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MURCIR BULLETIN

**Marmara University Research Center
for International Relations**

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CONTENTS



Introduction



MURCIR Analiz



MURCIR Papers



MURCIR Debriefs



MURCIR Workshops & Roundtables



MURCIR Panels



MURCIR Wednesday Talks



MURCIR Book Launches



MURCIR Atölye & VILTs



MURCIR Projects



2025 in Photos

Dear Colleagues and Friends,

In 2025, the Marmara University Research Center for International Relations (MURCIR) achieved a remarkable level of academic productivity, dedicating its efforts to understanding the evolving global landscape, Turkish foreign policy, and fostering collaborative international projects.

Our celebrated "Wednesday Talks" series continued to thrive, featuring distinguished scholars who enriched our academic conversations. We also proudly launched our Book Launch series to promote academic sharing and collaboration. Throughout the year, we embarked on a variety of research activities and published several influential works, including the insightful MURCIR Almanak 2024. Notably, we hosted a roundtable discussion to present the MURCIR Almanak 2025, offering a comprehensive annual overview of the latest developments in Turkish foreign policy.

In alignment with our commitment to Turkish diplomacy, we kicked off an exciting panel series titled "Change and Adaptation in Turkish Diplomacy: Traditional, New, and New-New Diplomacy." Events like MURCIR Atölye and MURCIR VILTS were instrumental in disseminating knowledge, inviting participation from students and researchers at all levels. We also introduced MURCIR Debriefs, a publication designed to enhance communication within the academic community and keep everyone informed about international congresses and conferences.

Throughout 2025, we consistently released expert commentaries, each around 1,500 words, as part of our MURCIR Analysis Series. These insightful pieces addressed pressing contemporary issues, including the Russia-Ukraine conflict, the geopolitical ramifications of the Gaza situation on Red Sea trade, and the international dimensions of disaster management. To broaden our academic horizons, we prepared two new book releases and a special issue focused on the Balkans.

To strengthen our international collaborations, we joined the EuroMesco academic network, and we actively pursued international projects and grants, including initiatives under Horizon Europe and COST, such as the exciting "Shared Society" project and the "Roots & Pulse: Youth Co-Creating European Democracy" initiative.

I am absolutely thrilled to report that during my two years as director, we have built an impressive archive of online events on our YouTube channel! We have successfully connected with the entire Turkish academic community and engaged with international partners using innovative digital technology. It is exhilarating to watch MURCIR grow into a leading platform for academic discourse while reaching a broader community of researchers. As we look ahead to 2026, we are genuinely excited to enhance our activities and make an even greater impact!

With kind regards,

Prof. Zuhall Mert Uzuner
Director, MURCIR

MURCIR ANALİZ

Throughout 2025, MURCIR has been dedicated to providing comprehensive insights into international relations. We have published many analyses, each meticulously crafted by experts and scholars, covering a wide range of issues and topics.

Kıbrıs Elen Siyasetinde NATO / NATO in Greek Cypriot Politics

Muhittin Tolga Özsağlam

No:19, 2 January 2025

This MURCIR analysis examines the historical context and current dynamics of NATO-related discussions within Cypriot Greek politics. Historically, the Republic of Cyprus, under President Makarios, adopted a non-aligned stance, fostering an anti-NATO sentiment despite its NATO guarantor states being members. This historical position led to a multi-faceted foreign policy that included strong ties with Russia and Arab nations.

A significant shift towards the West began under President Nikos Anastasiades (2013-2023), resulting in the US lifting its arms embargo on Southern Cyprus. The current Cypriot Greek leader, Nikos Christodoulides, explicitly states that future NATO membership is linked to developing relations with the United States. His administration seeks to achieve Major Non-NATO Ally (MNNA) status to gain U.S. military funding and create a strategic balance against Türkiye's presence on the island. This new orientation also includes a realignment towards Israel in the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly in the military sphere.

Cypriot Greek political parties exhibit varied stances: The Democratic Rally Party (DISY) supports NATO enlargement and future Cypriot membership. In contrast, the largest left-wing party, AKEL, firmly opposes NATO membership, advocating for Cyprus to be a "bridge of peace" rather than a "war base". The Democratic Party (DIKO) considers membership impossible without Türkiye's consent due to the Cyprus Problem. The analysis concludes that the unresolved Cyprus Problem continues to drive these diverse foreign policy pursuits, with the Greek Cypriot leadership seeking U.S. support to strengthen its position.

To access the analysis: Kıbrıs Elen Siyasetinde NATO

Martial Law and Korea's Democracy

Wongeon Kim

No:20, 6 January 2025

On December 3, 2024, South Korean President Yoon Suk Yeol declared a state of emergency and martial law, a decision that sparked widespread fear, confusion, and anger during its six-hour duration. This move was deemed reckless due to its anti-democratic nature and lack of legitimacy, as it occurred without the constitutional conditions of war, armed conflict, or national emergency. Furthermore, Korea's deeply embedded democratic consciousness and high level of technological advancement made such a declaration politically unfeasible.

The President's decision stemmed from both systemic and personal factors. Systemic factors included the severe deterioration of relations with the opposition-controlled legislature, described by President Yoon as "legislative dictatorship" and "paralysis of state affairs". The opposition Democratic Party held a significant majority (171 out of 300 seats), initiated a record 22 impeachment attempts, and made hardline budget cuts. Personal factors included President Yoon's low approval rating, which sharply declined due to perceived excessive interference in party affairs. His background as a non-professional politician, his failure to skillfully address negative issues like the First Lady's scandal or the marine death incident, and his veto of 25 legislative proposals made his claim of martial law as a "last resort" unconvincing.

The aftermath saw President Yoon impeached by the National Assembly just 11 days after the declaration, leading to his suspension and an ongoing investigation for suspected insurrection. The administration has transitioned to an acting president system, and an early election may follow if he is dismissed. Concerns about a security vacuum are rising amid worsening relations between North and South Korea. While Korea's citizens are praised for their democratic resilience, the actions of politicians during this crisis raise questions about their undermining of democratic values.

To access the analysis: [Martial Law and Korea's Democracy](#).

*İç Çatışmalarda Fırsat Senaryosu: Mobilizasyondan Kurucu İdeolojiye
“Cihat” Söylemi / Opportunity Scenario in Internal Conflicts: The
Discourse of “Jihad” from Mobilization to Founding Ideology*

Yusuf Halhallı

No:21, 9 January 2025

This analysis offers a nuanced perspective on the role of the religious factor in internal conflicts, cautioning against oversimplified analyses that solely focus on "jihadist terrorism" or "radical Islam". It emphasises that a comprehensive understanding requires examining religion through its institutional, belief, and identity dimensions within the intricate social, political, economic, and cultural contexts of each conflict. The paper highlights that religion's influence is dynamic, with its significance evolving across different conflict phases—pre-conflict, active struggle, de-escalation, and post-conflict. This evolution can see religion transition from an environmental factor to a central driver, primarily through structural dynamics and mobilisation strategies employed by conflict actors.

A key argument is that the adoption of "jihad" discourse in prolonged armed struggles is a multifaceted phenomenon. This rhetoric serves as a potent tool for mobilising fighters, compensating for a lack of international legitimacy, and consolidating power for various actors, including warlords and "war generations". For instance, in situations marked by economic and political isolation or a desperate need for resources, actors might embrace "jihadist" ideology to access financial or military support from transnational networks. It also provides a framework for leaders to maintain influence, appeal to a need for social order in chaotic environments, and even perpetuate a warrior lifestyle and status for those who thrive in conflict. The paper also notes that Salafi foreign fighters' combat experience can be a valuable military contribution, particularly in guerrilla warfare scenarios, further incentivising the adoption of this discourse.

However, the study also points out a paradox: while religious rhetoric is instrumental for mobilisation, its instrumental use can inadvertently strengthen radical interpretations and promote foreign religious ideologies, such as Salafi/Wahhabi interpretations, within local societies. The paper stresses that "jihadism" should be viewed as a flexible and adaptable ideological argument that conflict actors can adopt or substitute with other ideological frameworks to achieve their diverse, often context-specific objectives within complex internal conflict environments.

Ultimately, understanding the roots of organised violence in these contexts necessitates going beyond individual preferences or purely material motivations, delving into the broader interplay of identity, motivations, narratives, and the shifting power dynamics among leaders and groups.

To access the analysis:

İç Çatışmalarda Fırsat Senaryosu: Mobilizasyondan Kurucu İdeolojiye “Cihat” Söylemi

The Symbolic Significance of the Japan's Crown Prince's Visit to Türkiye in the 100 Years of Turkish-Japanese Relations

A. Can Pırtıcı

No:22, 12 January 2025

This analysis examines the multifaceted relationship between Türkiye and Japan, particularly in light of the 100th anniversary of their diplomatic relations and the recent visit by Japan's Crown Prince Fumihito and Crown Princess Kiko. The origins of their bond trace back symbolically to the 1890 tragic sinking of the Ottoman frigate Ertuğrul, which laid the foundation for mutual respect and goodwill through Japan's compassionate rescue efforts. Formal diplomatic relations were established in 1924, following the founding of the Republic of Türkiye. Over the past century, the partnership has evolved, marked by growing trade, cultural exchanges, and mutual support during crises, such as Japan's aid after the 1999 Marmara earthquakes and Türkiye's evacuation of Japanese citizens during the 1985 Iran-Iraq War. The paper highlights Türkiye's perception of Japan as a "friendly country", an inspiring role model for modernisation and economic success exemplified by Japanese corporations like Toyota, and a leader in advanced earthquake preparedness. Conversely, Japan also holds a "friendly country" image of Türkiye, solidified by notable humanitarian efforts such as the 1985 Tehran rescue and aid during the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake. However, Türkiye's cultural image in Japan remains relatively weak, influenced by a minimal Turkish diaspora, and is further complicated by concerns over certain Kurdish diaspora issues and the perception of Türkiye as "unsafe" due to past terrorism incidents. Looking ahead, the paper proposes several key areas for deeper collaboration: enhancing socio-cultural exchange, boosting tourism through targeted campaigns, jointly addressing misperceptions, deepening economic collaboration by diversifying investments, leading global disaster management efforts through joint research and a twin seismological centre, and establishing a trilateral political forum with South Korea to enhance diplomatic influence. These efforts aim to shape a stronger partnership that benefits both societies and contributes to global stability.

To access the analysis:

The Symbolic Significance of the Japan's Crown Prince's Visit to Türkiye in the 100 Years of Turkish-Japanese Relations

*Res Communis:**A Race to Secure the Future of the Freedom of Navigation at Seas in Crises*

Nobuhide Mert Matsumoto

No:23, 3 February 2025

This paper analyses the historical development, current challenges, and future of Freedom of Navigation (FoN). FoN, a cornerstone of the Liberal International Order since World War II, originated from Hugo Grotius's concept of humanity's shared right (*res communis*) to use the seas. Historically, its maintenance was intertwined with maritime hegemony, requiring both benevolent facilitation and coercive power from dominant states. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), while codifying FoN, also introduced complexities by enhancing coastal state control and establishing Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs). This has led to a more uncertain era for FoN, as its enforcement often depends on coastal states, creating grey areas and enabling hybrid activities.

The report highlights a resurgence of "grey guerre-de-course" tactics, which involve intimidation and disruption without direct naval presence. Recent examples include:

- Russia's long-range strikes and threats against shipping in the Black Sea are aimed at deterring grain exports.
- Houthi and Iranian missile/drone attacks on civilian vessels in the Red Sea and Strait of Hormuz, causing significant rerouting of global shipping.
- China's use of its Maritime Militia, Coast Guard, and integrated military drills to assert control and intimidate in the South China Sea and around Taiwan, including incidents like the damaging of submarine cables.

These subtle yet impactful methods pose significant threats to global trade and security. To safeguard FoN, the report recommends several strategies: addressing legal ambiguities in UNCLOS with binding measures, fostering international consensus against using guerre-de-course, continuing U.S. and allied efforts to uphold maritime order, isolating states employing these tactics, broadening maritime strategy education to include grey activities, and promoting collaboration among international stakeholders to ensure the safety of maritime activities. The underlying principle remains that the seas are a shared heritage and a common right for all humanity.

To access the analysis:**Res Communis: A Race to Secure the Future of the Freedom of Navigation at Seas in Crises**

Bir Güvenlikleştirme Tarzı olarak Popülizm: Halkın İnşası, Liderler ve Demokratik Kurumların Dönüşümü /Populism as a Mode of Securitization: The Construction of the People, Leaders, and the Transformation of Democratic Institutions

Veli Özdemir

No:24, 24 March 2025

This analysis delves into the concept of populist securitization, an evolving form of security construction distinct from the Copenhagen School's original framework. It argues that security is discursively constructed, but in populism, "the people" become the central reference object for security, replacing traditional national security.

Populist securitization is conceptualized as a distinct style of security construction that has emerged from populist discourses, differing significantly from the traditional Copenhagen School approach. While security is still understood as discursively constructed, the central reference object shifts from national security to "the people". Populist leaders assert that they act "for the people," protecting "the people's" identity and culture, thereby transforming the securitizing actors, reference object, and the characteristics of the audience. In this framework, traditional securitizing actors, institutions, and elites are often ironically framed as threats themselves, rather than being the security providers.

This process is characterized by an anti-elitist stance, the emergence of an "outsider" leader figure, an activist mass, and a homogeneous referent object ("the people"). Populist discourse creates a homogenous "people" identity that is perpetually under threat, typically from "corrupt elites" or "dangerous others" such as migrants, minorities, and political opponents. This inherent state of threat compels the people to continuously reassert their identity, leading to a cyclical process where identity and security threats mutually constitute each other. The securitization process is highly emotional, participatory, and flexible, developing around leader-mass interaction. The leader is simultaneously perceived as "one of us" and an "extraordinary savior," while the public actively participates in reproducing and validating threat narratives rather than being passive recipients. This two-way dynamic allows populist leaders to continuously generate new threats, claiming to defend "the people," thereby sustaining the collective identity they construct.

The impacts of populist securitization on democratic institutions and international relations are profound. It not only criticizes but defines national and international democratic institutions, political elites, and bureaucracy as threats that must be eliminated or transformed in line with the "people's" interests.

This process narrows the political space, normalizes crises, and accelerates democratic backsliding and authoritarian tendencies. Domestically, it weakens democratic checks and balances, polarizes central politics, and transforms media and discourse styles. Internationally, populist securitization questions the legitimacy of international organizations like the EU, UN, and WTO, accusing them of undermining national sovereignty and democratic will. This leads to a preference for nation-state-centric, national interest-focused foreign policies over multilateral cooperation, fostering uncertainty, polarization, and a decline in institutional diplomacy in international relations. Ultimately, this can reduce diplomatic predictability, increase global instability, and lead to a risk of isolation, as leaders prioritize bilateral agreements and leader-centric foreign policies. Media channels serve as a "performance stage" for populist leaders to disseminate threat narratives and manipulate public discourse, reinforcing a post-truth political environment. This is a continuous and evolving process where populist actors constantly redefine threats and adapt their discourse.

To access the analysis:

Bir Güvenikleřtirme Tarzı olarak Popölizm: Halkın İnřası, Liderler ve Demokratik Kurumların Dönüřümü

Türkiye-EU Relations After the Russia-Ukraine War: Türkiye's Strategic Role, Policy Divergences, and Identity

Sezgi Erdoğan

No:25, 24 March 2025

This analysis examines how the Russia-Ukraine war has fundamentally reshaped the European Union's strategic priorities and its profound implications for Türkiye-EU relations, highlighting both areas of cooperation and persistent tensions.

The Russia-Ukraine war has fundamentally reshaped the European Union's strategic priorities, leading to a more assertive approach focused on defense cooperation, energy security, and geopolitical resilience. This shift is evidenced by the adoption of the Strategic Compass in March 2022, increased defense spending, joint procurement initiatives, and significant support to Ukraine, including over €82 billion in military aid. Concurrently, the war has accelerated EU enlargement for Eastern European countries like Ukraine and Moldova, granting them candidate status and underscoring a geopolitical imperative to stabilize the EU's eastern neighborhood and counter Russian influence.

However, this transformation has had a different impact on Türkiye-EU relations. While the war has reinforced Türkiye's strategic importance for the EU, particularly in security, migration management, and energy transit, as well as its role as a mediator between Moscow and Kyiv, Türkiye's policy divergences, such as its refusal to impose sanctions on Russia, have deepened existing tensions. Consequently, Türkiye's EU accession process remains stalled, with the bloc increasingly viewing Türkiye as a strategic partner rather than a future member. Persistent concerns over democratic deficits, rule of law, and human rights issues continue to hinder deeper cooperation. Furthermore, the evolving identity discourse within the EU, marked by rising nationalism and right-wing politics, continues to frame Türkiye as a cultural and political 'other,' exacerbating the divide between Ankara and Brussels and leading to a more transactional relationship.

To access the analysis:

Türkiye-EU Relations After the Russia-Ukraine War: Türkiye's Strategic Role, Policy Divergences, and Identity

***Yüksek Düzeyli Ekonomik Diyalogun Getirdikleri: Pesimizm ile Optimizm
Arasında Türkiye-AB İlişkileri / The Outcomes of High-Level Economic
Dialogue: Türkiye-EU Relations Between Pessimism and Optimism***

Efe Can Müderrisoğlu

No:26, 24 March 2025

This analysis examines how the Russia-Ukraine war has fundamentally reshaped the European Union's strategic priorities and its profound implications for Türkiye-EU relations, highlighting both areas of cooperation and persistent tensions.

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To access the analysis:

**Yüksek Düzeyli Ekonomik Diyalogun Getirdikleri: Pesimizm ile Optimizm
Arasında Türkiye-AB İlişkileri**

Türk Dünyasında Yeni Dönem: Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı'nın Değişen Dinamikleri / A New Era in the Turkic World: The Changing Dynamics of the Organization of Turkic States
Doğuş Sönmez & Sezen Kaya Sönmez

No:27, 5 May 2025

This analysis examines the evolving dynamics within the Turkic States Organization (TSO) and the implications of Central Asian countries establishing diplomatic relations with the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus (GCASC).

The analysis highlights that the European Union's growing strategic interest and substantial investments in Central Asia are a primary driver for these diplomatic shifts. The EU aims to deepen cooperation in areas like energy, critical raw materials, and security, and to offer strategic alternatives to balance the influence of China and Russia in the region. The Samarkand Summit (April 2025) and the EU's commitment of €12 billion in investments underscore this strategy, which also seeks to strengthen the Middle Corridor as a strategic trade route. While these diplomatic moves by TSO member states are shaped by EU-centric commercial and strategic concerns, they raise debates within the TSO regarding its unity and the international status of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). TRNC authorities, including President Ersin Tatar, acknowledge these steps but emphasize the need for reciprocal respect and concrete actions towards TRNC's recognition and cooperation from TSO members. Türkiye, maintaining a patient and determined policy on TRNC's recognition, seeks the Turkic world's united support for TRNC, acknowledging external attempts to reduce its influence via TSO.

Regarding Azerbaijan's potential recognition of TRNC, the paper notes increased rhetorical support and high-level visits. However, official recognition is cautiously navigated due to regional balances, international pressures, and especially relations with the European Union. Such a step would be strategic for the future of the TSO and regional diplomatic balances. Overall, the developments underscore a complex interplay of economic interests, geopolitical strategies, and the aspirations for TRNC's recognition within the dynamically evolving Turkic world.

To access the analysis:

Türk Dünyasında Yeni Dönem: Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı'nın Değişen Dinamikleri

*The History Education Southern Cyprus and Regeneration of EOKA with
Revolutionary Freedom Fighters Movement*

Gülşah Savaş Çakmakçı

No:28, 7 July 2025

This analysis asserts that history education in the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus (GCASC) plays a critical role in fostering hostility towards Türkiye, Turks, and Turkish Cypriots, contributing to a cycle of negative feelings and hate speech that is passed down through generations. It highlights how history textbooks, often preferring those sent from Greece, depict Turks with negative adjectives such as "ruthless, rude, violent, bloodthirsty, barbaric, and murderous," presenting them as "arch-enemies of Hellenism" and perpetrators of "indescribable suffering" through massacres and torture. These narratives largely omit the existence of Turkish Cypriots, use "Cypriot" and "Greek" synonymously, and portray events like the 1974 Cyprus Operation as solely Turkish aggression, while ignoring Turkish suffering, oppressions they faced, or periods of inter-communal co-existence. This biased and subjective historical narrative is internalized from a very young age, solidifying an "us/other" dichotomy and deepening inter-communal divisions by alienating Turkish Cypriots and building barriers between the communities. Furthermore, the analysis addresses the emergence of the "Revolutionary Freedom Fighters Movement" (Agonisti Kiepalx) on social media, which, adopting provocative anti-Turkish rhetoric and EOKA-like symbolism (such as fire and axe figures associated with the Mora Rebellion), is causing serious anxiety and unrest among Turkish Cypriots, reminiscent of EOKA's past atrocities and its "Bloody Christmas" massacre. While potentially a product of psychological warfare rather than a deep systematic formation, this movement, alongside rising extreme nationalism and provocative actions on the Greek side (evidenced by the growing influence of the far-right ELAM party), poses significant obstacles to permanent peace and stability on the island, underscoring the necessity to prevent such extreme nationalist formations.

To access the analysis:

**The History Education Southern Cyprus and Regeneration of EOKA with
Revolutionary Freedom Fighters Movement**

Sanctions - the EU's Approach to Russia's War in Ukraine

Ana Patsatsia

No:29, 15 September 2025

This analysis asserts that the EU has provided significant support for Ukraine since Russia's full-scale invasion in February 2022, adopting various measures, including diplomatic initiatives and strategic defence policies such as the Strategic Compass and the European Peace Facility (EPF). Among these responses, sanctions against Russia have been a primary tool aimed at undermining its military capabilities and addressing human rights violations.

The EU's approach to sanctions has evolved since the initial sanctions imposed after Russia annexed Crimea in 2014, becoming more timely and diverse. Current sanctions target specific individuals and entities to minimise impact on the general Russian population, while also encompassing financial measures, trade restrictions, and more. Critics argue about their long-term effectiveness, yet the EU remains focused on weakening Russia's economy and military capacity through these measures.

Despite the challenges posed by European dependency on Russian energy, the EU's strategy aims to enhance its resilience and mitigate the impact of sanctions over time. Overall, the sanctions are designed to disrupt Russia's economy and limit access to advanced technology, even if immediate political goals have not yet been fully realised.

To access the analysis:

Sanctions - the EU's Approach to Russia's War in Ukraine

Savaşın Görünmeyen Cephesi: Rusya-Ukrayna Savaşı Bir Çevresel Felaket mi? / The Unseen Front of War: Is the Russia-Ukraine War an Environmental Catastrophe?

Doğuş Sönmez & Sezen Kaya Sönmez

No:30, 1 December 2025

The analysis, "The Unseen Front of War: Is the Russia-Ukraine War an Environmental Catastrophe?" by Doğuş Sönmez and Sezen Kaya Sönmez discusses the environmental devastation resulting from the Russia-Ukraine War, which began in February 2022. While the war is often analysed through humanitarian, military, and geopolitical lenses, its significant environmental impact—including damage to land, water, air, and biodiversity—requires urgent attention.

The authors emphasise that the destruction caused by munitions, chemical spills, and attacks on infrastructure poses long-term threats to public health, food security, and regional stability. Notable impacts include damage to water resources, such as the destruction of the Kakhovka Dam, which has disrupted drinking water, agriculture, and ecosystem cycles. Soil pollution from unexploded ordnance and heavy metals threatens Ukraine's agricultural viability, jeopardising its status as the "breadbasket of Europe."

Air quality has also deteriorated significantly due to military activities, with pollutants exceeding World Health Organisation limits. This pollution affects not only Ukraine but also the surrounding regions. The destruction of protected areas and biodiversity further exacerbates ecological issues, increasing the risks of erosion and invasive species.

The analysis concludes by highlighting the contradiction between Russia's environmental security discourse and its actions in Ukraine, suggesting that the war not only represents a military crisis but also a profound environmental security challenge.

To access the analysis:

Savaşın Görünmeyen Cephesi: Rusya Ukrayna Savaşı Bir Çevresel Felaket mi?

MURCIR PAPERS

Balkan Studies

Editor: Zuhail Mert Uzuner

Italy Insight:

Time to End the Temporization Season. Conception of the Srebrenica Massacre in Italian Institutions

Valeria Nicolis

No:1 January 2025

Valeria Nicolis's comprehensive paper, meticulously analyzes the perception and impact of the Srebrenica massacre within Italian political institutions. The study specifically focuses on debates at both parliamentary and governmental levels, as well as subsequent commemoration initiatives.

Key Aspects of the Paper:

•**The Srebrenica Massacre Context:** The paper begins by establishing the backdrop of the Bosnian War (1992-1995), attributing the Srebrenica massacre to extreme Serbian nationalism following Tito's death and Slobodan Milošević's rise to power. It details the brutal killing of over 8,000 Bosniak Muslim men and boys by the Bosnian Serb Army of Republika Srpska in July 1995, an event that caused international shock and has been widely referred to as a genocide. The international community, including the United Nations, is highlighted for its "total failure" to protect the designated "safe area" of Srebrenica.

•**Italian Foreign Policy in the 1990s:** Nicolis examines Italy's foreign policy during a period of significant domestic upheaval, marked by the "Tangentopoli" corruption scandal and the end of the First Italian Republic, leading to the establishment of the Second Republic in 1994.

This internal instability, coupled with a shift in NATO's focus after the Soviet Union's demise, resulted in a "contradictory" and often "ineffective" Italian foreign policy towards the Balkans. Despite aspirations for a more assertive role, particularly under Silvio Berlusconi and later Lamberto Dini's governments, Italy remained reluctant to bear the costs of deeper involvement.

•**Institutional Debate Post-Massacre:** The Srebrenica massacre profoundly impacted the Italian political scene, forcing a re-evaluation of its foreign policy. Key points of the institutional debate immediately after the massacre (July 1995) included:

Strong condemnation of Serb troops' actions by Italian politicians across the spectrum.

A perceived need for a more assertive foreign policy, despite praise for Italy's humanitarian aid and logistical support. Prime Minister Lamberto Dini famously declared, "The season of temporization is over. Urgent decisions are needed."

Widespread criticism of international organizations, particularly the United Nations, for their failure to prevent the tragedy.

•**Enduring Impact and Commemoration Efforts:** The paper underscores that the Srebrenica massacre symbolized "failure, shame, and humiliation" for Western actors. Italy has demonstrated a continuous commitment to remembering the event through various initiatives over the years. These include: Parliamentary acts advocating for the protection and respect of victims' memory (e.g., 2007). Ministerial statements welcoming steps towards reconciliation, such as Serbia's condemnation of the massacre (e.g., 2012, 2020).

High-level speeches and visits by Italian officials, including former Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies Marina Sereni (2013), Prime Minister Matteo Renzi (2015), and President of the Chamber of Deputies Laura Boldrini (2015).

Calls for the inclusion of the Srebrenica tragedy in children's education to foster collective memory and understanding (2019).

A recent digital memory project, "Srebrenica 2.0" (launched 2022), financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, aimed at educating about the events leading to the genocide.

Nicolis concludes that Srebrenica exposed the inadequacies of the Italian political system and the ineffectiveness of its foreign policy at the time. Despite Italy's "illness" of frequent governmental changes, it remains steadfast in its commitment to never forget the Srebrenica massacre, advocating for democratic principles and human rights to prevent such tragedies from recurring.

To access the paper:

The History Education Southern Cyprus and Regeneration of EOKA wth Revolutionary Freedom Fighters Movement

FROM BELGRADE BOMBINGS TO SANCTIONS ON PRISTINA
How has French presidents' perspectives on the conflict opposing Serbia
and Kosovo changed since 1999?

Ernest Guermouh

No:2 January 2025

Ernest Guermouh's paper, "From Belgrade Bombings to Sanctions on Pristina," published in the MURCIR Papers' Balkan Studies Series No. 2, meticulously examines the evolution of French foreign policy towards the Serbia-Kosovo conflict since 1999, focusing on the perspectives of three French presidents: Jacques Chirac, Nicolas Sarkozy, and Emmanuel Macron. The research aims to understand how and why France's positions on this critical issue have evolved, given its significant impact on European continental stability. The study adopts a constructivist approach, emphasizing the respective modes of thought, affect, and worldview of these presidents, due to the paramount importance of the President's role in shaping French foreign policy.

Key Findings on Presidential Approaches:

•**Jacques Chirac (1995-2007) and the Allied Forces Operation:** While Chirac officially adhered to the "gaullo-mitterandism" doctrine emphasizing France's independence from the United States and the primacy of nation-states, his policy towards Kosovo marked a transition. Initially, France, under Chirac and his Foreign Minister Hubert Védrine, sought a peaceful settlement and UN approval for intervention, trying to temper American ardor. However, after the failure of Rambouillet negotiations, France participated in NATO's Operation Allied Forces in 1999, engaging in massive bombings against Serbia without UN backing, which was a significant departure from previous principles. This participation was also influenced by a desire to prevent German hegemony in the Balkans, seeing Serbia as a pole to be stabilized. Despite his commitment to an independent foreign policy, Chirac's actions largely followed U.S. views in practice, influenced by American hegemony in the unipolar world of the 1990s. This involvement was perceived by "Orthodox" Gaullists as a betrayal.

•**Nicolas Sarkozy (2007-2012) and the Recognition of Independence:** Sarkozy's presidency marked a clear and very Atlantist shift in French foreign policy, moving away from gaullo-mitterandism. He fully reintegrated France into NATO structures and notably recognized Kosovo's independence on February 18, 2008, following the lead of the United States and the United Kingdom.

This decision aimed to clearly re-integrate France into the "Western family" and was seen as a way to atone for Chirac's refusal to participate in the second Iraq war. Despite his pro-American rhetoric, Sarkozy did show nuances, opposing Washington on issues like Turkey's EU application and Ukraine/Georgia's NATO bids. He also sought appeasement with Serbia, signing a strategic partnership and ardently supporting Serbia's EU bid.

•**Emmanuel Macron (2017-2027) and the Handling of 2020s Tensions:** Macron's foreign policy is characterized by his "at the same time" diplomacy, claiming a gaullio-mitterrandian heritage while often continuing Sarkozy's policies in practice. While he criticizes NATO rhetorically and defends a European defense, his position is largely rhetorical, especially after the war in Ukraine, where he returned to the rhetoric of the "Western family". Macron's approach towards Kosovo is a continuity of this nuanced policy. He has made the Balkans a priority, and relations between Serbia and Kosovo entered a new crisis period under his mandate, including events like Kosovo forbidding Serbian license plates and a Serbian commando attack. Macron has not gone back on Kosovo's independence but criticizes its president, Albin Kurti, for not allowing enough autonomy to the Serbian minority, leading to EU economic sanctions on Kosovo. He also reproaches Serbian President Vučić for his reaction to the September attack and refusal to officially recognize Kosovo.

Comparatively, Macron's position tends to favor Serbia, offering reassurances and making high-level visits (including a visit in 2019 and again in 2024, during which Serbia ordered Dassault fighter jets) while never visiting Kosovo himself. The clear aim is to turn Serbia away from Russia, offering EU membership as a "carrot" and threatening visa cuts as a "stick". Macron's policy also aims to impose France's views on foreign policy within the EU and prevent other powers, like Germany, from gaining exclusive influence in the region.

The paper concludes that while there are significant differences in the foreign policy orientations of each president regarding the Serbia-Kosovo conflict, elements of continuity persist. Serbia has consistently been viewed as an element of regional stability whose power should be maintained, and Kosovo's national ambitions have generally been supported, albeit to varying degrees. The alliance with the United States has also remained a relatively stable variable. Ultimately, France's involvement in the Balkans has consistently aimed at containing rival countries, but the specific reference group has shifted—from German hegemony under Chirac, to strengthening the Western presence against Russia under Sarkozy, and finally to opposing Moscow's influence within the framework of the European Union under Macron.

To access the paper:

From Belgrade Bombings to Sanctions on Pristina: How has French presidents' perspectives on the conflict opposing Serbia and Kosovo changed since 1999?

MURCIR DEBRIEFS

MURCIR Debriefs aims to share observations and suggestions about current conferences, meetings and events in international relations with the academic community of international relations. Important debriefs have been written during the 2025.

The 66th ISA Conference - Chicago

Gonca Oğuz Gök

No:1, 10 March 2025

Gonca Oğuz Gök's reflections from the 66th International Studies Association (ISA) Conference in Chicago, USA, offer a comprehensive overview of a prominent academic event that brought together global experts in international relations. The conference provided a platform for a wide range of theoretical and methodological approaches and new research across diverse panels, including Environment, Security, Gender, International Organizations, International Political Economy, Global Governance, Norms, International Law, and Global International Relations.

Key discussion points and themes highlighted by Gonca Oğuz Gök include:

•**Formal and Informal Organizations:** Panels delved into the dynamics of informality and how formal organizations, such as the EU, interact with informal ones. Discussions also explored how both formal and informal organizations are expanding not only in membership but also in their missions within global governance, while global governance itself is paradoxically "shrinking". New measurement criteria, like the institutional power composite index, are being developed to assess states' "power" in various international organizations.

•**Gender Norms and Equality:** The conference featured studies measuring the role of non-state actors in diffusing gender norms and how these norms are embedded in various regional organizations and agreements. Discussions also touched upon the inclusion of gender equality and structural transformation commitments in the African Free Trade Area Agreement, noting the invisibility of women's crucial role in the informal sector, which accounts for 70% of intra-African trade.

•**Conceptual and Methodological Advancements:** The importance of terminology was emphasized, particularly how the concept of women's "empowerment" can have unintended effects if not contextually evaluated. The significance of mixed methods, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches, was highlighted. Furthermore, novel data collection methods, such as those based on art performance and dance, were presented.

•**New Global Governance:** "Mind-opening" discussions explored how global governance is simultaneously expanding and shrinking. The concept of "multi-stakeholder governance" emerged as central, emphasizing the roles of flexible structures and interactions among diverse actors in the new global order. A seminal discussion pointed to a fundamental shift where New Global Governance no longer aims at interest maximization but rather risk minimization, indicating a significant departure from the 1990s. It was observed that approaches based on risks and risk calculations can reduce solidarity among societies and actors, similar to bureaucratic institutions.

The conference provided an invaluable opportunity to engage with a vast array of academic studies and scholars, fostering both conceptual and methodological discussions.

The 66th ISA Conference - Chicago

Gül Mescioğlu Gür

No:2, 10 March 2025

Gül Mescioğlu Gür's attendance at the International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Convention in Chicago was characterized as both intellectually enriching and emotionally complex. This complexity stemmed from significant political shifts in the U.S., including the suspension of foreign aid programs, the dissolution of USAID, and the disappointing closure of the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP), which added an "overwhelming emotional weight" to the convention.

Despite the challenging political backdrop, Gül Mescioğlu Gür's professional engagements at the conference were highly rewarding:

•**Peace Section Reception:** While a highlight for reconnecting with colleagues and celebrating new work, conversations at this event were "colored by a shared sense of frustration and concern" regarding declining institutional support for international development and peace research. The immediate impact was evident as many colleagues, particularly those involved in U.S.-funded projects, were unable to attend due to travel funding freezes.

•**Panel Chairing:** Gül Mescioğlu Gür chaired the panel "Perspectives on Victims in Processes of Reconciliation and Transitional Justice," which offered rich and critical analyses of victimhood, justice, and memory in post-conflict settings. The vibrant discussion underscored the importance of centering marginalized voices in transitional justice frameworks.

•**Paper Presentations:** Two significant papers were presented: The first, co-authored with Dr. Fadil Ersozer, was titled "Timing Negotiations in the Cyprus Conflict: Ripeness, Readiness, and Rottenness Theories". This paper revisited classical theories of negotiation timing, critically assessing their applicability to the unique dynamics of the Cyprus conflict. The second paper, co-authored with Dr. Alexander Cromwell, was "Peace Education: A Complementary Peacebuilding Tool or a Placebo?". This work interrogated the assumed effectiveness of peace education initiatives, and both projects received thoughtful feedback that will inform future revisions.

Beyond the formal sessions, the sense of academic community was highlighted as the most valuable aspect of ISA. The convention reaffirmed the scholarly community's crucial role as a platform for critical dialogue, intellectual resilience, and mutual support, especially when peacebuilding efforts face threats. Gül Mescioğlu Gür emphasized that peace scholarship is deeply influenced by global political will, and that in moments of institutional collapse or governmental retreat, it is the collective networks, conversations, and collaborations that sustain the field. Attendees left with a renewed sense of responsibility to advocate for the values of their field.

MURCIR WORKSHOPS

MURCIR Workshops bring together professors who are experts in fields such as international relations and foreign policy. Academics identify current issues in these fields and propose new ideas and solutions.

“The Agenda for International Relations in the Next Decade” was prepared as a tribute to Prof. Şule Kut and was carried out with the aim of supporting and developing our joint work. In addition to Prof. Şule Kut, Prof. Günay Göksu Özdoğan, Prof. Mensur Akgün, Prof. Nurşin Ateşoğlu Güney, Prof. Zuhale Mert Uzuner, Prof. Vişne Korkmaz, Prof. Emre Erşen, Prof. Çağla Gül Yesevi, Prof. İdil Tuncer Kılavuz, Assoc. Prof. Çiğdem Nas, Assoc. Prof. Funda Karadeniz, Dr. Rana İzci, Dr. Şükrü Yazgan, and Dr. İbrahim Mazlum.

MURCIR

Çalıştay

Prof. Dr. Şule Kut’a Armağan Kitap

ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLERİN GELECEK ON YILDA AJANDASI AGENDA OF IR IN THE NEXT DECADE

29-30 Nisan 2025

13:00-16:00



MURCIR WORKSHOPS

Our workshop titled *“Politics from Yesterday to Tomorrow: Political Processes and Turning Points in Turkey and the World”* was held on May 16, 2025, at the Faculty of Political Sciences building of Marmara University. The workshop was attended by Prof. İdil Tuncer, Dr. İbrahim Mazlum, Dr. Neslişah Başaran, Assoc. Prof. Sevinç Alkan Özcan, Dr. Leysen Şahin, Prof. Suna Gülfer İhlamur Öner, Assoc. Prof. Sezgi Durgun, our center director Prof. Zuhall Mert Uzuner, and our esteemed professor Prof. Günay Göksu Özdoğan.



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MURCIR

Çalıştay

Günay Göksu Özdoğan Hocamıza İthafen

Dünden Yarına Siyaset: Türkiye’de ve Dünyada Politik Süreçler ve Kırılma Noktaları

🕒 10:00-13:00

📅 16 Mayıs 2025

📍 Marmara Üniversitesi
Salon:315, SBF
Toplantı Salonu



murcir4548



murcir.marmara.edu.tr

murcir_



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In addition to discussing Turkey's domestic politics and current issues, many issues related to world politics were also discussed at the workshop. At the same time, the turning points that caused these problems were analyzed.

MURCIR ROUNDTABLE

GLOBAL POLITICAL TRENDS CENTER
GPoT
İSTANBUL KÜLTÜR ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Global Academy

MURCIR
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
GLOBAL ACADEMY TRENDS FOR RESEARCH CENTER FOR
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH CENTER FOR

Yuvarlak Masa Toplantısı
“Almanak 2025: Türk Dış Politikası”

Mensur Akgün
GPoT Direktörü

Zuhale Mert Uzuner
MURCIR Direktörü

Mustafa Aydın
Global Academy Koordinatörü

Zeynep Alemdar
EDAM

Serhat Güvenç
Kadir Has Üniversitesi

Hazal Papuççular
Fenerbahçe Üniversitesi

19 Aralık 2025
 14.00 GMT+3

Kapalı Toplantıdır.
Toplantı çıktılarını websitemizden okuyabilirsiniz.

Marmara Üniversitesi
KAYKAY Akademiye Merkezi

The second Almanak meeting, *“Almanak 2025: Türk Dış Politikası,”* was organised with the contributions of GPoT and Global Academy on 19th of December, 2025, at Kadir Has University. This year’s contributors were Prof. Mensur Akgün, Prof. Mustafa Aydın, Prof. Zuhale Mert Uzuner, Prof. Zeynep Alemdar, Prof. Serhat Güvenç and Assoc. Prof. Hazal Papuççular. Outputs will be published on our research centre's website.

MURCIR PANELS

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PANEL



Türk Diplomasisinde Değişim ve Adaptasyon Panel Serisi:
Geleneksel Diplomasi

Büyükelçi (E.) Engin Soysal

Dr. Gül Tokay
Richmond American University

Dr. Önder Bayır
Marmara Üniversitesi

 26 Kasım, 2025

 14.00

 Marmara Üniversitesi, Siyasal
Bilgiler Fakültesi Konferans
Salonu

 <https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>

 <https://x.com/MURCIR>

 https://instagram.com/murcir_

 <https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

MURCIR organised the first panel of a panel series titled "Change and Adaptation in Turkish Diplomacy" on 26th of November 2025 in Marmara University, Faculty of Political Science. This panel series aims to examine the transformation in Türkiye's understanding of diplomacy from a multi-dimensional perspective. In this context, it seeks to investigate the process extending from traditional diplomatic methods to new diplomatic practices and new-new diplomacy approaches that have emerged under the influence of technological, cultural, and social changes. In this frame, the first panel featured Dr Gül Tokay, Dr. Önder Bayır, and Ambassador (R.) Rauf Engin Soysal.

WEDNESDAY TALKS

As MURCIR, we held many “Wednesday Talks” throughout 2025 and hosted prominent researchers and experts from Türkiye and abroad.

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Çarşamba Toplantıları

“Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Yapay Zeka Çağında Bilgiye Ulaşmak”

Sinan Ülgen
EDAM Direktörü

6 Şubat, 2025
20.00 GMT+3 (Çevrimiçi)

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

MURCIR

To access the video:

Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Yapay Zeka Çağında Bilgiye Ulaşmak

EDAM Director **Sinan Ülgen** gave a speech on how access to information in the age of artificial intelligence affects international relations. In his speech, Ülgen discussed how artificial intelligence tools are transforming the process of accessing academic information in a digitalizing world. Participants discussed the new dynamics emerging in the ethical, political, and technological dimensions of accessing information.

To access the video:

Not So Innocent: Clerics, Monarchs, and the Ethnoreligious Cleansing of Western Europe

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Wednesday Talks

"Not So Innocent: Clerics, Monarchs, and the Ethnoreligious Cleansing of Western Europe"

Prof. Şener Aktürk
Koç University

19th of February, 2025
14.30 GMT+3
Online

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

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Prof. Şener Aktürk, Faculty Member of the Department of International Relations at Koç University, gave a lecture on how ethnic cleansing movements, particularly in the Middle Ages, were legitimized through the relationship between clergy and monarchies in Western Europe.

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Çarşamba Toplantıları

MURCIR

“8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü’nün Ardından | BM Kadının Statüsü Komisyonu, Pekin+30 ve AB’nin Kadın Hakları Yol Haritası”



Ayşe Yürekli
Avrupa Politikası Kıdemli Danışmanı
KAGİDER AB Temsilcisi

12 Mart, 2025
14.00 GMT+3 (Çevrimiçi)

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>



To access the video:

8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü’nün ardından | BM Kadının Statüsü Komisyonu, Pekin+30 ve AB’nin Kadın Hakları Yol Haritası

KAGİDER EU Representative, Senior Advisor to the European Union **Ayşe Yürekli**, delivered a speech titled “Following International Women's Day on March 8—UN Commission on the Status of Women, Beijing+30, and the EU Roadmap for Women's Rights.” In speech, Yürekli addressed global women's rights agendas such as the UN Commission on the Status of Women, the Beijing+30 reviews, and the EU Women's Rights Roadmap during the period of International Women's Day on March 8. Ayşe Yürekli was sharing her assessment of the current status of these international processes in Türkiye, while the meeting also featured a comprehensive discussion on the role and impact of international mechanisms in the areas of women's rights and gender equality.

To access the video:

İmparatorluktan Günümüze Türk-Fransız İlişkileri

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Çarşamba Toplantıları

MURCIR

“İmparatorluktan Günümüze Türk-Fransız İlişkileri”



Prof. Dr. Faruk Bilici

24 Nisan, 2025
14.00 GMT+3 (Çevrimiçi)

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>



Prof. Dr. Faruk Bilici delivered a speech examining Turkish-French relations from the empire to the present day. Bilici addressed the historical evolution of Turkish-French relations from the Ottoman period to the present day. Bilici conducted an in-depth analysis of the dynamics of diplomatic, cultural, and political interactions between the two countries. Participants had the opportunity to discuss the changing power balances and foreign policy strategies between Türkiye and France in this context.

Wednesday Talks

“Cyber Diplomacy: Origins and Trends”

Assoc. Prof. André Barrinha

University of Bath

7 th of May, 2025

Online

14.00 GMT+3

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

To access the video:

[Cyber Diplomacy:
Origins and Trends](#)

Associate Professor Andre Barrinha from the University of Bath in the United Kingdom gave a talk examining the origins and current developments of cyber diplomacy.

To access the video:

[Track II Diplomacy:
Building Peace Through
Unofficial Channels](#)

Wednesday Talks

“Track II Diplomacy: Building Peace Through Unofficial Channels”

13th of May, 2025

14.00

Online

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

Prof. Ahmet Sözen

Eastern Mediterranean University

Eastern Mediterranean University faculty member **Prof. Ahmet Sözen** gave a talk on informal diplomacy. Sözen explained that diplomatic efforts conducted through unofficial channels and civil society can be effective in establishing communication and trust between parties in conflict. He also highlighted the potential of Track II diplomacy to contribute to peace, particularly in regional issues such as energy and identity-related conflicts in the Eastern Mediterranean.



Wednesday Talks

“Geopolitics of Modern Greece, 1830-today”

Dr. Ioannis E. Kotoulas
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
Speaker

Assoc. Prof. Konstantinos Gogos
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
Discussant

22nd of May, 2025
18.00 GMT+3
Online

To access the video:

Geopolitics of Modern Greece, 1830-today

Dr. Ioannis Kotoulas, a part-time lecturer at the National Kapodistrian University of Athens, gave a lecture titled “Greek Geopolitics from 1821 to the Present.” **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Konstantinos Gogos** from the same university also participated in the lecture. The program examined Greece's geopolitical position and the evolution of its foreign policy from the country's independence to the present day. Dr. Kotoulas provided a comprehensive analysis of Greece's security policies and regional strategies, evaluating the country's relations with the Balkans, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the European Union from a historical perspective. Throughout the program, Greece's adaptation to changing regional dynamics and its role in international relations were examined in depth.

To access the video:

İklim Kanunu



Çarşamba Toplantıları

“İklim Kanunu”

Doç. Dr. Çiğdem Nas
İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı (IKV)
Genel Sekreteri

28 Mayıs 2025
14.00 GMT+3 (Çevrimiçi)

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

Associate Professor at Yıldız Technical University and Secretary General of the Economic Development Foundation, **Dr. Çiğdem Nas**, gave a speech on the Climate Law, which has become an important topic of discussion in Türkiye.



Wednesday Talks
**"The Similarities between Türkiye and China:
 Some Reflections on my First Trip to Türkiye"**

Prof. Wang Yong
 Dean of the School of History and Culture at
 Southwest University and
 Chinese Secretary-General of KELKIP

20th of October, 2025
15.00 GMT+3
Online

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

Prof. Yong evaluated his observations about Türkiye in his speech on 20th of October, 2025. He described similar and different aspects of daily life, culture, geography and economy between China and Türkiye. In the last part of his speech he evaluated potential of cooperation between China and Türkiye.

To access the video:

**Değişen Küresel
 Politikanın 'Sivil
 Güçler'e Etkileri'**




Çarşamba Toplantıları
**Değişen Küresel Politikanın "Sivil Güçler"e Etkileri: Alman Dış
 Politikası ve Güç Kullanımı**

Prof. Dr. Birgül Demirtaş
 Ufuk Üniversitesi

22 Ekim 2025
13.00 GMT+3 (Çevrimiçi)

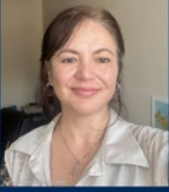
<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

Professor Birgül Demirtaş has been the guest speaker for the session titled "Değişen Küresel Politikaların 'Sivil Güçler'e Etkileri: Alman Dış Politikası ve Güç Kullanımı" (The Effects of Changing Global Politics on 'Civilian Powers': German Foreign Policy and the Use of Force). She provided an academic analysis of how shifting global political dynamics are impacting "Civilian Powers" (Sivil Güçler), specifically German foreign policy. Her talk explored the evolution of Germany's approach to the use of force within the international system, examining how a nation traditionally categorised as a "civilian power" adapts its strategies in response to contemporary global changes.



Wednesday Talks



"Glocal Dynamics in the Era of Deglobalization: Post-Westernisation & Beyond"



Prof. Didem Buhari
Izmir Katip Celebi University

17th of November, 2025
13.00 GMT+3
Online

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

To access the video:

Glocal Dynamics in the Era of Deglobalization

Prof. Buhari spoke at the MURCIR Wednesday Talks on the 17th of November about the changing global politics from a sociological perspective. Her speech titled “Glocal Dynamics in the Era of Deglobalization: Post-Westernisation & Beyond” gave an insight into the contemporary and probable future challenges and opportunities in international conduct.

To access the video:

Kıbrıs'ta Yeni Dönem ve Doğu Akdeniz Jeopolitiği



Çarşamba Toplantıları

"Kıbrıs' ta Yeni Dönem ve Doğu Akdeniz Jeopolitiği"



Doç. Dr. Muhittin Tolga Özsağlam
Lefke Arruppa Üniversitesi

02 Aralık 2025
13.00 GMT + Çevrimiçi

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>




Assoc. Prof. Muhittin Tolga Özsağlam gave a speech on the situation regarding the Cyprus problem and new geopolitical trends. He evaluated the discussions surrounding the latest election results in the TRNC and their probable international repercussions.



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Çarşamba Toplantıları



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“Mega Trendler Işığında Fırsatlar, Zorluklar ve İş Dünyasının Geleceği”

04 Aralık 2025
13.00 GMT + Çevrimiçi

Doç. Dr. Muhterem Şebnem Ensari
University of Lancashire



<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

To access the video:

Mega Trendler Işığında
Fırsatlar, Zorluklar ve İş
Dünyasının Geleceği

Assoc. Prof. Şebnem Ensari delivered a seminar on December 4, 2025, on "Opportunities, Challenges, and the Future of the Business World in the Light of Mega Trends" (Mega Trendler Işığında Fırsatlar, Zorluklar ve İş Dünyasının Geleceği). The talk explored how large-scale, transformative global shifts—such as digitalisation, climate change, and demographic shifts—are reshaping the strategic landscape for businesses and international relations alike.

MURCIR BOOK LAUNCHES

Throughout 2025, MURCIR, together with academics and authors who are experts in their fields, evaluated their book works and offered introductory perspectives on these newly published works from the authors' point of view.

Book Launch
"Kentleşme ve Çevre Tarihi"
 8 Ocak 2025
 13.00 (Çevrimiçi)
 Doç. Dr. Nursen Gürboğa
 Marmara Üniversitesi
 (Tarih Vakfı Genel Sekreteri)

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

To access the video:

Kentleşme ve Çevre Tarihi

Assoc. Prof. Nursen Gürboğa gave a presentation introducing her book *"Urbanization and Environmental History"*, which is part of a series published by the History Foundation Publications to mark the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Türkiye. The scope and objectives of the book were evaluated in the context of new debates in international relations and political science. Prof. S. Gülfer İhlamur-Öner, who contributed to the book, also made important contributions to the discussion with her valuable analyses during the speech.

To access the video:

Ne Seninle Ne Sensiz

Book Launch
"Ne Seninle Ne Sensiz"
 31 Ocak 2025
 13.00 (Çevrimiçi)
 Prof. Dr. Selcen Öner
 Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

Prof. Dr. Selcen Öner presented her book titled *"Ne Seninle Ne Sensiz: Osmanlı'dan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne Avrupa ile İlişkilerin Hikayesi"* (Neither With You Nor Without You: The History of Relations with Europe from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey). The book examines the historical development of relations with Europe from the Ottoman Empire to the present day in terms of identity, culture, and diplomacy. Öner discusses how Türkiye's interaction with Europe has been shaped by "admiration for the West and opposition to the West" and its current political and social implications during the speech.

Book Launch

"Discourses on Türkiye in the European Parliament: Perceptions of Turkish Identity"

26 March, 2025
10.00 (Online)

Dr. Sezgi Erdoğan
International Projects Office of
Istanbul University

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
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To access the video:

[Discourses on Türkiye in The European Parliament: Perceptions of Turkish Identity](#)

Dr. Sezgi Erdoğan presented her book entitled *"Discourses on Türkiye in the European Parliament"*, which was published in English and based on his doctoral thesis. Her work focuses on the analytical examination of debates and policies concerning Türkiye in the European Parliament. She offers viewers an academic perspective on Türkiye's image, diplomacy, and representation processes in the European context.

To access the video:

[İlter Türkmen: Diplomasi Ustalıgından Kanaat Önderliğine](#)

Book Launch

"İlter Türkmen: Diplomasi Ustalıgından Kanaat Önderliğine"

27 Mart, 2025
13.00 (Çevrimiçi)

Prof. Füsün Türkmen
Galatasaray
Üniversitesi Uluslararası
İlişkiler Bölümü (E)

Selim Kunalalp
Büyükelçi (E)

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The book titled *"İlter Türkmen: From Master of Diplomacy to Opinion Leader"*, written by Prof. Dr. Füsün Türkmen and (R.) Ambassador Selim Kunalalp, was presented online. In this Book Launch, Füsün Türkmen and Selim Kunalalp comprehensively examine the career, diplomatic approach, and public influence of İlter Türkmen, one of the leading figures in Turkish diplomacy, in their book. The book discusses Türkmen's diplomatic mastery and his position as a leader of opinion from both academic and personal perspectives. The talk provided listeners with an opportunity to draw important lessons from the history of Turkish diplomacy.



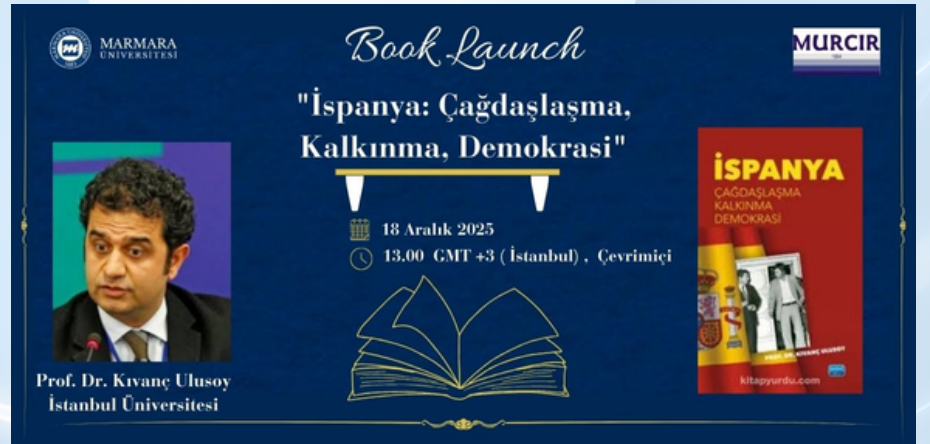
To access the video:

"İcraatlarım ve Yaşadıklarım - Kıbrıslı Türklerin Siyasi ve Ekonomik Mücadelesi"

Onur Borman, the first female minister of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), delivered a talk on her memoir and historical study titled "İcraatlarım ve Yaşadıklarım: Kıbrıslı Türklerin Siyasi ve Ekonomik Mücadelesi" (My Deeds and My Experiences: The Political and Economic Struggle of the Turkish Cypriots) on September 17, 2025. Borman's presentation was not just a personal retrospective but a deep dive into the administrative and economic evolution of the TRNC.

To access the video:

Kıvanç Ulusoy: İspanya: Çağdaşlaşma, Kalkınma, Demokrasi"



Prof. Ulusoy presented his latest book "İspanya: Çağdaşlaşma, Kalkınma, Demokrasi" (Spain: Modernization, Development, Democracy) published by Nobel, in MURCIR Book Launches on 18th of December, 2025. He gave a comprehensive talk on the political and sociological analysis of Spain's transformation in the 20th and 21st centuries and how Spain successfully navigated the transition from a long-standing dictatorship to a stable European democracy through the lens of "Europeanization."

MURCIR ATÖLYE

MURCIR Atölye hosts experts and academics from various fields. These experts and academics conduct an informative program related to their fields throughout the atölye.

The poster is for a MURCIR Atölye workshop titled "Proje Hazırlama ve Yazım Teknikleri" (Project Preparation and Writing Techniques). It features a portrait of Doç. Dr. Muhammet Tahir Kılavuz. The event is scheduled for 21 Nisan, 2025, at 13.00 GMT+3, in the Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Konferans Salonu. The poster includes logos for Marmara University and the Faculty of Social Sciences, along with social media links for YouTube, X, Instagram, and Facebook. A stylized illustration of a building is also present.

MURCIR Atölye
"Proje Hazırlama ve Yazım Teknikleri"
Doç. Dr. Muhammet Tahir Kılavuz
21 Nisan, 2025
13.00 GMT+3
Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Konferans Salonu
<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

MURCIR Atölye are held with the aim of involving young researchers and students in our work, primarily in project writing, and to think and produce together. The first workshop was held with training by **Assoc. Prof. Tahir Kılavuz**. Kılavuz, provides a wealth of information on project preparation techniques and processes through the atölye.



MURCIR Atölye

“Akademik Araştırmalarda Yapay Zeka Kullanımı”

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Ali Dombaycı
Gazi Üniversitesi

29 Mayıs, 2025
13.00 GMT+3
Çevrimiçi

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>
<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

To access the video:

[Akademik Araştırmalarda Yapay Zeka Kullanımı](#)

In the MURCIR Atölye, **Prof. Mehmet Ali Dombaycı** discussed the use of artificial intelligence in academic research. The presentation focused on the conveniences and increased efficiency offered by artificial intelligence technologies in literature reviews, data analysis, and academic writing processes. Additionally, the ethical dimensions of artificial intelligence, its implications for human understanding, and its cultural impacts were discussed, with an emphasis on the importance of academics using these technologies in a conscious and responsible manner. The program concluded with insights into how artificial intelligence could transform research methods in the academic world in the future.



MURCIR Atölye

“More Youth at NATO: career opportunities”

#WEARENATO
NATO OTAN
WE ARE HIRING
INTERNS
Apply by 22 June 2025 11:59 PM CET

18th of June, 2025
15.00 GMT+3
Political Science Faculty - Z01

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<https://x.com/MURCIR>
https://instagram.com/murcir_
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

Emir K. Karadağ – Principal Data Analyst,
Defence Policy and Planning Division
Petra Cirdei – NATO HR, Talent Acquisition

MURCIR's third atölye discussed career opportunities at NATO. The workshop, attended by **Principal Data Analyst Emir K. Karadağ** and **NATO HR, Talent Acquisition Petra Cirdei**, was held face-to-face. Karadağ and Cirdei spoke to young people about career opportunities at NATO and the application process.

MURCIR VILTS

MURCIR VILTS Virtual Instructor-led Trainings aim to promote knowledge sharing with students. In online events, MURCIR hosts experts and academics from various fields, and sometimes NGOs and student organisations are included.

The poster is for a MURCIR-VILTS event. At the top left is the Marmara University logo. In the center, it says 'MURCIR-VILTS'. To the right is the Youth4Energy Türkiye logo and the MURCIR logo. Below these, it reads 'Virtual Instructor-Led Trainings For Students' and '“Enerji Diplomasisi: Doğu Akdeniz”'. In the center, there is a large yellow icon of a graduation cap with a sun-like border. To the left of this icon is a photo of Prof. Zuhall Mert Uzuner, and to the right is a photo of Umut Kurtçu. Below the photos are their names and affiliations. At the bottom center, it says '17 Ekim 2025' and '20:00 (Çevrimiçi)'.

MARMARA
UNİVERSİTESİ

MURCIR-VILTS

Youth4Energy Türkiye
youth4energy.com

MURCIR

Virtual Instructor-Led Trainings For Students

“Enerji Diplomasisi: Doğu Akdeniz”

Prof. Zuhall Mert Uzuner
Marmara University

17 Ekim 2025
20:00 (Çevrimiçi)

Umut Kurtçu
Youth4Energy Türkiye Grup Yürütücüsü

MURCIR organized a VILTS event with Youth4Energy on 17th of October, 2025. Focus of the event was Energy Diplomacy in the Eastern Mediterranean. Speakers were Prof. Zuhall Mert Uzuner from Marmara University and Umut Kurtçu from Youth4Energy.

MURCIR PROJECTS

MURCIR aims to promote field research and publications. Therefore, since 2025, 3 projects have been developed, and two are still undergoing evaluation. You may see brief explanations about our project applications below:

Application Date: 09.2025

Proposal Acronym: Roots & Pulse: Youth Co-Creating European Democracy

Call: HORIZON-RIA

Topic: HORIZON-CL2-2025-DEMOCRACY-10 Proposal

Coordinating Organisation: FAJUP, Braga, Portugal, PT

Application Date: 15.10.2025

Proposal Acronym: Co Share

Title: "Constructing Shared Spaces and Shared Homelands: Europe and the Middle East "

COST Action Proposal OC-2025-1-28837

Coordinating Organisation: University College London

2025 in Photos

As **MURCIR**, we successfully completed the 2024-2025 academic year, hosting numerous academics and experts in their fields. We have fond memories of this productive academic year.









