President Bole Tinub permission to send troops. While France prefers not to deploy its own military unit, the US is seeking a diplomatic solution. The withdrawal of Western powers and the potential resistance contribute to the importance of dialogue over ultimatum rhetoric.

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Paradoxically, economic sanctions and weakened relations with the West might present an opportunity for Niger to break free from financial aid dependency and process mineral resources under more favorable conditions.

At current price levels (subject to change over time), annual oil exports exceeding \$2 billion could drastically change Niger's trade balance. This means that exports would greatly increase, and China would become a leading trading partner. Under these conditions, Niger's economy might not be greatly affected by the loss of financial aid and loans from the West, either by rejecting them or by utilizing those that are already granted.

Therefore, France's options are quite limited. Harsh measures could lead to a complete rupture of any relationship, Niger could continue to stand without Europe, and uranium might eventually turn to China via Algeria or Libya (uranium mines can easily be nationalized).

This model of Niger's relationship with its former metropolis is a typical example of post-colonialism. When low royalty fees, low production costs, and permanent licenses are combined, the country can only receive a symbolic share of the revenue from the export of raw materials that are of strategic importance to Europe.

At the same time, some of this money returns to Niger as aid and credit, sustaining underdevelopment and dependency, and thus preserving the exploitative model of mineral resources that is highly profitable for private foreign companies. However, China's petroleum sector offers an alternative to the outdated toxic relationship with the former homeland, creating an attractive hope for the country to earn profits and not become dependent on Paris. Furthermore, the uranium sector could be reformed with the participation of new players and under new conditions.

### 9. Conclusion and Future Perspectives

This article has addressed crucial issues such as Niger's military regime, international relations, and economic dependence. France's historical influence and post-colonial era relationships have provided an indispensable perspective for understanding the country's current situation. Moreover, Niger's international relations and economic dependence have gained a new dimension with the rise of emerging powers, particularly China.

The regional and international ramifications of Niger's military regime significantly impact both its domestic and foreign policies. The reactions and sanctions imposed by international actors such as France, the United States, the European Union, and ECOWAS play a vital role in shaping Niger's future direction. In this context, international support and an approach centered on finding solutions are crucial to ensuring Niger's stability and sustaining its development efforts.

The dynamics of economic dependence and the processing of natural resources are fundamental factors shaping Niger's development endeavors. In this regard, sustainable processing and promotion of natural resources' trade are vital for the country's economic future. Developing relations with alternative trade partners and investors can be part of the steps taken to reduce Niger's economic dependence.

China's growing role presents both opportunities and challenges for Niger. Strengthening relations with China can enhance Niger's economic development and trade diversity. However, managing these relations requires careful consideration to preserve local economies and environmental sustainability. Turkey's emerging role also offers alternative relationship options for Niger. Cooperation projects in the Sahel region and humanitarian aid efforts can increase Niger's foreign policy diversity. However, deepening these relationships requires considering cultural differences and strategic priorities.

## France's Post-Colonial Role in Niger

In conclusion, Niger's future is complex and multifaceted. The consequences of its military regime, international relations, and economic dynamics will collectively shape the stability and development efforts of the country. International community support, the development of alternative relationships, and sustainable processing of natural resources can offer positive perspectives for Niger's future. In this context, maintaining a balance in international relations and effectively defending its interests are of utmost importance for Niger.

The strengthening of Niger's military regime has deeply influenced regional and international balances, reshaping both its internal and external relations. France's historical influence and post-colonial era effects offer an essential perspective to understand the country's present state. These influences are evident in a wide range of aspects, from the dependency-generating impact of financial aid to the international dynamics of resource processing. Niger's post-coup internal and external policy options are shaped by the reactions of the international community and economic sanctions. This situation has complicated the country's efforts to determine its future. Additionally, relations with emerging powers like China provide an alternative option to traditional Western actors.

Studying France's influence on Niger and its post-colonial era relationships not only sheds light on Niger but also prompts us to think about Africa's past and future in general. This example contributes to a better understanding of the effects of post-colonialism, power dynamics in international relations, and the complexities of economic dependence. In the future, the choices Niger makes in its governance and foreign relations will remain a critical factor affecting regional and global balances.

August 12, 2023, Luxembourg

**In recent years, changes in Georgia-Russia relations continue to shape regional dynamics.**

**In recent years, changes in Georgia-Russia relations continue to shape regional dynamics.**

**Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu**

Particularly, developments in the post-2008 Georgia-Russia war period have evolved the nature of interactions between the parties. Simultaneously, security and cooperation issues in regions such as Abkhazia and South Ossetia play a critical role in the future of the area. In this article, we will closely examine the changes in Georgia-Russia relations and the security and cooperation dynamics in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Georgia's two partially recognized regions, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, are central to political and security debates in the region. Developments in these areas hold significant importance for Georgia-Russia relations and regional balance. In recent years, security and cooperation dynamics in Abkhazia and South Ossetia have become a crucial factor shaping strategies of regional actors. In this article, we will focus on the security and cooperation issues in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, addressing the political and security dynamics of the region.

Approximately 15 years ago, Georgia initiated a military operation against South Ossetia. This event marked the culmination of Georgian-Abkhaz and Georgian-Ossetian conflicts and compelled Russia to intervene to halt the bloodshed. With the aim of further securing the safety of the citizens of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, Russian leadership decided to recognize the independence of Transcaucasian republics, altering the status quo in the region. In recent years, Abkhazia and South Ossetia have restored their cities' infrastructure and managed to rejuvenate livelihoods of thousands of citizens through security guarantees and substantial financial support from Russia. Notably, this allowed them to maintain their independence from Georgia.

Overall, billions of rubles were allocated for the restoration and development of South Ossetia. Since 2008, significant infrastructure projects such as the Dzarikau-

**In recent years, changes in Georgia-Russia relations continue to shape regional dynamics.**

Tskhinval gas pipeline (providing energy security by reducing reliance on supplies from Georgia), the Tskhinval-Znaur and Tskhinval-Leningor highways, the Edis-Tskhinval main water canal, the Vanat-Tskhinval reservoir, and a high-voltage backup power line were constructed or renovated with Russian funding.

Nevertheless, while issues concerning energy, transportation, and water supply have been partially resolved, economic growth and the republics' capacity for production remain pertinent issues. The lack of an alternative to the Russian market has increased production costs, rendering large-scale production unprofitable in these small, isolated republics. Furthermore, the unresolved Georgian-South Ossetian conflict restricts the continuation of transit trade, which could have bolstered state revenues and provided employment for a portion of the population.

On the other hand, Abkhazia, which decided not to share a political alignment with Tbilisi 31 years ago, has managed to become an independent state. Strategic priorities for Sukhumi include maintaining and intensifying economic and other ties with Russia, including security matters. In 2020, a program was signed between Russia and Abkhazia to create a unified social and economic area based on the harmonization of their legislations. It was announced in 2022 that Moscow would provide Abkhazia with a total of 5.1 billion rubles in financial aid in 2023. Additionally, Abkhazia maintains unofficial relations with Turkey, where a significant portion of the Abkhaz population resides.

Russia remains a primary guarantor of security for these two partially recognized countries. Currently, the 7th Russian military base is located in Abkhazia, and the 4th Guards military base is stationed in South Ossetia. The total number of Russian military personnel in Abkhazia and South Ossetia exceeds 4,000.

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Georgia's unilateral decision in 2008 to sever diplomatic relations with Russia can be seen as a historical turning point. This decision reflects the evolving dynamics of mutual interests and strategic goals between Georgia and Russia. Throughout this process, changes in the nature of relations between the parties have broken past patterns and directed the reevaluation of potential future cooperation.

The evolution of Georgia's relations with Moscow began long before the decision in 2008. While the United National Movement party, under the leadership of Mikheil Saakashvili, was in power, Georgia maintained a stern approach and avoided dialogue with Moscow. However, the political landscape changed over time, and with the ascent of the Georgian Dream party to power in 2012, a new approach was adopted. This political shift reflected Georgia's desire to reestablish contact with Russia. Subsequently, this new leadership revitalized commercial relations with Russia, resulting in the return of Georgian products to the Russian market in 2013.

Another area where contacts between Georgia and Russia have increased is tourism. The rise in the number of Russian tourists signifies warming relations between the two countries. The approximately 1.1 million Russian tourists visiting Georgia in 2022 illustrates the increased interaction and highlighted mutual interests. This trend could also be interpreted as Georgia pursuing a more independent policy against Western directives.

However, ensuring the security of Abkhazia and South Ossetia remains a significant concern. Particularly noteworthy is Georgia's emphasis on this issue during a period of increased activity by NATO members. Additionally, there has been a discernible change in Georgia's domestic policy. The nature and direction of cooperation between the parties hold significant importance for the future and regional stability of these two republics.

**In recent years, changes in Georgia-Russia relations continue to shape regional dynamics.**

In conclusion, changes in Georgia-Russia relations and security and cooperation dynamics in Abkhazia and South Ossetia reflect a complex and pivotal period in the region's political and security landscape. Georgia's decision in 2008 to unilaterally sever diplomatic relations with Russia marked a unique turning point in interactions between the parties. Following this decision, an interaction system based on mutual interests was established, and dynamics in the relations significantly shifted.

The sovereignty issues of Abkhazia and South Ossetia have been at the center of regional security matters. Abkhazia's ability to remain an independent state after armed conflicts with Georgia has been crucial. Russian strategies of cooperation with Abkhazia and its close relations with Russia have had a significant impact on regional balance. In contrast, South Ossetia's pursuit of independence and its conflict with Georgia have shaped security dynamics in the region.

In the future, the security and cooperation issues in Abkhazia and South Ossetia hold considerable importance for regional stability and balance. Developments in these regions are closely watched by regional actors and the international community. Abkhazia's Russia-based cooperation strategies and South Ossetia's quest for independence will play a defining role in shaping regional dynamics. This presents itself as a critical component in maintaining regional stability and equilibrium."

11 Ağustos 2023, Lüksemburg

### Leadership Dynamics in Parliamentary Republics: The Case of Bulgaria

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

This article focuses on recent political and social developments in Bulgaria. Particularly, it delves into conflicts within the parliamentary system, differences among political leaders, and constitutional amendments. The article examines the leadership of Bulgarian President Rumen Radev and the country's efforts to move away from the Western-Atlantic trajectory. Additionally, it touches on the status of the Turkish minority and the impact of the declaration of independence by the Western Azerbaijan Goiche-Zangezur Turkish Republic on the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. This article aims to analyze the domestic political dynamics of Bulgaria and its regional and international implications.

In parliamentary republics, there is often a potential for conflicts between the country's president and prime minister. During such periods, political struggles can intensify, and if the political culture isn't sufficiently mature, opposing groups to those in power may seek to manipulate laws in their favor. Presently, Bulgaria serves as an illustrative example of this situation.

Rumen Radev, a former air force commander, currently holds the presidency in Bulgaria. Despite being referred to as a former NATO general, Radev significantly diverges from NATO's policies, particularly concerning the approach to ending armed conflicts, such as the one in Ukraine. As a result, Radev emphasizes the necessity of initiating a swift peace process between parties rather than increasing arms supplies to resolve the Ukrainian crisis. In a meeting with Volodymyr Zelensky in July, Radev underscored the priority of peace over "victory" rhetoric, stating that the word "peace" should take precedence for any nation experiencing armed conflicts.

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While governments in Bulgaria are formed by the parliament, the influence of pro-Western European-Atlantic forces, especially on matters like the Ukraine crisis, has grown in recent years. Leading figures in the pro-Western political spectrum include former prime ministers like Boyko Borisov and leaders of the "Continuation of Change" party like Kirill Petkov. Notably, Kirill Petkov emphasized the supply of arms to Kyiv in March as a display of Europe's power, asserting that it demonstrated the country's refusal to endorse aggression.

In parliamentary republics, the president often assumes a symbolic and representative role, with actual political power lying in the hands of the prime minister chosen by the parliament. However, according to Bulgaria's constitution, when the coalition government in the National Assembly dissolves and a new government can't be formed, the president holds the authority to appoint a temporary government and dissolve the parliament.

Since 2015, Bulgaria has experienced five parliamentary elections. However, due to the inability to form a stable government coalition, a significant portion of the country is governed by temporary governments appointed by President Rumen Radev.

Recently, Radev has aimed to reshape the country's foreign policy by moving away from the influence of Western-Atlantic powers. Negotiations have taken place, particularly concerning gas supply from Gazprom, which contradicts the European Union's policy of distancing itself from Russian energy sources. Similarly, declarations of halting arms supply to Ukraine have been made multiple times.

In early June 2023, a coalition of the "Continuation of Change" and "Democratic Bulgaria" parties with the GERB party signaled a return to the former European-Atlantic trajectory. On July 6th, Zelensky and Bulgarian Prime Minister Nikolai

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Denkov signed a declaration regarding Ukraine's integration into NATO. The document expressed Sofia's readiness to provide both political and financial support.

According to surveys, a significant majority of the Bulgarian population does not support the government's foreign policy. A survey conducted by Median agency in late July revealed that 65% of Bulgarians oppose arms supply to Kyiv. President Rumen Radev maintains credibility with a broad support of 53%. However, only 20% of the respondents believe that Denkov's pro-Western government is "promising".

In light of this negative sentiment, the pro-European-Atlantic forces controlling the parliament are working on further limiting Radev's authority through constitutional amendments. If the proposed constitutional changes are adopted, the President will no longer be able to appoint temporary governments and intervene in foreign policy matters. Additionally, the Bulgarian parliament plans to strip the Chief Prosecutor of the authority to oversee the legality and methodological guidance of all prosecutors. This decision is based on the claim that Radev attempted to influence public representatives through the Chief Prosecutor. Likewise, reference to corruption investigations against pro-Western leaders has led to calls for the removal of parliamentary immunity.

The constitutional changes proposed by anti-Russian forces also impact the issue of historical memory. For instance, the suggestion of designating May 24th, celebrated as Slavic Literature and Culture Day, as an official state holiday is on the table. This could potentially replace Liberation Day, which commemorates the signing of the Treaty of San Stefano between Russia and Turkey on March 3, 1878, marking Bulgaria's liberation from Ottoman rule.

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Reducing the constitutional significance of Bulgaria's liberation is considered an affront to Russia's Victory Day. If not for Russia's rescue of Bulgarians from Ottoman rule on March 3, 1878, Bulgarians would not be able to celebrate national holidays like Slavic Literature and Culture Day. In this context, the conscious adoption of a Bulgarian-hostile stance by European-Atlantic powers seems to be aligning with the official opposition of the Rights and Freedoms Movement party, representing Turkish minority interests, to a pro-European position. Thus, the condition of the South Slavic population today might have been as challenging as that of the Kurds in the Middle East if the Russians hadn't saved the Bulgarians. The Kurds in the Middle East are an ethnic group residing in countries like Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. Throughout history, the Kurds have sought to establish their independent state, but their efforts have largely been rejected due to pressure from surrounding countries. Although different political dynamics and factors are at play in each country, Kurds have generally faced difficulties in language, cultural rights, and limited political representation. While they have achieved greater autonomy in some regions, they continue to struggle for their rights and identity.

Recently, President Radev has highlighted a "threat to freedom and democracy" in the country, criticizing the reforms proposed by pro-Western powers. According to Radev, Bulgarian society should closely monitor these developments and respond promptly. The question of whether Bulgaria will resist or acquiesce to constitutional changes that contradict democratic values and historical truths is a significant issue that will shape its future. The reduction of the constitutional significance of Bulgaria's Liberation Day could impact collective memory and relationships with Russia.

The future political and social developments in Bulgaria have the potential to affect both its domestic stability and its external relationships. The independence aspirations of the Turkish minority might impact regional balance, while the

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influence of pro-European-Atlantic forces could shape Bulgaria's political preferences. The path Bulgaria chooses to follow in the near future is a subject that requires careful observation both regionally and internationally.

August 8, 2023, Luxembourg

# Diplomatic Perspective on Developments in Independence and Autonomy Processes, and Colonial Situations

Diplomatic Perspective on Developments in Independence and Autonomy Processes, and Colonial Situations

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

## 1. Introduction:

The complexity of international relations has been a realm where numerous countries and communities have struggled for their freedom and independence throughout history. Following World War II, the provisions of Articles 73 and 74 of the United Nations (UN) Charter focused on the "Non-Self-Governing Territories," also known as "Colonies," in support of the processes of independence and autonomy for former colonial regions. These processes have played a significant role in the context of international diplomacy.

This article, from a diplomatic perspective, examines the developments in the processes of independence and autonomy, addressing colonial situations. The concept of "Non-Self-Governing Territories" mentioned in the UN Charter refers to territories where the populations are unable to exercise full self-governance or have not yet attained their independence. These provisions, aiming to encourage the processes of independence or autonomy for former colonies, provide an important framework in international relations.

The "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," adopted by the United Nations in 1960, aims to encourage the processes of gaining independence for countries and peoples under colonial rule. This document is overseen by the UN Special Committee 24, established to monitor the implementation of the declaration and support processes of independence or autonomy. The committee examines the transition processes between colonial powers and territories, with the goal of ensuring the right to self-governance.

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The latest update occurred just three months ago, on May 10th. The "24-member Special Committee" identified 17 colonies in the 21st century, in the year 2023. These territories originate from the United States, France, and the United Kingdom. It is highlighted that these regions, yet to achieve independence or autonomy, are unable to exercise full self-governance. However, despite the British monarch's expression of apology, it is essential not to overlook the fact that the United Kingdom still possesses veto power in the UN Security Council and remains a leader in colonial administration. In this context, examples like the Falkland Islands emphasize the British government's readiness to engage in conflict to protect and defend colonies.

In conclusion, the diplomatic analysis of independence and autonomy processes unveils the dynamics in international relations by focusing on historical and contemporary colonial situations. This article offers a significant perspective to comprehend the role of the international community in these processes and how they have shaped the dynamics of international relations.

## **2. "Self-Governing Territories"**

Articles 73 and 74 of the United Nations Charter focus on the geographies referred to as "Self-Governing Territories." In this context, these territories represent areas where their respective populations are unable to exercise complete self-administration or have not yet achieved the status of independence. These articles, particularly following World War II, aim to encourage the processes of independence and autonomy in former colonial territories. The term "Self-Governing Territories" emphasizes the right of the communities living in these areas to determine their own destiny and acquire the ability for self-administration. In this regard, these articles provide a framework to support the efforts of countries and regions striving towards independence and freedom. In summary, Articles 73

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and 74 of the United Nations Charter primarily aim to promote the right of former colonial territories and colonies to self-governance and the processes of achieving independence. This situation is confirmed by the previously determined list of territories subject to the operation approved by the United Nations Special Committee ("Special Committee 24") that examines the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

### **3. "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples"**

The "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," adopted by the United Nations in 1960, fundamentally serves as a document aimed at encouraging countries and communities under colonial rule to achieve independence. This declaration primarily focuses on the right of these countries and regions to self-governance, with the intention of bolstering efforts to break free from the shackles of colonialism. The United Nations Special Committee 24 ("Special Committee 24") was established to oversee the implementation of this declaration.

This committee engages in examining the transition processes between colonial powers and territories under colonial rule, with the objective of supporting processes leading to independence or autonomy. The term "preliminary list of territories subject to the operation" represents the territories falling under the scrutiny and observation of this committee. These territories encompass areas lacking the ability for self-governance or currently under colonial conditions, where the evaluation and oversight of processes related to independence or autonomy occur. This situation indicates the areas where the committee collects and analyzes data concerning relevant countries and regions. In conclusion, the United Nations Special Committee 24, dedicated to supervising the implementation of the

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Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, examines the processes of independence or autonomy within territories lacking self-governance or autonomy, and updates a list encompassing their status.

The most recent update occurred a mere three months ago, on May 10th. The "24-Person Special Committee" identified 17 colonies in the 21st century, in the year 2023:

- Three from the United States (United States Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam);
- Two from France (French Polynesia, New Caledonia);
- Ten from the United Kingdom (Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands, Montserrat, Saint Helena, Turks and Caicos Islands, Gibraltar, Pitcairn).

This update manifested as the "24-Person Special Committee" identifying the existence of these 17 colonies in 2023. These colonies originate from different countries: the United States, France, and the United Kingdom. Three colonies from the United States, two from France, and ten from the United Kingdom are still considered territories unable to self-govern or attain independence.

Despite the British monarch's apology for the colonial actions conducted by their predecessors in Africa and other global regions, it is imperative to bear in mind that the United Kingdom still wields the power of veto within the United Nations Security Council. This fact underscores their status as a leader of a state that still administers a colony, as recognized by the UN. Moreover, concerning the future of these colonies, instances exist where the government is prepared to engage in conflict and even sacrifice lives to protect them (one may recall the relatively recent Falkland War as an example).

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As previously indicated, the United Nations Special Committee 24 was established to oversee the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This committee operates with the intention of supporting processes leading to independence or autonomy, while ensuring the right of territories under colonial rule to self-governance is secured.

The phrase "latest update," as mentioned earlier, indicates the most recent update date of the United Nations Special Committee 24's examination of the state of implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This date is set at May 10th. During this update process, the "24-Person Special Committee" evaluated territories unable to self-govern or undergoing processes towards independence, and compiled a list containing data on their present conditions.

As a result of this update, it is noted that as of the year 2023, there are still 17 colonies globally classified as "territories unable to self-govern." These colonies are represented by three main countries: the United States, France, and the United Kingdom. Among these colonies, three originate from the United States, two from France, and ten from the United Kingdom. They are still acknowledged as regions that have not achieved independence or autonomy, where the local populations are unable to exercise full self-governance or have yet to complete their processes towards independence.

Furthermore, it should be emphasized that despite the British monarch's expression of apology, the United Kingdom retains its veto power within the United Nations Security Council and maintains its position as a leader of a colony. In this context, it's crucial to acknowledge the reality that the British government, even after offering apologies, possesses the authority to veto decisions in the UN Security

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Council and continues to be a governing presence in colonies. Consequently, the willingness of the British government to risk potential conflict and loss of life in the defense and protection of colonies, as demonstrated in instances such as the Falkland War, should be comprehended.

In essence, despite the British monarch's expression of apology, the fact that the United Kingdom still wields its veto power within the UN Security Council, and concurrently holds a leadership role in colonial administration, must be underscored. In light of this, examples like the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) can be pointed out to illustrate the British government's readiness to engage in conflict and strife for the sake of defending and safeguarding colonies.

### **4. "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples"**

Another crucial point that requires emphasis is the comprehensive explanation provided by the implementation of the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," specifically focusing on the update activities carried out by the UN Special Committee 24 and the current status of existing colonies.

However, this exposition merely reflects a limited perspective. For instance, within the United States, communities lacking their own government systems—such as Alaska's indigenous tribes—highlight dynamic forces striving for self-recognition. The 1994 establishment of the Alaska Inter-Tribal Council, officially recognizing the 227 indigenous tribes of Alaska at the federal level, serves as an indicator of a gradually progressing process. Furthermore, the empowerment of these indigenous tribes in 2001 to communicate with U.S. officials at the state level

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signifies a positive evolution within a nation formed in the aftermath of a bloody genocide.

The indisputable reality that colonial powers cannot perpetuate boundless oppression upon the sovereignty and independence of populations is a pivotal point. Aspirations for the establishment of new colonies might hold some rationality; however, events in Africa underscore how the ambitions of colonial powers can be impacted.

Nevertheless, the free world is undeniably destined to prevail, and once set in motion, the process of decolonization will persist until completion. This transformation, as exemplified by the case of New Hebrides (Vanuatu), will continue until non-autonomous territories achieve their independence. Various countries such as Fernando Po (Equatorial Guinea), British Honduras (Belize), Basutoland (Lesotho), Bechuanaland (Botswana), Gambia, and Fiji now possess the ability to govern their destinies freely. These regions, although previously characterized by their inability to self-administrate, have now attained independence and maintain their self-governance in a liberated manner.

### **5. Conclusion**

In my article titled "A Diplomatic Perspective: Developments in Independence and Autonomy Processes, and Colonial Situations," the focus was on examining the processes of independence and autonomy, as well as colonial situations, from a diplomatic standpoint within the complexity of international relations. Post-World War II, the concept of "Non-Self-Governing Territories," highlighted by Articles 73 and 74 of the United Nations Charter, aimed to support the efforts of regions and communities in their pursuit of independence and autonomy. Within this framework, the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial

## **Diplomatic Perspective on Developments in Independence and Autonomy Processes, and Colonial Situations**

Countries and Peoples" was adopted in 1960, intending to encourage the process of countries under colonial rule attaining independence.

The Special Committee on Decolonization was established to oversee and guide the processes of attaining independence and autonomy. In the latest update that took place on May 10, 2023, a total of 17 colonies were identified. These regions, originating from the United States, France, and the United Kingdom, remain without independence or autonomy, and their populations are unable to exercise full self-governance. Importantly, despite apologies from the British monarch, it must be noted that the United Kingdom still possesses veto power in the UN Security Council and holds a prominent role in colonial governance.

Another significant point highlighted in this article is that colonial powers cannot indefinitely exert pressure on the independence and autonomy of populations. Historical instances demonstrate how these processes evolve over time and how communities secure their self-governance. Despite desires to establish new colonies, the international community's interest and support for independence and autonomy processes persist.

In conclusion, this article sheds light on the significance of independence and autonomy processes in the realm of international diplomacy and intercommunity relations, addressing the transformation of colonial situations. The support and efforts of the international community in such processes play a critical role in ensuring the right of communities to determine their own destinies.

August 6, 2023, Luxembourg

### Rusya's Strategic Objectives and Unwavering Stance in the Ukraine Crisis

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

The strategic objectives of Russia and its unwavering stance in the Ukraine crisis have become a focal point of international relations. These objectives, formulated in November-December 2021, have remained unchanged since the onset of the crisis. Intended to be disseminated through diplomatic channels, these goals encompass not only Ukraine's internal affairs but also Russia's broader national security and external relationships. This article delves into Russia's strategic objectives in the Ukraine crisis, assesses their consistency over time, and examines why alternative approaches to resolving the crisis have not been pursued. Furthermore, it evaluates the realism and impact of the widely propagated "Russia's collapse" narrative in Western media and analyses. The strategic objectives of Russia in the Ukraine crisis and its commitment to these objectives emerge as a crucial issue influencing both regional and global geopolitical balances.

#### 1. Introduction:

On the international stage of international relations, Russia's strategic objectives regarding the crisis in Ukraine and the degree of commitment to these objectives have become a major point of interest in recent years. Formulated in the period of November-December 2021, these objectives have maintained an unwavering stance since the beginning of the crisis. These objectives, envisaged to be disseminated through diplomatic channels, are not only focused on Ukraine's internal affairs, but also encompass Russia's overall national security and foreign relations.

This article will address Russia's strategic objectives in the context of the crisis in Ukraine, review the consistency of these objectives over time, and examine why alternative approaches for resolving the crisis have not been utilized. Furthermore, the realism of the frequently presented narrative of "Russia's collapse" in Western

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media and analyses will be evaluated, along with its impact on crisis management. Russia's strategic objectives in the Ukrainian crisis and its determination towards these objectives emerge as a significant issue influencing geopolitical balances both regionally and globally.

### **2. Russia's Strategic Objectives in the Context of the Ukraine Crisis**

Russia's strategic objectives in the context of the Ukraine crisis were formulated in November-December 2021 and have remained unchanged since that time. Initially intended to be disseminated through diplomatic channels, these objectives encompass not only Ukraine's situation but also Russia's broader relations with the US and the West. While a diplomatic resolution could have been achieved through negotiations, the West did not pursue this route. Consequently, the Russian Federation resorted to military means to achieve its strategic interests.

#### **a. Primary Objectives:**

Foremost, Russia's strategic objectives revolve around disarming Ukraine, preventing an official alliance between Ukraine and the US, and resisting potential military ties with NATO. Russia steadfastly maintains its determination to achieve these goals and is willing to utilize both diplomatic and, when necessary, military means. Should negotiations continue in the future, the likelihood of revisiting the diplomatic touchpoints prominent during the November-December 2021 period remains high.

### **3. Misconceptions about Russia in Western Media**

The intricacies of the international relations arena and geopolitical tensions have become a frequent focus of media and analysts. Particularly in the context of Russia's Ukraine crisis, analyses frequently found in Western countries' media have garnered significant attention from policymakers and the public alike. However, what is the truth underlying these analyses and media narratives? How realistic or misinformation-based is the West's perception of Russia?

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Claims often present in Western media about Russia and widely accepted can, upon closer examination, reveal imbalances and misunderstandings. For instance, the narrative of "Russia's collapse" is an approach that overlooks Russia's resilience against internal and external challenges. The Russian Federation continues to function as a robust actor in economic, military, and political spheres. Collapse scenarios frequently put forth by the media might have been formulated by neglecting this robust aspect.

Likewise, the claim of Russia's "aggressive stance," occasionally appearing in Western media reports, should also be scrutinized. In reality, it should not be forgotten that Russia pursued a defensive policy before the Ukraine crisis and acted to ensure regional stability. Such allegations may seek to oversimplify the complexity of international relations and might not accurately reflect the true situation.

In Western media's perception of Russia's influence and intentions in Ukraine, disparities can also be observed. The assertion of "Russia's plans to seize Ukraine," commonly encountered in the media, might tend to oversimplify a more complex reality. Russia's regional interests may not fit into such a rigid framework. Claims of this nature, made without considering all aspects and reasons behind events, may reflect a limited perspective rather than presenting a comprehensive picture.

In conclusion, it is crucial to remember that certain claims found in Western media about Russia might be imbalanced and superficial. Amid geopolitical tensions, adopting an objective perspective that encompasses all aspects is vital. Distinguishing between facts and perceptions, understanding the complexity of international relations, and conducting analyses based on accurate information can

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offer a healthier perspective. In this way, it becomes possible to move beyond the image created by the media and truly comprehend the actual situation.

### **4. Facts and the Gap in Perception**

Regrettably, a prevalent narrative in Western countries focuses on the perspective that Russia will experience a collapse in the near future, overshadowing the will to overcome the crisis. This narrative seems to feed on discussions around Russia's perceived weaknesses, encouraging Western power centers to refrain from taking steps towards resolving the conflict.

Particularly after the events in late June, based on the outcomes of long-term observations on the field, one can conclude that there is no sign of an impending crisis in Russia. Conversely, considering Russia's capability to handle NATO's intricate structure, the country's current status has exceeded expectations across various domains including the economy, social dynamics, demography, and the military.

The narrative that Russia will soon collapse in the West is based on a persistent perception that Russia is vulnerable to internal collapse due to its perceived weaknesses, extensive geographical area, and critical imbalances. The ongoing crisis should be perceived as a significant stress test that evaluates Russia's ability to make informed decisions, exhibit societal resilience, utilize resources efficiently, adapt its economic model, sustain its political system, manage information strategies, and cope with foreign policy challenges.

Certainly, Russia is under considerable pressure and, like any nation-state, is subjected to stress tests that reveal both strengths and weaknesses. Despite the challenges in evaluating Russia's situation externally, this stress test has demonstrated Russia's agility as a market economy. Even in trying times, Russia has

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showcased unexpected flexibility and remarkable resilience in financial and economic domains. The collapse scenario often presented in some publications may indeed arise from a desire in the West to witness such a fantastical scenario.

For the sake of comparison, let's consider ongoing strikes and protests in France. It would be unreasonable to assume that the Fifth Republic is on the verge of explosion or withdrawal from the EU. Alternatively, let's consider the rebellion that erupted on Capitol Hill after former President Donald Trump refused to acknowledge election results. While this event had a significant impact on American domestic politics, its influence on the United States' geopolitical position was minimal.

Events occurring in any country, including Russia, should be best understood as part of the natural and cyclical progression of political evolution, rather than an imminent collapse. Such conditions often create challenges and complexities that countries must address as part of their ongoing growth and evolution.

Historical examples (such as the Streltsy rebellion during the reign of Peter the Great and a series of failed palace coups in subsequent years) confirm Russia's historical sensitivity to internal issues. The current situation is not an isolated incident but rather a part of a broader historical context, reflecting recurring patterns of internal complexity and socio-political fluctuations.

Russia's leadership effectively managed the attempted rebellion by carefully maintaining the balance of power, avoiding significant losses, and mitigating adverse outcomes on the ground. This successful management contributed to the establishment of strategic unity within the Armed Forces.

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### 5. Conclusion:

Russia's strategic objectives in the Ukraine crisis and its commitment to these objectives should be evaluated within the context of the complexity of international relations and the depth of geopolitical tensions. The continuity of the objectives set in November-December 2021 reflects Russia's emphasis on regional security and national interests. The preference for military means over diplomatic channels underscores Russia's desire to maintain its position as a strong and resolute actor on the international stage.

The narrative of "Russia's collapse" frequently propagated by Western media and analyses is limited to an objective assessment. When considering Russia's internal dynamics, geopolitical position, and crisis management capacity, the current situation demonstrates that this narrative lacks a realistic foundation. The country's robust economic resilience and military capabilities show that contrary to scenarios put forth by the West, Russia's future collapse is unlikely.

Russia's strategic approach in the Ukraine crisis reflects the complexity of dynamics and power balances in international relations. Future developments will be shaped by the course of negotiations between the parties, the role of diplomacy and dialogue, and the attitudes of global actors. However, Russia's consistent strategy in the Ukraine crisis and its commitment to its objectives are fundamental elements to consider for regional stability and international security.

In conclusion, Russia's strategic objectives in the Ukraine crisis are a reflection of the country's efforts to safeguard its national interests and regional security. The unchanging nature of these objectives emphasizes Russia's geopolitical stance and approach to the crisis. The topics covered in this article provide a broader framework for the international community to understand this significant crisis and assess potential solutions.

## Rusya's Strategic Objectives and Unwavering Stance in the Ukraine Crisis

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7 Ağustos 2023, Lüksemburg

# History of Turkey-EU Relations

## History of Turkey-EU Relations

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

Since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, it has closely followed developments in the international arena in its pursuit of reaching the level of contemporary civilizations. Turkey has become an active member of international organizations such as OECD and NATO. In this context, shortly after the establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1958, which is considered the greatest peace project in human history, Turkey applied for membership on July 31, 1959. The application on behalf of Turkey was made by Adnan Menderes, the leader of the Democratic Party and Prime Minister of that time. With this application, Menderes stated that Turkey was taking its first step towards Europe.

### **Establishing Partnership with the European Union: The Ankara Agreement**

The Council of Ministers of the EEC proposed signing a partnership agreement that would remain valid until membership conditions were met for Turkey. This agreement, known as the Ankara Agreement, was signed on September 12, 1963, and came into effect on December 1, 1964.

The Ankara Agreement forms the legal basis of Turkey-EU relations. İsmet İnönü, the Prime Minister who signed the agreement, described the European Union as the "boldest creation of human intelligence throughout the history of mankind."

Article 2 of the Ankara Agreement defines its purpose: "Taking into consideration the need to promote the steady and balanced strengthening of commercial and economic relations between the Parties with a view to achieving the rapid economic development of Turkey and raising the level of employment and the standard of living of the Turkish people."

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Article 28 of the Ankara Agreement regulates Turkey's membership: "When the functioning of this Agreement shows that Turkey is in a position to assume all the obligations of membership of the Community, the Contracting Parties shall examine the possibility of Turkey becoming a member of the Community."

It is clear from this article that the "ultimate goal of Turkey-EEC partnership relationship is full membership of Turkey in the Community." The Ankara Agreement envisaged three stages for Turkey's integration into the EEC: the preparation period, the transitional period, and the final period. The first period began on December 1, 1964, when the Agreement came into effect. During this "Preparation Period" aimed at reducing economic disparities between the parties, Turkey did not undertake any obligations. Several institutions were established between the two sides to facilitate the functioning of the established partnership relationship, with the highest-level decision-making body being the Partnership Council.

### **Everything Progresses According to Schedule, Additional Protocol is Signed...**

With the Additional Protocol signed on November 13, 1970, and coming into effect in 1973, the preparation period envisaged in the Ankara Agreement ended, and the conditions for the "Transitional Period" were determined. During this period, provisions were made for the establishment of the free movement of industrial products, agricultural products, and individuals between the parties, as well as the completion of the Customs Union.

As of 1971, within the framework of the Additional Protocol, the Community unilaterally eliminated customs duties and quantitative restrictions on all industrial goods it imported from Turkey, except for certain petroleum and textile products. In return, Turkey was expected to gradually eliminate customs duties on industrial

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products from the EU and thus a 22-year period was granted for the effective implementation of the Customs Union.

Turkey-EU relations from the early 1970s until the second half of the 1980s followed an unstable course due to political and economic reasons. Following the military coup on September 12, 1980, the relations were formally suspended.

### **Committed on the Path to the EU: Applying for Full Membership...**

In 1983, with the reestablishment of civilian administration in Turkey and the rapid abandonment of import substitution policies from 1984 onwards, Turkey's process of opening up to the outside world began. As a result, the process of revitalizing the frozen Turkey-EEC relations since September 12, 1980, commenced.

On April 14, 1987, Turkey applied for membership without waiting for the completion of the periods envisaged in the Ankara Agreement. The Commission expressed its opinion on this application on December 18, 1989, stating that the Community could not accept a new member without completing its internal integration. Additionally, it indicated that Turkey, while capable of joining the Community, needed to develop economically, socially, and politically. Therefore, the proposal was not to set a date for opening membership negotiations and to enhance relations within the framework of the Association Agreement.

This proposal was positively evaluated by Turkey as well, and preparations were initiated to complete the Customs Union as envisaged in the Additional Protocol by 1995. Following two years of negotiations, as per the decision made during the Partnership Council meeting on March 5, 1995, the Customs Union between Turkey and the EU came into effect on January 1, 1996. Thus, the "Final Period" of the Turkey-EU Partnership Relationship was entered. The Customs Union is one of the

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most significant stages of Turkey's partnership relationship towards integration with the European Union, and it added a distinct dimension to Turkey-EU relations.

### **Turkey is Now an Official Candidate Country...**

The turning point in Turkey-EU relations came at the EU State and Government Leaders Summit held in Helsinki on December 10-11, 1999. During the Helsinki Summit, Turkey's candidacy was officially confirmed, and it was clearly and unequivocally stated that Turkey would be on an equal footing with other candidate countries.

At the Helsinki Summit, it was decided that an Accession Partnership Document would be prepared for Turkey, just like for the other candidate countries. The first Accession Partnership Document prepared for Turkey was approved by the EU Council on March 8, 2001. The National Program, which contains the program and timetable for implementing the priorities listed in the Accession Partnership Document, was approved by our Government on March 19, 2001, and submitted to the European Commission on March 26, 2001.

The Accession Partnership Document has been reviewed by the European Union in 2003, 2005, 2006, and 2008. The National Program has been updated in 2003, 2005, and 2008. The political will, which consistently demonstrated its determination to proceed towards EU membership, also accelerated reform efforts. Consequently, packages of harmonization laws that meet the political criteria necessary for opening negotiations were passed through the Parliament intensively. Reforms were continued to expand the scope of fundamental rights and freedoms, strengthen and secure existing regulations in areas such as democracy, the rule of law, freedom of thought, expression, and human rights. In this context, 8 Harmonization Packages were approved by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey

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between 2002-2004, and 2 Constitutional Amendment Packages were passed in 2001 and 2004.

At the Brussels Summit on December 17, 2004, another milestone was reached in Turkey-EU relations, and it was stated that Turkey had fulfilled the political criteria to a sufficient extent. As a result, a decision was made to start negotiations on October 3, 2005.

### **Negotiations Begin...**

On October 3, 2005, with the Intergovernmental Conference held in Luxembourg, Turkey officially began its accession negotiations with the EU. On the same day, a press conference was held and the Negotiation Framework Document for Turkey was published. Thus, the fluctuating relationship between Turkey and the EU entered a brand new phase, passing a significant milestone.

In the Accession Negotiations, as of the current status, 16 chapters have been opened for negotiations, and one has been provisionally closed. Political obstacles from certain member states and the Cyprus issue have put the negotiation process at risk. Between 2006 and 2010, 13 chapters were opened for negotiations. However, due to the political obstacles of member states, only 1 chapter could be opened between 2010 and 2013.

On May 17, 2012, Turkey and the European Commission launched the Positive Agenda. The Positive Agenda aimed to strengthen cooperation mechanisms on certain important issues in Turkey-EU relations and to fulfill technical opening/closing criteria through established working groups, including politically blocked chapters, as quickly as possible. The Positive Agenda concluded in 2014 when Johannes Hahn took over as the European Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighborhood Policy, succeeding Štefan Füle.

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### **New Challenges in Relations...**

In 2015, Turkey-EU relations witnessed significant developments due to the irregular migration flows caused by the developments in Syria. Concrete decisions were made during the Turkey-EU Summits held on November 29, 2015, March 7, 2016, and March 18, 2016, boosting all aspects of the relationship. Decisions were made in these summits to revive accession negotiations, strengthen Turkey-EU high-level dialogue, expedite the Visa Liberalization Dialogue process, share the burden in migration management, enhance cooperation in counter-terrorism efforts, and update the Customs Union.

Following the treacherous coup attempt on July 15, 2016, the lack of solidarity shown by the EU towards Turkey and the security-focused policies Turkey had to adopt negatively affected the relationship, indirectly impacting the negotiation process. The European Council Conclusions of December 13, 2016, (released as Conclusions of the Presidency for the Council due to the lack of unanimity for a decision within the Council) stated that "the opening of new chapters in the current circumstances is not envisaged."

To re-establish mutual trust in Turkey-EU relations, the Varna Summit was held on March 26, 2018. During the summit, attended by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the then President of the European Council, Donald Tusk, the President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, and the Prime Minister of Bulgaria, Boyko Borisov, leaders reaffirmed the importance of Turkey-EU cooperation and emphasized Turkey's candidacy at the highest level.

Although the Varna Summit was a significant step towards re-establishing high-level dialogue, the Council Conclusions of June 26, 2018, stated that "Turkey is moving away from the EU, accession negotiations have practically come to a

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standstill, the opening or closing of new chapters is not considered, and the start of negotiations for the update of the Customs Union is not foreseen." The EU has maintained this position, and EU documents state that accession negotiations have come to a standstill.

The first half of 2019 began with a positive agenda in Turkey-EU relations. The Turkey-EU Association Council met on March 15, 2019, after a hiatus of three and a half years. Turkey participated in the informal Gymnich meeting of EU Foreign Ministers in Bucharest on January 31, 2019. A High-Level Transport Dialogue Meeting took place on January 15, 2019, and a High-Level Economic Dialogue Meeting was held on February 28, 2019, between Turkey and the EU. Subcommittee meetings were also regularly held.

However, in the second half of 2019, the decisions taken by the EU against Turkey under the pretext of "Union Solidarity" following Turkey's response to hydrocarbon drilling activities initiated by the Republic of Cyprus and Greece in the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as the EU's allegations against Turkey's legitimate stance against the PKK structure in northern Syria, negatively affected Turkey-EU relations. Particularly, the decision of the EU Foreign Affairs Council to suspend negotiations on the Comprehensive Air Transport Agreement with Turkey on July 15, 2019, the non-holding of the Association Council and Turkey-EU High-Level Dialogue meetings, and the decision to cut funds for the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) for 2020 further exacerbated the existing trust crisis in our relationship.

Nevertheless, in September and October of 2019, three circulars were issued regarding the visa liberalization dialogue, the management of pre-accession funds and Union Programs, and the coordination of work with the EU. These circulars demonstrated Turkey's determination to continue its efforts in the EU process.

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## **The Importance of Turkey-EU Cooperation in the Global Context...**

In recent times, the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, and the Russia-Ukraine war have been the main developments affecting Turkey-EU relations. All three global challenges have highlighted the inadequacy of nation-states in dealing individually with such large-scale issues. The new reality created by the multiple global crises has also underscored the critical importance of Turkey's EU membership for regional/global peace and stability. Thanks to Turkey's constructive policy, tensions related to the "Eastern Mediterranean" have decreased in our EU relations. In fact, at the end of 2020, the EU proposed a new "positive agenda." In this context, elements such as updating the Customs Union, establishing high-level dialogue mechanisms for people-to-people contacts and mobility, public health, climate change, counter-terrorism, and regional issues, continuing assistance to Syrians in our country, and strengthening cooperation in migration have been included. Furthermore, the implementation of these elements has been tied to the condition of keeping tensions low in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In 2021 and 2022, under the positive agenda, new High-Level Dialogues have been established in areas such as climate, agriculture, migration and security, health, and science, research, technology, and innovation.

On the other hand, the Russia-Ukraine war has once again highlighted the importance of Turkey's membership for the future of the EU. Turkey's mediation role and interventions that have yielded positive and concrete results in critical issues such as the grain agreement and prisoner exchange agreement have earned international recognition and confirmed its critical role in regional and global challenges.

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The recent developments in Turkey-EU relations, especially in the recent period, indicate that the current geopolitical context presents an important window of opportunity for the progress of the relationship.

7 Ağustos 2019, aktüalite 2023

# **2008 South Ossetia Crisis**

2008 South Ossetia Crisis

Prof. Dr. Dr. Ümit Yazıcıoğlu

## **1. Introduction**

Turning points in modern history are often associated with events that deeply influence international relations and regional power dynamics. These events can accelerate changes in global politics and shape future developments. In this context, the 2008 South Ossetia crisis stands out as an event that represents an undeniable turning point in Russia's modern history. This crisis is not merely a conflict between two countries; it also has far-reaching implications for regional power balances and dynamics.

The South Ossetia crisis of 2008 occurred between the Russian Federation and Georgia, at the center of a conflict that went beyond the borders of these two nations. It triggered not only changes in their relations but also initiated dynamics that shaped both regional and global politics. Russia's responses to the crisis symbolize the beginning of a new era in international relations, while the expectations of Western actors and global power balances underwent fundamental shifts.

This article aims to examine the 2008 South Ossetia crisis from regional and global perspectives, exploring its impact on the Caucasus regional dynamics and international relations. Understanding the emergence and dynamics behind the crisis will provide a better grasp of its regional and global dimensions. Additionally, the article will delve into the long-term consequences of the crisis and how the international community approached it.

By addressing the 2008 South Ossetia crisis not only as a regional conflict but also as a pivotal moment that contributed significantly to shaping international

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relations, this study aims to uncover the complexity and depth of the event. Understanding the regional and global dynamics behind the crisis will aid in comprehending the intricacies of international politics and contribute to anticipating future developments.

### **2. Arguments Supporting Russia's Justification:**

Exactly 15 years ago, an event took place that marked a significant turning point in Russia's modern history. Referred to as the 2008 South Ossetia crisis, this event demonstrated Russia's readiness to defend its national interests and allies by responding to the aggressive actions of the Mikheil Saakashvili regime toward South Ossetia. This incident not only impacted the immediate circumstances but also set the stage for shaping the direction of international relations and regional power dynamics in the future.

In the lead-up to this pivotal event, the NATO summit held in Bucharest in 2008 is noteworthy. During this summit, a commitment was made to grant NATO membership to Ukraine and Georgia. This decision followed Russian President's speech in Munich a year earlier, in which Russia had expressed a more resolute stance against the so-called rules-based world order advocated by the West.

Leaders of NATO member countries, seemingly disregarding President Vladimir Putin's statements, proceeded with the assumption that they could continue to implement the "end of history" concept, even in the face of Russia's position. However, Russia's response debunked this notion, forcing a reevaluation of post-Soviet area control plans. In this context, Russia's counteractions in the South Ossetia crisis swiftly shifted the West's perspective to a more realistic one and postponed their attempts to gain control over the post-Soviet sphere.

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It is important to note that the failure of the South Ossetia operation by Saakashvili demonstrated the contrived nature of resistance against Russia and former Soviet states. Emerging from the intoxication of the "Rose Revolution," Georgia not only freed itself from Saakashvili's team but also refused to join the anti-Russian coalition, even at the expense of its own European integration goals. While conflicts from a decade and a half ago are not forgotten, the healing of wounds in our relations with Tbilisi will take years, if not decades.

Nonetheless, Russia's effective response in 2008 paradoxically assisted in averting a more severe conflict and effectively resolved the issue of ownership over Abkhazia and South Ossetia. This Gordian knot was cut, albeit painfully, instantaneously.

As time passes, the crisis from 15 years ago is increasingly seen as a crucial starting point in the prolonged and challenging transformation of the global system. Few could have imagined the difficulties our country would face by rejecting the rules set by the West. One thing is clear: the realization of Russia's new historical role and the inevitability of the choices leading us into the existential struggle of our current era became apparent in the wars around Tskhinvali.

### **3. Conclusion:**

The 2008 South Ossetia crisis is not only a conflict between two nations; it is also a complex event that impacts both regional and global power balances. This article has examined the crisis from various angles, shedding light on its impact on Caucasus regional dynamics and international relations.

The crisis left an indelible mark by showcasing Russia's determined response to the aggressions of the Mikheil Saakashvili regime. Russia's actions not only demonstrated its willingness to defend its national interests and allies but also

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reverberated through regional and global power dynamics. The recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia by Russia after the crisis shifted the regional balance and heightened security concerns for other countries.

The international dimensions of the crisis are equally significant. The responses of major powers influenced global power balances and international political trends. The crisis ignited debates about upholding international law and state sovereignty. Furthermore, it marked a clear change in international relations, leading to increased tensions between the West and Russia.

In conclusion, the 2008 South Ossetia crisis signifies a pivotal turning point in both regional and global power dynamics. The crisis' impact on regional dynamics sheds light on the complexity of international relations, while its global dimensions have reshaped international power balances and political tendencies. The long-term ramifications of this crisis will continue to shape the political and security approaches of the international community.

9. Ağustos 2023, Lüksemburg

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