



MARMARA  
UNIVERSITY



# 2024

# MURCIR BULLETIN

Marmara University Research Center  
for International Relations



MARMARA UNIVERSITY  
RESEARCH CENTER FOR  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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RESEARCH CENTER FOR  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

MURCIR Bulletin is the annual newsletter of Marmara University Research Center for International Relations.

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Dear Colleagues and Friends,

The 2024 annual MURCIR Bulletin provides insights into the activities, academic achievements, and ongoing research projects undertaken by the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Marmara University since December 2023.

MURCIR's activities were put on hold for two and a half years due to the vacancy of the director position until December 1, 2023. Since then, numerous studies have been conducted within MURCIR, and many traditional events have been revitalized and diversified. The physical facilities at the Goztepe Campus were restored over six months, followed by improvements at the Basibuyuk Campus. The MURCIR office is located on the first floor of the Faculty of Political Sciences building, room 135, and the book collection in the MURCIR library has been revised and reorganized.

Academic activities have been reinvigorated, including a roundtable event to commemorate the 30th anniversary of MURCIR's establishment. Previous directors and partners convened to embark on a new era and establish a fresh agenda for research. The intergenerational transfer of experience to develop new projects is seen as a valuable practice for MURCIR.

In this new phase, technology has been utilized to bridge distances, with webinars and online meetings incorporated into MURCIR's agenda alongside in-person activities. Recordings of online events are available for a broader community to access for knowledge sharing through our YouTube channel. Key activities throughout the year included MURCIR Wednesday Talks, MURCIR Papers, MURCIR Analiz, MURCIR Panels, MURCIR Roundtables, MURCIR Book Launches, and MURCIR Debrief. This issue provides brief descriptions of these activities, as well as updates on MURCIR projects and publications.

Lastly, we are pleased to announce the launch of MURCIR's Instagram and LinkedIn accounts, in addition to our Facebook page (<http://facebook.com/mu.murcir>) and X account (<https://x.com/MURCIR>). We hope these new channels will facilitate lively exchanges of information, news, and evaluations between MURCIR and interested parties.

With kind regards,

Prof. Dr. Zuhal Mert Uzuner

Director, MURCIR



## 30th ANNIVERSARY-AGENDA SETTING: “WHAT IS NEXT IN IR?”

MURCIR celebrated its 30th anniversary on January 3, 2024. The event brought together former directors, professors, and students from all generations of the Marmara University Department of Political Science and International Relations (English), which has played a vital role in providing the key human resources for MURCIR.



Esteemed academics discussed potential future projects as the research center marks its 30th year. We extend our gratitude to our distinguished guests for their participation.



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## MURCIR PAPERS

### ”Turkiye and BRICS: Historical and Current Relations”

Gonca OĞUZ GÖK\*

October 2024

This paper, titled "BRICS and Turkiye in Global Governance," analyzes the role of informal organizations, particularly BRICS, within the context of the evolving global order. It highlights the increasing competition among major powers and the quest for multilateral cooperation by rising powers, while also noting the crises faced by existing global governance norms and institutions. The paper emphasizes that traditional global governance mechanisms have limitations and that there is a growing demand for reform. Informal groups such as the G20, G77, and G7 have gained prominence in response to global political and economic shifts, as well as demands for reform and economic crises.

Initially conceptualized by Jim O'Neill in 2001, the BRICS alliance is a key informal organization that aims to restructure global political, economic, and financial systems towards greater equity and representation. Despite lacking legally binding obligations and a permanent secretariat, BRICS conducts numerous meetings annually, focusing on political security, financial economics, and cultural cooperation. While BRICS is favored for policy coordination due to its flexible structure, challenges arise from power imbalances among its members and a lack of shared norms. Although the members emphasize principles such as sovereignty and non-interference, they have differing views on UN reforms.

BRICS has expanded to include Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, and the United Arab Emirates, signaling deeper cooperation in business, women's issues, and academia, with a strong focus on the economy, finance, and energy. However, divergences within BRICS persist, as members interpret principles differently and disagree on matters like UN Security Council reform, human rights, and trade. The influence of China and Russia is also significant, leading to a potential divide between "authoritarian" and "democratic" factions within the group.

The paper also examines Turkiye's relationship with BRICS. Historically, Turkiye's alignment with Western policies has constrained its independent foreign policy options. Nevertheless, Turkiye has pursued alternatives and has strengthened relations with BRICS countries. As a member of MIKTA, Turkiye has expressed interest in joining BRICS. This potential membership could enhance the group's global influence, but Turkiye's existing ties with the EU, NATO, and OECD must also be considered. While joining BRICS could benefit Turkiye's global role, encourage economic diversification, and support its mediation efforts, there are concerns about how BRICS might affect Turkiye's democratic development.

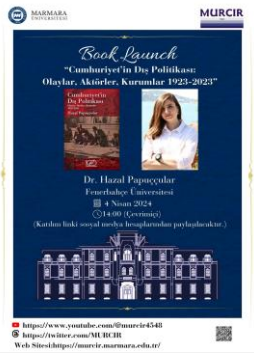
Academic literature on BRICS emphasizes its role in reshaping the global order, its collective identity as a rising power, and its efforts to operate within a rules-based framework. BRICS is also discussed as a form of South-South cooperation that seeks to elevate the role of developing nations in global governance. However, differing visions within BRICS regarding global economic governance and the lack of significant increases in trade among its members are also highlighted.

In conclusion, this paper contends that the liberal international order is currently facing a crisis and that we are witnessing the emergence of a multi-layered world featuring diverse actors and norms. BRICS plays a key role in this transition by providing a platform for non-Western countries to share alternative perspectives. However, the paper also raises the question of whether this shift will result in a more democratic global order or lead to a new form of authoritarianism. The future trajectory of BRICS will have a significant impact on the international order.

To access the paper: [Küresel Yönetişimde BRICS ve Türkiye](#)

## MURCIR Book Launches

Throughout 2024, 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.



### *“Cumhuriyet’in Dış Politikası: Olaylar, Aktörler, Kurumlar 1923-2023”*

April 4, 2024

This monographic study, authored by Dr. Hazal Papuçular, aims to explain Turkish foreign policy using archival materials on the centenary of the Republic of Türkiye. Titled **“The Foreign Policy of the Republic: Events, Actors, Institutions,”** it covers the journey from 1923 to 2023, detailing the progression from theoretical concepts to practical implementation. The key highlights of this journey have been shared with the reader.

Link of the book launch: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WKoZ\\_VbT2Sc&t=29s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WKoZ_VbT2Sc&t=29s)



### *“Kıbrıs İçin Havalandırlar G Günü” and “Çelik Kanatlar Kıbrıs Üzerinde”*

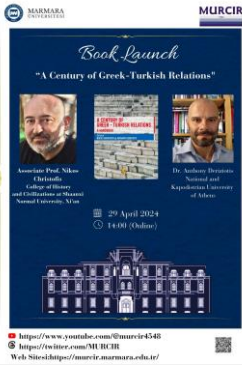
April 4, 2024

Prof. Serhat Güvenç and Levent Başara introduced the first two books of the series, **“They Took Off for Cyprus G Day”** and **“Steel Wings Over Cyprus,”** which are planned to consist of four Turkish books and one English book, and discussed the contribution of the works to the field, especially their field research and oral history documents.

Link of the book launch:

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WKoZ\\_VbT2Sc&t=29s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WKoZ_VbT2Sc&t=29s)





### "A Century of Greek-Turkish Relations"

April 29, 2024

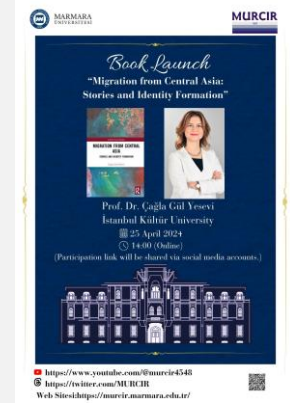
The presentation of 'A Century of Greek-Turkish Relations,' compiled by Assoc. Prof. Nikos Christofis and Dr. Anthony Derisiotis, took place online and made a significant impact. Esteemed researchers, including Prof. Zuhal Mert Uzuner, Prof. Emre İşeri, and Dr. Emre Metin Bilginer, contributed to this important work and effectively shared the key highlights of the study with the audience.

To watching the video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AwkWQrLMcAM&t=2635>

### "Migration from Central Asia: Stories and Identity Formation"

April 25, 2024

Prof. Çağla Gül Yesevi's monograph, "Migration from Central Asia: Stories and Identity Formation," asserts a profound exploration of the subject, grounded in rigorous fieldwork research. The book decisively presents and analyzes key aspects of migrations from the Turkestan region to Anatolia throughout various historical periods.



Link of the book launch:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Edd29bFtu6w>

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### "Reconfiguring EU Peripheries "

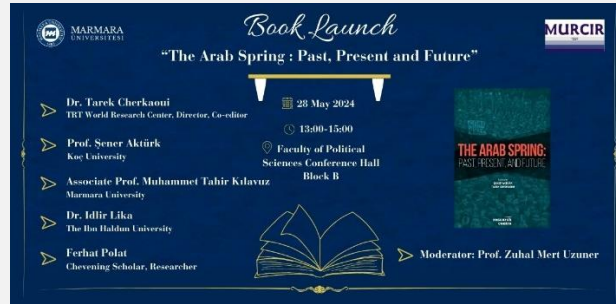
May 2, 2024



Assoc. Prof. Başak Alpan, Dr. Miruna Butnaru, and Assoc. Prof. Ali Onur Özçelik have confidently presented their edited book, \*Reconfiguring EU Peripheries\*. This significant work emerges as a key output of the LEAP ('Linking Europe at the Periphery') project. Published as an open-access book, it is poised to reach a wide

audience and assertively addresses the complexities surrounding the concept of Europe's periphery. This publication not only showcases the research's scope and results but also challenges existing perceptions, establishing itself as an essential resource in the field.

*"Arab Spring: Past, Present, Future"*  
May 28, 2024



Together with the editors of the book, Prof. Şener Aktürk and Dr. Tarık Cherkaoui, a few prominent contributors, Assoc. Prof. M.Tahir Kılavuz, Dr İdlir Lika and Ferhat Polat have presented the book in our Faculty conference hall. "The Arab Spring. Past, Present and Future" has been published by TRT World Research Center and it is an open-access book to reach a wide audience. Book offers a comprehensive exploration of the historical roots, successes, and challenges faced by the Middle East in the aftermath of the Arab Spring.



## WEDNESDAY TALKS

As MURCIR, we held 19 “Wednesday Talks” throughout 2024 and hosted prominent researchers and experts from Türkiye and abroad.

**Çarşamba Toplantıları**  
“Batı’dan Önce”  
BEFORE THE WEST  
Prof. Ayşe Zarakol  
Cambridge University  
17 Ocak 2024  
13:00 (Çevrimiçi)

(Katılım linki sosyal medya hesaplarında paylaşılacaktır.)

<https://twitter.com/MURCIR>  
<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>  
Web Sitesi: <https://murcir.marmara.edu.tr/>

“Batı’dan Önce” (Before the West)  
Prof. Ayşe Zarakol

**Wednesday Talks**  
“The Challenges for the Balkans in Times of Geopolitical Turmoil”  
(In English)  
Radmila Shekerinska  
View President of The Party of European Socialists  
31 January 2024  
14:00 (Online)

(Participation link will be shared from social media accounts.)

<https://twitter.com/MURCIR>  
<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>  
Web Sitesi: <https://murcir.marmara.edu.tr/>

“The Challenges for the Balkans in Times of Geopolitical Turmoil”  
Radmila Shekerinska  
Dezenformasyon Çağında Uluslararası Yayıncılık” (International Broadcasting in the Age of Disinformation)  
Assoc. Prof. Bora Bayraktar

**Çarşamba Toplantıları**  
“500. Yılında Türk Dışişleri”  
(Etkinlik dili Türkçedir.)  
Mehmet Kemal Bozay  
Dışişleri Bakan Yardımcısı  
Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Avrupa Birliği Başkanı  
14 Şubat 2024  
14:00 (Çevrimiçi)

(Katılım linki sosyal medya hesaplarında paylaşılacaktır.)

<https://twitter.com/MURCIR>  
<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>  
Web Sitesi: <https://murcir.marmara.edu.tr/>

“500. Yılında Türk Dışişleri”  
(Fifth Centenary of Turkish Foreign Ministry)  
Mehmet Kemal Bozay

**Çarşamba Toplantıları**  
“Dezenformasyon Çağında Uluslararası Yayıncılık”  
Doç. Dr. Bora Bayraktar  
İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi,  
T.C. İletişim Başkanlığı  
Uluslararası Yayınlar Koordinatörü  
3 Nisan 2024  
14:00 (Çevrimiçi)

(Katılım linki sosyal medya hesaplarından paylaşılacaktır.)

<https://twitter.com/MURCIR>  
<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>  
Web Sitesi: <https://murcir.marmara.edu.tr/>

“Dezenformasyon Çağında Uluslararası Yayıncılık”  
Assoc. Prof. Bora Bayraktar  
“Positive Agenda in Egyptian-Turkish Relations”  
Abdelrahman Salah

**Wednesday Talks**  
“Changing World Order and Transformation of International Organizations”  
(Participation link will be shared via social media accounts.)  
Erdoğan Işcan  
Retired Ambassador  
Member of The UN Committee Against Torture  
13 March  
14:00 (Online)

<https://twitter.com/MURCIR>  
<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>  
Web Sitesi: <https://murcir.marmara.edu.tr/>

“Changing World Order and Transformation of International Organizations”  
Erdoğan Işcan (RA)

**Wednesday Talks**  
“Positive Agenda in Egyptian-Turkish Relations”  
(Participation link will be shared via social media accounts.)  
Abdelrahman Salah  
Former Egyptian Ambassador to Ankara  
20 March  
17:00 (Online)

<https://twitter.com/MURCIR>  
<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>  
Web Sitesi: <https://murcir.marmara.edu.tr/>



**“Müzik ve Siyaset”**  
**(Music and Politics)**  
Prof. Hakan Yılmaz

**MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ** **MURCIR**

**Çarşamba Toplantıları**  
**“Müzik ve Siyaset”**

(Katılım linki sosyal medya hesaplarında paylaşılacaktır.)  
Web Sitesi: <https://murcir.marmara.edu.tr/>

Prof. Hakan Yılmaz  
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi  
(Emeritus)

14 Şubat 2024  
16:30 (Çevrimiçi)



**MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ** **MURCIR**

**Çarşamba Toplantıları**  
**“İran-İsrail Gerilimi ve Bölgesel Yansımaları”**

(Katılım linki sosyal medya hesaplarından paylaşılacaktır.)  
Web Sitesi: <https://murcir.marmara.edu.tr/>

19 Nisan 2024  
11:00 (Çevrimiçi)

Öğr. Gör. Dr. Bilgehan Alagöz  
Marmara Üniversitesi



**“İran-İsrail Gerilimi ve Bölgesel Yansımaları”**  
**(Iran-Israel Tension and Its Regional Repercussions)**  
Dr. Bilgehan Alagöz

**“Middle Powers and Changing International Order”**  
Prof. Senem Aydın Düzgüt

**MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ** **MURCIR**

**Wednesday Talks**  
**“Middle Powers and Changing International Order”**

15 May 2024  
13:00 (Online)

Prof. Senem Aydın Düzgüt  
Sabanci University



**MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ** **MURCIR**

**Wednesday Talks**  
**“Constant Policy of Balancing Act of the Kingdom of Jordan Amid the Gaza War and It's Regional Repercussions”**

15 May 2024  
13:00 (Online)

Prof. Nur Köprülü  
Near East University  
Vice-Dean of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences



**“Constant Policy of Balancing Act of the Kingdom of Jordan Amid the Gaza War”**  
Prof. Nur Köprülü

**“Rusya ve Bölgesel Enerji”**  
**(Russia and Regional Energy)**  
Dr. Adnan Vatansever

**MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ** **MURCIR**

**Çarşamba Toplantıları**  
**“Rusya ve Bölgesel Enerji”**

22 Mayıs 2024  
13:00 (Çevrimiçi)

Dr. Adnan Vatansever  
King's College London




**MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ** **MURCIR**

**Wednesday Talks**  
**“Sociophobia: Political Change in Age of Digital Utopia”**

29 May 2024  
13:00 (Online)

Professor César Rendueles  
Menéndez de Liano  
Complutense University of Madrid



**“Sociophobia: Political Change in Age of Digital Utopia”**  
Prof. Cesar Rendueles

**“Türkiye’de Eğitim ve Teknoloji”**  
(Education and Technology in Turkey)

Prof. Temel Kotil

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ MURCIR

Çarşamba Toplantıları  
“Türkiye’de Eğitim ve Teknoloji”

12 Eylül 2024  
20.00 (Online)

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>  
<https://x.com/MURCIR>  
[https://instagram.com/murcir\\_](https://instagram.com/murcir_)  
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

Prof. Dr. Temel Kotil

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Çarşamba Toplantıları  
“ABD Seçimleri ve Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri”

25 Eylül 2024  
14.00 (Online)

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>  
<https://x.com/MURCIR>  
[https://instagram.com/murcir\\_](https://instagram.com/murcir_)  
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

Gülru Gezer  
(Los Angeles Eski Başkonsolosu)

**“ABD Seçimleri ve Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri”**  
(“US Elections and Turkish-American Relations”)

Gülru Gezer

**“Changing Dynamics of Türkiye-EU Relations”**

Samuel Doveri Vesterbye

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ MURCIR

Wednesday Talks  
“Changing Dynamics of Türkiye-EU Relations”

25th October  
12.30  
Online

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>  
<https://x.com/MURCIR>  
[https://instagram.com/murcir\\_](https://instagram.com/murcir_)  
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

Samuel Doveri Vesterbye  
Managing Director of European  
Neighbourhood Council

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ MURCIR

Wednesday Talks  
“Regional Implications of the Contemporary Serbian-Turkish Cooperation”

November 6th, 2024  
13.00  
Online

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>  
<https://x.com/MURCIR>  
[https://instagram.com/murcir\\_](https://instagram.com/murcir_)  
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

Vuk Vuksanović  
An Associate at LSE IDEAS  
Senior Researcher at the Belgrade  
Centre for Security Policy

**“Regional Implications of the Contemporary  
Serbian-Turkish Cooperation”**

Vuk Vuksanovic

**“Trial of Criminals in Gaza: Warrant of Arrest  
for Netanyahu and Reflections”**

Yücel Acer

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ MURCIR

Wednesday Talks  
“Trial of Criminals in Gaza: Warrant of Arrest for Netanyahu and Reflections”

27th of November, 2024  
15.30 GMT+3  
Online

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>  
<https://x.com/MURCIR>  
[https://instagram.com/murcir\\_](https://instagram.com/murcir_)  
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

Yücel Acer

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ MURCIR

Çarşamba Toplantıları  
“Balkan Geçmişinin ve “Meselelerinin” Türk Milliyetçiliği ve Ulusal Kimlik Algısı Üzerindeki Etkileri”

4 Aralık 2024  
13.00 (Çevrimiçi)

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>  
<https://x.com/MURCIR>  
[https://instagram.com/murcir\\_](https://instagram.com/murcir_)  
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

Tanıl Bora

**“Balkan Geçmişinin ve Meselelerinin Türk  
Milliyetçiliği ve Ulusal Kimlik Algısı Üzerindeki  
Etkileri” (The Effects of the Balkan Past and Issues  
on Turkish Nationalism and the Perception of  
National Identity)**

Tanıl Bora

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ MURCIR

Çarşamba Toplantıları  
“Son Gelişmeler Işığında Suriye ve Ortadoğu”

11 Aralık, 2024  
11.00 GMT+3 (Çevrimiçi)

<https://www.youtube.com/@murcir4548>  
<https://x.com/MURCIR>  
[https://instagram.com/murcir\\_](https://instagram.com/murcir_)  
<https://facebook.com/MURCIR>

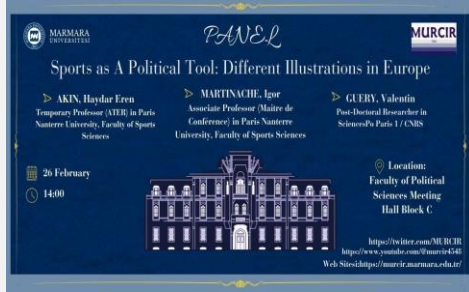
Prof. Dr. Cengiz Tomar  
(IRGICA)

**“Son Gelişmeler Işığında Suriye ve Ortadoğu”**  
(Syria and the Middle East in Light of Recent  
Developments)

Cengiz Tomar



## MURCIR PANELS



### "Sports as A Political Tool: Different Illustrations in Europe "

February 26, 2024

In the first panel of the year, MURCIR confidently hosted three distinguished speakers: Haydar Eren Akin, Igor Martinache, and Valentin Guery. Haydar Eren Akin, a visiting scholar (ATER) at the Faculty of Sports Sciences at Paris Nanterre University, delivered a compelling presentation on "Sport to the Rescue of an Endangered Cultural Identity: The Case of the Turkish Minority in Bulgaria (1923-1934)." Igor Martinache, an accomplished Associate Professor at Paris Nanterre University, boldly tackled the topic "Can We Criticize Olympic Games? Some Reflections on the Case of Paris 2024," raising critical questions about the future of the Games. Valentin Guery, a postdoctoral researcher at Sciences Po Paris 1/CNRS, provided an insightful analysis on "'Training Political Soldiers': Physical Activities as a Tool for Manipulating Youths in the French National Front Party." Each speaker offered valuable perspectives that challenged conventional thinking and sparked meaningful dialogue.

### " European Parliament Elections "

May 31, 2024

The MURCIR Panel series, a platform that brings together experts in the field, recently hosted a significant discussion on the upcoming European Parliament Elections. The panel, featuring Bahadır Kaleağası, Çiğdem Nas, Demir Murat Seyrek, and Ayşe Yürekli, delved into the key leaders and parties participating in the elections, as well as the potential regional impact of these crucial political events.



To watching the video:

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oyfZ4\\_5ZRAg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oyfZ4_5ZRAg)

### "29 Years Later Remembering Srebrenica "

July 1, 2024



Ahead of the anniversary of the Srebrenica Genocide on July 11th, two speakers from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dr. Emir Suljagic and Dr. Enes Turbic, discussed the events in Bosnia from a historical and contemporary perspective in our MURCIR Panel series.



## MURCIR NEWS

### RESEARCH PROJECTS

MURCIR has been a partner institution to the following Horizon 2020 Project.

**Proposal Acronym:** Shared Society

**Call:** HORIZON-CL2-2024-DEMOCRACY-01

**Type of Action:** HORIZON-RIA

**Topic:** HORIZON-CL2-2024-DEMOCRACY-01-04

**Coordinating Organization:** SOFIA UNIVERSITY ST KLIMENT OHRIDSKI (PIC: 999887641, SOFIA, BG)

**Project:** 101178742

**Result:** Rejected

#### Summary

#### CULTIVATING SHARED SOCIETY IN A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

This project brings together researchers and practitioners with long research experience from neighbouring countries in the region, to work together on these challenges, with the hope to support and construct regional integrity through collaboration on these shared concerns. Thus, participating countries are: (a) members of the EU (Bulgaria, Cyprus, Germany, Greece and Portugal); (b) in the process of accession (Albania, Northern Macedonia and Türkiye) whereby an important accession criterion is building institutions to preserve democratic governance and human rights; and (c) a non-EU member, that of Morocco and Israel where, at this moment in time, democratic achievements are in peril. We have in mind the current situation of high political tension in the region and a war as a condition of high level of risk for certain research items of the project. This assumption is reflected in the project design in a way that we are prepared to conduct research activities in a full volume and scope despite the current conditions.

The project proposal is based on the need for deepening the principles of diversity, negotiation of identities, equality, trust, cohesion and, more importantly, participation at all levels of society. This challenge can be understood as a process whereby societies seek to overcome social exclusion, fragmentation and destructive conflict engagement patterns, by enabling all social groups and individuals to participate equally and comprehensively in view of promoting diversity. The research will focus on national data as well as on cross-national dialogue. The latter aims at promoting shared living and the transforming fragmentation on the regional level. Neighboring countries can learn from each other and draw policy recommendations, concerned with changing the conditions of existence in a way that contact-theory-based encounters do not emphasize. Furthermore, policy outcomes will reflect the changes in shaping of the national, regional and local level, so as to create an equal, cohesive society in every sphere of life.<sup>13</sup>

Shared Society is an attempt to develop a new framework for addressing marginalization and exclusion of identity groups in a holistic and multidimensional way so that the society works for

everyone. This emerging concept provides and is an appropriate policy agenda to rationalize the interrelation of for social fluidity and fragmentation, so that if solutions are not applied appropriately, they may “accentuate” cleavages and blurred “red lines” deep divides. This model society might lead to an equilibrium between social actors and institutions “beyond specific sectoral remedies such as good relations programs, social protection, economic investment, fair employment, equal access to opportunity, anti-poverty programs, human security, conflict resolution, education, etc. They are all important, but none are sufficient in themselves and, if done in the wrong way, they can actually reinforce and accentuate the deep divisions that exist. We have to understand how they are interrelated.”<sup>1</sup>

### **MURCIR BOOK PROJECTS**

MURCIR is committed to fostering a sense of community and knowledge sharing. In this spirit, we are preparing gift books dedicated to our esteemed previous term directors and professors. These books, a testament to our collective effort and knowledge, aim to strengthen the synergy of our work. The dedicated book projects, initiated in September 2024 for Prof. Şule Kut under the editorship of Zuhall Mert Uzuner and Prof. Günay Göksu Özdoğan under the editorship of Assoc. Prof. Sezgi Durgun, will be presented in two online workshops.

### **MURCIR has been invited to Balkan Think Tanks Convention IV**

The Fourth Balkan Think Tanks Meeting has been organized by the SETA Foundation, New Strategy Center (Romania) and West University of Timisoara (Romania) with the support of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) on June 6, 2024 in Timisoara, Romania. MURCIR has been represented by Prof. Zuhall Mert Uzuner at the convention.

<https://www.setav.org/en/european-studies/balkan-think-tanks-convention-iv>

## MURCIR Analiz

Throughout 2024, MURCIR has been dedicated to providing comprehensive insights into international relations. We have published 18 analyses, each meticulously crafted by experts and scholars, covering a wide range of issues and topics.

### *“Cumartesi Protestolarından 7 Ekim Sonrasına İsrail’de Siyaset, Aşırı Sağ ve Filistin / Politics, the Far Right and Palestine in Israel from the Saturday Protests to October 7”*

Ferit Belder

Issue 1, January 22, 2024

This analysis examines the political landscape in Israel leading up to the Hamas attacks on October 7, 2023. It notes that the return of Benjamin Netanyahu as Prime Minister resulted in a coalition government that included extreme right-wing elements. This coalition has focused on undermining the judiciary and increasing state control, particularly in areas with a Palestinian population.

The document highlights heightened tensions due to increased visits to the Al-Aqsa Mosque by far-right groups, reminiscent of Ariel Sharon's controversial visit in 2000, which also contributed to conflict. It also discusses the internal political battles in Israel regarding judicial reform and how protests against these reforms were paused following the October 7 attacks. Despite this suspension, the analysis suggests that the far-right in Israel is likely to continue seeking ways to expand its influence.

The analysis also delves into the implications of the October 7 Hamas attacks, pointing out their unexpected nature and scale, which took Israeli intelligence by surprise. It contrasts these attacks with the Yom Kippur War, emphasizing the different dynamics, actors, and strategies involved.

Furthermore, the analysis addresses the geographical shifts in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, stressing that Jerusalem and the West Bank have become central to this struggle. It notes that Hamas has moved its focus into the Palestinian territories, complicating the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The document also observes that the Israeli far-right is intensifying its activities in the West Bank, which may further consolidate its political gains.

The author argues that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict should not be viewed as a straightforward, linear struggle but rather as a complex web of relationships.

Link to the analysis 🖱️: [Cumartesi Protestolarından 7 Ekim Sonrasına İsrail’de Siyaset, Aşırı Sağ ve Filistin](#)



## *“Beklentiler ve Gerçekler Ekseninde Güney Afrika-İsrail Davası / The South Africa-Israel Case in Terms of Expectations and Realities”*

Fatih Dönmez, Onur Uraz, Erdem İlker Mutlu

Issue 2, February 5, 2024

This analysis details the legal case initiated by South Africa against Israel at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on December 29, 2023. South Africa accuses Israel of violating the 1948 Genocide Convention through its actions in the Gaza Strip. Specifically, South Africa argues that Israel has breached the convention's articles regarding the prevention and punishment of genocide, the definition of genocide, and related punishable acts.

South Africa has requested that Israel cease actions that could cause harm or death to Palestinians and take necessary preventative measures. Additionally, they demand that Israel prosecute individuals involved in genocide, collect and preserve evidence of such acts, and uphold its obligations concerning the return of displaced Palestinians.

Furthermore, South Africa has asked for provisional measures from the ICJ, which is authorized to indicate temporary measures to protect the rights of parties before a final decision is reached. These measures include halting military operations in Gaza, taking steps to prevent genocide, avoiding displacement, ensuring access to humanitarian aid, and holding accountable those involved in genocide.

South Africa's claims are supported by references to the cases of Gambia v. Myanmar and Ukraine v. Russia, emphasizing the risk of irreparable harm and the urgency of the situation. The document notes that the ICJ's interim decision on January 26, 2024, recognized Palestinians as a protected group under the Genocide Convention and deemed the requested provisional measures reasonable. The court ordered Israel to implement preventative measures, refrain from committing acts of genocide, prevent incitement to genocide, facilitate humanitarian aid, preserve evidence of genocide, and submit a report on these measures within a month.

The document also highlights that ICJ decisions are binding, and non-compliance can lead to actions by the Security Council. The case is based on Article 9 of the Genocide Convention, which grants the ICJ jurisdiction in disputes concerning the interpretation and application of the convention. If the ICJ's final decision aligns with the interim decision, it could serve as significant evidence of genocide committed by Israel. The unique position of South Africa, having experienced apartheid, adds considerable weight to the case.

Link to the analysis 📄 : [Beklentiler ve Gerçekler Ekseninde Güney Afrika-İsrail Davası](#)

## *“Afetlerin Uluslararası Boyutu ve Aktörleri / International Dimensions of Disasters and Their Actors”*

Nazan Özcömert Baechler

Issue 3, February 19, 2024

The analysis titled "International Dimensions and Actors of Disasters" discusses the increasing international nature of disasters and the roles of various actors in disaster response. It highlights the rising number of people affected by disasters, which often exceed local capacities and necessitate international aid. Significant factors such as climate change and environmental degradation are cited as exacerbating the risks and impacts of disasters.

The text emphasizes the growing demand for international aid, with annual spending reaching approximately \$30 billion. It also notes a shift from primarily state-led disaster responses to a more inclusive approach that incorporates non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society groups. Coordination and cooperation among different actors are underscored as essential for effectively delivering aid and managing disasters.

Furthermore, the document stresses the importance of accountability and evaluation in disaster relief efforts and mentions international bodies like the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) that work on disaster response law. While international disaster aid is crucial, the text points out that it faces challenges from political and strategic considerations, which can hinder its effectiveness.

The analysis suggests that effective disaster management requires the incorporation of multiple perspectives and better coordination among various actors. It also refers to the 2023 earthquakes in Türkiye, highlighting the need for improved risk management and preparation for future events.

Link to the analysis 🖱️: [Afetlerin Uluslararası Boyutu ve Aktörleri](#)

## *“Gazze'nin Gölgesi Kızıldeniz Üzerinde: Küresel Deniz Ticaretinin Kavşak Noktasında Yaşananlar / Gaza's Shadow Over the Red Sea: What's Happening at the Crossroads of Global Maritime Trade”*

Haydar Oruç

Issue 4, March 4, 2024

This analysis focuses on the escalating tensions in the Red Sea region, which have been triggered by the conflict in Gaza. It highlights the significance of the Bab al-Mandab Strait, the Red Sea, and the Suez Canal for global trade, noting that recent tensions have severely disrupted shipping routes.

Attacks on ships in the Red Sea have resulted in increased costs and delays in the delivery of goods, leading to higher prices and contributing to global inflation.

The document discusses the role of the Houthi movement in Yemen, which has begun targeting Israeli-linked ships in response to Israel's actions in Gaza. These actions from the Houthis have faced intervention from a multinational naval force led by the United States; however, such interventions have only exacerbated the situation. Despite claiming to ensure the safety of all ships in the region, the US has inadvertently worsened the conflict. While the Houthis had limited objectives in their attacks, the US expanded the conflict to include all ships.

Additionally, the analysis notes the economic repercussions of the conflict, including the disruption of trade for Israel. The Red Sea route has become increasingly dangerous, affecting Egypt due to reduced traffic through the Suez Canal and prompting the diversion of shipping routes to the Cape of Good Hope. This shift has also had negative implications for Saudi Arabia and other neighbouring countries.

In conclusion, the analysis suggests that the simplest way to alleviate the tensions in the Red Sea is to halt Israel's attacks on Gaza. It also points to the emergence of new trade routes, such as the India-Middle East-Europe Corridor (IMEC), as potential alternatives and considers their possible geopolitical implications.

Link to the analysis 🖱️: [Gazze'nin Gölgesi Kızıldeniz Üzerinde: Küresel Deniz Ticaretinin Kavşak Noktasında Yaşananlar](#)

### *“Üçüncü Yılında Rusya-Ukrayna Savaşı Sürerken / Continuing Russo-Ukrainian War in Its Third Year”*

Vügar İmanbeyli

Issue 5, April 17, 2024

This analysis focuses on the ongoing Russia-Ukraine war, characterizing it as a colonial conflict initiated by a "post-imperial" Russia against its former "adjacent colonies." The war is portrayed as a struggle for self-defense for Ukraine, while Russia presents it as a special military operation. The document highlights that Russia has employed disproportionate force and targeted civilian areas, indicating the unjust nature of the conflict.

Additionally, the conflict has morphed into a struggle for Europe's survival and poses challenges to the United Nations system. It draws parallels between this war and World War I, noting the initial underestimation of its scale, the evolution into a war of attrition, the trench warfare elements, and the introduction of new weaponry. This conflict represents a severe challenge to global peace and security, as Russia is attempting to alter its neighbor's borders through military force.

The analysis notes the broad coalition formed to support Ukraine, led by the United States and Europe, while also recognizing the growing war fatigue in Europe and particularly in the U.S. Internally, the war has led to the consolidation of Putin's authoritarian regime in Russia, with the



suppression of dissent and an increasing reliance on military solutions. Despite efforts to strengthen power, certain events suggest that the regime may be more fragile than it seems, such as the Wagner group's rebellion, public reactions to Navalny's death, and difficulties related to recruitment.

In Ukraine, the war has fostered a strong sense of national unity and a push for internal reform, culminating in Ukraine achieving candidate status for EU membership. The document analyzes the impact of sanctions on Russia, noting that its initial resilience has not proven sustainable. Long-term effects are expected to lead to economic decline and technological setbacks.

Lastly, the analysis discusses potential trajectories for the war. After initial Ukrainian successes, Russia has launched a counter-offensive, with predictions that Russia may intensify its attacks. However, there are also possibilities for future Ukrainian counter-offensives. The document emphasizes that the West should avoid appeasement, as seen in history with Hitler, underlining the importance of stopping Putin in Ukraine.

Link to the analysis 🖱️: [Üçüncü Yılında Rusya-Ukrayna Savaşı Süreken](#)

## *“ABD’nin Karadeniz Stratejisinde Romanya Unsuru / Romania Factor in US Black Sea Strategy”*

Vişne Korkmaz

Issue 6, April 20, 2024

This document discusses the U.S. strategy in the Black Sea region, with a particular focus on Romania. The ongoing war in Ukraine has heightened security risks in the Black Sea, leading to increased attention on the area. The analysis highlights Romania's significance as a strategic location and its role in strengthening NATO's presence in the region.

It outlines the rising military activity and cooperation between the U.S. and Romania, which includes the deployment of U.S. naval forces in the area. Additionally, the document addresses U.S. efforts to enhance Romania's defense capabilities and emphasizes the need for increased investment in the region.

While there are concerns about Russia, the U.S. strategy may also aim to limit the influence of other actors in the region, such as Türkiye. The analysis points out that the U.S. is increasing its military investments in line with NATO objectives.

It emphasizes the importance of collective security and a unified approach to addressing the security challenges in the Black Sea. The document also examines the complex geopolitical situation in the region and touches on the situation in Moldova.

In conclusion, it states that the U.S. is actively seeking ways to secure the Black Sea region in light of the conflict in Ukraine, while also considering the potential outcomes for Romania and other regional actors.

Link to the analysis 🖱️ : [ABD'nin Karadeniz Stratejisinde Romanya Unsuru](#)

### *“Farklı Yönleriyle İran’ın İsrail Saldırısı ve Bölgesel Çatışma Riski / Iran’s Attack on Israel and the Risk of Regional Conflict in Different Aspects”*

Muhammet Fatih Özkan

Issue 7, May 1, 2024

This document analyzes Iran's attack on Israel and the potential for escalating conflict in the region. It points out that periodic clashes between Iran and Israel signify an unresolved issue and calls for a solution to the Israel-Palestine conflict, as well as for Iran's reintegration into the international community.

The document details Iran's attack on Israel on April 13, 2024, which involved kamikaze drones, cruise missiles, and ballistic missiles. Although the attack targeted Israeli military installations, it ultimately caused no significant damage. The analysis highlights the strategic implications of this assault, suggesting that it was a calculated move on Iran's part.

Furthermore, the document discusses Iran's support for other groups in the region, such as Hezbollah and various Shia militias. It contrasts these indirect methods of engagement with the recent direct attack, arguing that Iran may have opted for a more confrontational approach, which could lead to further complications.

The reactions of other countries to the attack are also analyzed, noting that the United States, the United Kingdom, and France are aligned in their efforts to prevent further escalation of the conflict. While the immediate response to the attacks was crucial, the document emphasizes that the underlying issues, particularly in the Palestinian territories, remain unresolved.

It also suggests that a broader conflict may be inevitable due to increasing tensions, but Türkiye's diplomatic efforts could provide some potential solutions. Internally, the attack has bolstered support for Iran's government's hardline stance. Finally, the document notes that the full consequences of the attack on regional dynamics and relations among Middle Eastern countries are yet to be comprehensively understood.

Link to the analysis 🖱️ : [Farklı Yönleriyle İran’ın İsrail Saldırısı ve Bölgesel Çatışma Riski](#)

### *“Doğu Akdeniz Enerji Denklemi ve Kıbrıs Sorunu / The Eastern Mediterranean Energy Equation and Cyprus Problem”*

Hayriye Kahveci

Issue 8, May 22, 2024

This analysis explores the ongoing disputes in the Eastern Mediterranean over energy resources and their connection to the Cyprus issue. The document describes the competition for hydrocarbon resources in the region and how it has led to tensions among various countries, including Cyprus, Türkiye, Greece, Egypt, and Israel. It details disputes over maritime borders and exploration rights, with a focus on the tensions between Greece and Türkiye, while also addressing the role of the Greek Cypriot Administration in these disputes.

The text highlights the complications resulting from various agreements related to exploration rights, particularly due to Cyprus's political status. It discusses the plans and pipelines proposed for transporting natural gas and how these initiatives are intertwined with political tensions between the involved nations.

The discovery of natural gas in the region has spurred increased geopolitical activity, further complicating the Cyprus issue. The document notes the impact of the Gaza conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean and how it has exacerbated the maritime boundary dispute between Israel and Lebanon. It emphasizes the need for improved agreements among the countries involved.

The author asserts that the Cyprus issue is a significant obstacle to stability in the region, arguing that more dialogue and mutual concessions are necessary for a resolution. Finally, the document concludes that resolving the Cyprus issue, along with the Israel-Palestine conflict, is essential for establishing long-term stability in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Link to the analysis 🖱️ : [Doğu Akdeniz Enerji Denklemi ve Kıbrıs Sorunu](#)

*“Avrupa Parlamentosu Seçimleri: Aşırı Sağın Gölgesinde AB’nin Geleceği İçin Mücadele Etmek / European Parliament Elections: Fighting for the Future of the EU in the Shadow of the Far Right”*

Sinem Ünalđılar

Issue 9, June 19, 2024

This analysis focuses on the growing influence of far-right parties in the European Parliament elections, examining the reasons behind their increasing support. It explores several factors contributing to the rise of these parties, such as concerns about immigration, security, and cultural identity. These issues appear to be significant drivers of the far-right's popularity.

The document assesses the potential implications of this shift for the future of the European Union (EU), highlighting the challenges these parties pose to established norms and democratic values. The analysis argues that the rise of the far-right is not just a passing trend but a significant challenge to the EU's identity and unity.

Furthermore, the document explores the divisions within the EU and how they have contributed to the growing influence of far-right parties. It concludes that the EU must address the underlying issues that have led to the increased popularity of the far-right to ensure the future of the EU and its democratic values.

Link to the analysis 🖱️: [Avrupa Parlamentosu Seçimleri: Aşırı Sağın Gölgesinde AB'nin Geleceği İçin Mücadele Etmek](#)

### *“Why Türkiye Needs to Develop a Nuclear Deterrence Capability?”*

Şükrü Yazgan

Issue 10, July 31, 2024

This analysis addresses Türkiye's need for a nuclear deterrent capability. It asserts that Türkiye is currently located in an increasingly fragile and unpredictable international environment, which prompts a more assertive foreign policy aimed at altering the normative and institutional structures of the international system. To support this strategy, the document argues that Türkiye will inevitably require nuclear weapons to deter other powers and safeguard its vital interests.

The central argument is that the existing global order and the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) framework are inadequate for ensuring Türkiye's security. The NPT is criticised as a mechanism designed to maintain the status quo and protect the interests of current nuclear-armed states rather than prevent proliferation. The analysis emphasizes the growing disconnect between Türkiye's foreign policy objectives and the limitations imposed by traditional allies, which makes the development of nuclear capabilities essential for survival in this increasingly precarious environment.

This document suggests that the capacity to develop nuclear weapons is not merely a matter of national interest, but a crucial step for Türkiye to assert its sovereignty and protect itself amid evolving geopolitical conditions. Additionally, it notes that the legal and political restrictions surrounding the actual use of nuclear weapons have weakened, encouraging non-nuclear-weapon states to pursue their own nuclear deterrent capabilities.

In conclusion, the document posits that Türkiye's decision to develop nuclear weapons would mark a significant turning point in the nation's foreign policy and national identity.

Link to the analysis 🖱️: [Why Türkiye Needs to Develop a Nuclear Deterrence Capability?](#)

### *“Değerler Çıkarlar İkileminde ABD'nin Gazze Savaşına Yönelik Yaklaşımı Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme / An Assessment of the US Approach to the Gaza War in the Dilemma of Values and Interests”*

Ayşe Nur Çetinoğlu Harunoğlu

Issue 11, August 6, 2024

This analysis examines the conflict between values and interests in U.S. foreign policy, using the Gaza conflict as a primary example. It suggests that a significant aspect of U.S. foreign policy involves the constant negotiation between these values and interests. The analysis challenges the



notion that U.S. foreign policy consistently upholds the values it publicly espouses, particularly when national interests are at stake.

The document explores the historical context of U.S. interventions and their motivations, pointing out that the U.S. has often prioritized its interests over its stated values, especially in its dealings with the United Nations Security Council. The U.S.'s historical role and actions in various conflicts highlight a pattern of inconsistency between its rhetoric of promoting human rights and its realpolitik approach to foreign relations.

The analysis argues that the U.S. struggles to maintain a balance between its moral commitments and the practical demands of global power. This struggle is often evident in its inconsistent responses to human rights issues. The document concludes that it is essential to critically examine the gap between the U.S.'s stated values and its actual policies, particularly in the context of ongoing conflicts. Additionally, it mentions that the U.S. has been losing power on the global stage, which raises questions about the values it has been promoting.

Link to the analysis 🖱️ : [Değerler Çıkarlar İkileminde ABD'nin Gazze Savaşı'na Yönelik Yaklaşımı Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme](#)

*“Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı'nın 50. Yılı- Uluslararası Hukuk Perspektifinden Kıbrıs Sorunu / The 50th Anniversary of the Cyprus Peace Operation - The Cyprus Problem from an International Law Perspective”*

Nabi Berkut

Issue 12, August 8, 2024

This document provides a comprehensive overview of the Cyprus issue from the perspectives of international law and history, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Cyprus Peace Operation. It examines the complex legal framework surrounding the island, particularly focusing on the status of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC).

The document argues that the Cyprus issue is deeply rooted in historical and legal disputes dating back to the Ottoman Empire, and it emphasizes the challenges in achieving a lasting resolution. It analyzes various treaties and agreements that have shaped the island's political landscape and discusses the roles of Türkiye, Greece, and the international community in the ongoing conflict.

The analysis contends that the continued division of Cyprus stems from unresolved historical grievances, and it suggests that the international community's approach to this dispute has failed to provide a sustainable solution. Additionally, it highlights the legal challenges regarding the recognition of the TRNC and the implications for international law and relations.

The document concludes that a comprehensive resolution will require addressing historical grievances and ensuring that the rights of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots are equally protected. It also emphasizes the importance of the guarantor powers and their responsibilities in the peace process.

Link to the analysis 🖱️: [Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı'nın 50. Yılı - Uluslararası Hukuk Perspektifinden Kıbrıs Sorunu](#)

### *“2024 Erken Milletvekili Seçimlerinin Fransız Siyaseti Üzerine Etkileri / The Impact of the 2024 Early Parliamentary Elections on French Politics”*

Merve Özdemirkıran Embel

Issue 13, September 1, 2024

This analysis examines the political dynamics in France, focusing particularly on the call for early elections and the challenges facing President Macron's government. It explores the rise of populist and far-right movements within the French political landscape and their impact on the country's stability.

The document discusses the historical background of France's political system, noting its shift from a parliamentary to a semi-presidential structure, and how this change has influenced the political landscape. The analysis highlights the ongoing political instability in France and its significance within the European context, emphasizing that the country has faced multiple political crises throughout its history.

The analysis delves into the reasons behind the rise of the far right, including concerns about immigration, security, and economic issues. It uses election results to illustrate the growing support for these parties. The document concludes by suggesting that the political polarization in France and its potential implications for the country's future should be taken seriously. This polarization may raise questions regarding France's relations with other countries within the EU.

Link to the analysis 🖱️: [2024 Erken Milletvekili Seçimlerinin Fransız Siyaseti Üzerine Etkileri](#)

### *“Importance of Improving Relations Between Türkiye, Egypt and Syria”*

Shaza Al Mufti

Issue 14, October 11, 2024

This analysis explores the improving relations between Türkiye, Egypt, and Syria, highlighting the significant diplomatic steps taken to mend previously fractured ties. It begins with the observation of Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi's first presidential visit to Türkiye on September 4, 2024, following Turkish President Erdoğan's earlier visit to Cairo. These events are seen as turning points, marking a new era of diplomatic, economic, and military cooperation between the two regional powers.

Since 2011, the complex relationships among Egypt, Syria, and Türkiye have been characterized by ideological rivalries. However, pragmatism, mutual benefits, and economic interests are now suggested to be the driving forces behind their interactions. The analysis also addresses the

historical, economic, and cultural ties between these three nations, asserting that improving relations will benefit all parties by strengthening their ability to confront international chaos, regional conflicts, and domestic challenges.

The warming relations between Egypt and Türkiye can be attributed to a shared political will between the leaders of the two countries, resulting in a rebound in bilateral trade. They have agreed to enhance cooperation in various areas, including energy, defence, industry, health, and the environment. Türkiye is striving to establish itself as a European energy hub by importing liquefied natural gas (LNG) from Egypt and aims to increase trade volume with Cairo.

Additionally, shifting geopolitical dynamics contribute to the improved relationship between Türkiye and Egypt, as both countries share common concerns regarding regional conflicts and recognize that cooperation is preferable to rivalry. The growing military cooperation between the United States and Greece has prompted Ankara to strengthen its regional alliances, including ties with Egypt. Consequently, Ankara seeks to demarcate its maritime borders with Egypt to facilitate the extraction of natural gas from offshore fields in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Natural gas is a significant motivator for Türkiye's improved relations with Egypt, especially given Türkiye's dependence on Russia, Iran, and Azerbaijan for its energy needs. In return, Egypt seeks Turkish cooperation in resolving conflicts in Libya and Sudan, as well as aiming to attract Turkish investments and foster military collaboration.

Furthermore, the analysis suggests that Egypt can serve as a mediator between Ankara and Damascus due to its regional influence, historical ties to Damascus, and connections with the Gulf Cooperation Council countries. Finally, the document emphasizes that public diplomacy—facilitated by business communities, NGOs, media outlets, and social media—can play a crucial role in enhancing relations among the three countries.

Link to the analysis 🖱️: [The Importance of Improving Relations between Türkiye, Egypt and Syria](#)

### *“Arnavutluk’ta Bektâşi Devleti Kurulması Üzerine Bir Analiz / An Analysis on the Establishment of the Bektashi State in Albania”*

Muharrem Shtavica

Issue 15, October 16, 2024

This analysis examines the historical roots and current status of the Bektashi Order, with a particular focus on its presence in Albania. Although the early history of Bektashism in Albania is not well-documented, it is believed to have been well-established from the late 16th to mid-17th centuries. The Bektashi community attributes its entry into Albania to the legendary figure Sarı Saltık.

The Bektashi Dervish Order has spread across a wide geographical area, including Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Türkiye. Albania now serves as the main center of the Bektashi Order worldwide. Approximately 20 per cent of Albania's population identifies as followers of this order.

The Bektashi Order was founded by Hacı Bektaş Veli in Anatolia during the 13th century. The spread of this Sufi/Tasawwuf order in the Balkans is primarily attributed to Pir Balım Sultan. Historically, the Janissaries of the Ottoman Empire were predominantly followers of his teachings and were known as the “Sons of Hacı Bektaş Veli.” They played a crucial role in promoting Bektashism in Albania and other Balkan regions. However, Sultan Mahmud II dissolved the Janissary Corps, which had significant consequences for the Bektashi order.

The document also discusses Prime Minister Edi Rama's proposal for establishing a Bektashi state in Albania. This proposal has faced widespread criticism and rejection from the public and Bektashi leaders. The Bektashi leadership in Tirana has clarified that their objective is not to create an independent state based on territorial ambitions but rather a religious entity similar to the Vatican. Lastly, the analysis considers the potential impact of a Bektashi state on the region and Albania. It emphasizes that this idea is viewed as unconstitutional and troubling to everyone, including the Bektashis, and is seen as a product of international relations rather than genuine human and political needs.

Link to the analysis 🖱️: [Arnavutluk'ta Bektaş Devleti Kurulması Üzerine bir Analiz](#)

*“Bosna Hersek'teki Boşnakların Seçim Sonrası Siyasi Konumu / “Post-Election Political Position of Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina””*

Enes Turbic

Issue 16, October 28, 2024

This document provides an overview of the local elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina held in October 2024, analyzing the political trends and social dynamics reflected in the results. The elections were conducted peacefully, demonstrating institutional stability and political maturity despite the usual intense political struggles.

The results indicate a notable level of stability in the political choices of voters, particularly in major urban centers among Bosniaks and Serbs. The traditional dominance of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) among Bosniaks and the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) among Serbs remains evident, although these parties have experienced a decline in support in larger cities.

A significant opposition victory in Banja Luka, the largest city in the Republika Srpska entity, is highlighted, alongside the success of Ljubiša Petrović from the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) in Bijeljina. Despite these changes, the SNSD continues to maintain control over many other cities and municipalities in Republika Srpska.



The analysis also emphasizes the situation for Bosniaks post-election, noting their inability to secure wins in any municipalities or cities within Republika Srpska. The case of Srebrenica is particularly significant due to its tragic history during the Bosnian War. Since 2016, Serbian candidates have consistently won there, and in 2024, Miloš Vučić was appointed as mayor. Technical factors, such as restrictive voter registration rules and decreasing diaspora votes, further complicate the prospects for Bosniak candidates.

In major cities such as Sarajevo, Zenica, and Bihać, support for the SDA has declined, although the party still retains power in smaller municipalities. Additionally, an interesting governmental shift occurred in Velika Kladuša, ending Fikret Abdić's long-standing dominance.

The document also discusses the political situation of Croats, noting that the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) continues to be a dominant political force despite internal disputes. The complex electoral system in Mostar, characterized by multiple electoral districts and a complicated mayoral election process, adds to the political tensions in the region.

Overall, while the elections were peaceful, they reveal deep political divisions and challenges within Bosnia and Herzegovina. The document also touches upon remarks made by High Representative Christian Schmidt, who compared Alija Izetbegović to Ratko Mladić, which sparked a wave of solidarity among Bosniak politicians, temporarily setting aside their political differences. However, this may strain relations with the Office of the High Representative.

Finally, the document highlights the current political landscape, characterized by fragmentation, where numerous parties often have differing priorities and visions. This fragmentation complicates cooperation and the formation of political platforms, contributing to intense power struggles and a lack of clear vision, which in turn leads to further economic challenges, unemployment, and poverty.

Link to the analysis 🖱️ : [Bosna Hersek'teki Boşnakların Seçim Sonrası Siyasi Konumu](#)

### *“Trump’s Return: Türkiye’s Expectations and US Priorities ”*

John Calabrese

Issue 17, November 15, 2024

This analysis examines the potential for renewed cooperation between Turkish President Erdoğan and U.S. President Trump, focusing on the complex dynamics of their relationship. It suggests that with Trump's return to the White House, Erdoğan sees an opportunity to rekindle the close personal connection they had during Trump's first presidency. Both leaders promote themselves as strong figures focused on national interests, utilizing populist rhetoric and positioning themselves as defenders of the common people against the elite.

Following Trump's electoral victory on November 5, Erdoğan congratulated him and extended an invitation to visit Türkiye. He also hinted that the conflict in Ukraine could be swiftly resolved under Trump's administration through a solution-oriented approach. The analysis points out that

Erdoğan views "phone diplomacy" as a vital tool for addressing pressing issues. Trump had previously shared his personal phone number with Erdoğan, allowing for direct communication, which Erdoğan used to advocate for Türkiye's priorities.

However, the document acknowledges the fragile nature of U.S.-Türkiye relations, noting that Trump's first term was characterized by tensions and disputes. It explores the complexities of these relations, particularly the era of personalized diplomacy under Trump, which, while temporarily halting the decline of the relationship, masked deeper structural tensions and ultimately did not yield lasting results. Despite Erdoğan's personal efforts, he faced setbacks in several areas, including the Halkbank investigation, the withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Syria, and the CAATSA sanctions.

Under President Biden's administration, U.S.-Türkiye relations became more formal and distant, with limited interaction between the two leaders. Although there was a brief period of positive momentum, marked by Türkiye's support for Sweden's NATO membership in exchange for U.S. backing of Türkiye's F-16 purchases, progress stalled over conflicting views on Israel's military campaign in Gaza.

Finally, the document discusses key issues that are likely to shape Trump's second term, including cooperation on the Russia-Ukraine conflict and addressing the situation in Syria, particularly regarding U.S. support for the YPG. Türkiye's expectations include an end to U.S. support for the YPG, the lifting of CAATSA sanctions, and increased cooperation on regional matters. Nevertheless, the analysis suggests that Trump's transactional foreign policy approach, which prioritizes U.S. interests, may limit Türkiye's hopes for a fully harmonious relationship. It also notes that Türkiye has pursued a more self-reliant foreign policy in response to unmet expectations during Trump's first term, which could further complicate the possibility of a fully harmonious relationship.

Link to the analysis 🖱️: [Trump's Return: Türkiye's Expectations and US Priorities](#)

### *"Krško 2 and the Future of European Energy Security: Lessons from Slovenia's Nuclear Dilemma"*

Eray Mutlu

Issue 18, December 3, 2024

This analysis examines Slovenia's ambitions regarding nuclear energy, particularly its decision to expand its nuclear infrastructure amid the European energy crisis. Although a planned national referendum on the Krško 2 nuclear power plant project was canceled due to a political scandal, this analysis focuses on the specifics of the project rather than the scandal itself.

The discussion highlights the reasons why Slovenia seeks to enhance its nuclear energy capacity. Slovenia is one of the most energy-resource-deprived countries in Europe, yet it consumes energy at a rate 13% above the EU average, making it a net energy importer. The country's energy mix

comprises oil, nuclear energy, coal, natural gas, and renewable sources, with nuclear energy playing a vital role in electricity production.

Slovenia aims to transition to renewable energy by phasing out coal. According to Slovenia's Integrated National Energy and Climate Plan, the country considered either utilizing natural and synthetic gas or constructing another nuclear power plant. The analysis emphasizes that Slovenia opted for nuclear energy over gas due to its extensive experience in the sector, its ability to meet decarbonization targets, and the reliability of its fuel supplies.

Additionally, the analysis addresses the controversies surrounding nuclear energy, including disputes over nuclear waste management and criticism from neighbouring Austria. It also highlights the significance of a "nuclear renaissance" in Europe, spurred by the ongoing energy crisis, the US-China trade war, and an unstable international environment, which has exposed the EU's over-reliance on imported energy resources. The document presents models of energy production from France and Poland, noting that France relies heavily on its nuclear power plants while Poland uses its domestic coal resources. The analysis argues that the French model is more reliable and contends that the EU needs to reduce its dependence on imported energy.

In conclusion, the Slovenian case exemplifies Europe's struggle to achieve energy security while maintaining carbon neutrality goals without jeopardizing existing foreign relations. It also suggests that the era of mutual benefits and trade liberalization has ended, indicating a shift from trade agreements to tariffs and a shift from gas to uranium.

Link to the analysis 🖱️: [Krško 2 and the Future of European Energy Security: Lessons from Slovenia's Nuclear Dilemma](#)

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## MURCIR VILTs (Virtual Instructor-Led Training for Students

24 & 30 May 2024

### Reconsidering the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement in 1999-2004

The poster features a central graphic of a graduation cap surrounded by a network of nodes. It lists two virtual instructor-led training sessions:

Instructor	Date	Time	Mode
Prof. Zuhâl Mert Uzuner Marmara University	24 May 2024	12:00	Online
Assoc. Prof. Ekavi Athanassopoulou National and Kapodistrian University of Athens	30 May 2024	10:00	Online

RCIR aims to establish international academic cooperation to develop dialogue and collaboration. In this context, the training programs offered students are considered a major part of its activities. The first training program was conducted with the Faculty of Economics at the University of Athens.

Prof. Zuhal Mert Uzuner and Assoc. Prof. Ekavi Athanassopoulou delivered one-hour online lectures on Greek-Turkish relations for Greek and Turkish students. The second session is planned for 2025.

## MURCIR ROUNDTABLES

### Almanak 2024: Türk Dış Politikası



MURCIR aims to produce policy papers for decision-makers and to bring together leading scholars to discuss various issues related to Turkish foreign policy. On December 26th, GPO-T, Global Academy, and MURCIR organized the Almanac 2024 Turkish Foreign Policy meeting to assess global and regional developments expected in 2024 and to discuss their implications for Turkish foreign policy. The results of the meeting will be published as a policy brief.

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## MURCIR DEBRIEFS

### MURCIR Debriefs No.1

#### Debrief Antalya Diplomacy Forum

**Prof. F. Didem EKİNCİ, Prof. Gülfer İhlamur, Dr. Funda Karadeniz, Prof. Zuhal Mert Uzuner**

March 2024

The "Debrief of the Antalya Diplomacy Forum 2024" summarises the Antalya Diplomacy Forum (ADF), which took place in Antalya, Türkiye, from March 1-3, 2024. Launched in 2021 and hosted by the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the forum has become a prominent event in Turkish diplomacy. The third edition of the ADF gathered a diverse group of participants, including heads of state, government ministers, diplomats, business leaders, academics, youth, and media representatives from 148 countries.

The main theme of this year's forum was "Advancing Diplomacy in Times of Turmoil." The event attracted approximately 4,700 attendees and featured over 50 sessions, side meetings, and press



activities. Key global issues discussed included conflicts, climate change, food insecurity, the refugee crisis, women's rights, and artificial intelligence, with significant attention given to ongoing wars and conflicts, particularly in Gaza. The ADF aimed to provide new perspectives, especially those emerging from the Global South. Panels such as “Realizing the Potential of Africa,” “Local Perspectives for Global Issues,” “Latin America and the Caribbean in Transformation,” and “New Approaches to Empower the Least Developed Countries” were organised. Additionally, a Women in Diplomacy Panel included female Turkish diplomats sharing their experiences, with one diplomat emphasising the importance of considering Africa as a starting point due to its historical and geographical significance.

Prof. Zuhâl Mert Uzuner noted that the forum aimed to promote multilateral diplomacy by bringing together various stakeholders. The February 6 earthquakes of 2023 and the ongoing tragedy in Gaza were crucial discussion topics, highlighting the need to focus on injustice, humanitarian law, the value-based international system, and the role of the Global South. These issues were deemed essential for discussions about the evolving international order and peace. The author also highlighted that March has become a month for stimulating academic agendas.

In summary, the ADF served as a platform to address current global challenges, emphasizing dialogue and cooperation. It sought to broaden participation and offer diverse perspectives, particularly from the Global South. The forum tackled critical issues like conflicts, climate change, and the impact of regional developments on diplomacy while promoting multilateralism to support the international order.

Link to the document 🖱️: [Debrief Antalya Diplomacy Forum 2024](#)

## MURCIR Debriefs No.2

### Debrief Antalya Diplomacy Forum

Prof. Enis TULÇA & Assoc. Prof. Sinem Ünal dılar Kocamaz

April 2024

The Antalya Diplomacy Forum (ADF) 2024 served as a crucial platform for discussing Türkiye's evolving foreign policy in light of significant global shifts. As the international order appears to weaken—marked by the decline of international institutions and escalating conflicts such as the Russia-Ukraine war—the forum addressed key global issues. The rise of China as a major global power also significantly influenced the discussions. These developments are reshaping the international system, prompting the forum to explore their implications for regional stability and international cooperation.

Türkiye is redefining its foreign policy in response to these global changes, emphasizing humanitarian and practical approaches. Türkiye aims to establish itself as a safe haven in the Middle East, actively addressing humanitarian crises, including initiatives like ensuring food security through the grain corridor and welcoming refugees. The forum highlighted Türkiye's desire for pragmatic engagement in regional conflicts, indicating a commitment to finding practical solutions.

A central tenet of Türkiye's foreign policy is the concept of "regional ownership." This principle emphasizes that countries directly affected by regional problems should be the ones addressing and resolving them. The significance of this approach was particularly highlighted in relation to regions such as the South Caucasus and the Black Sea.

During the forum, Foreign Minister Hakan Fidan's opening remarks underscored the increasing importance of Turkish foreign policy and investments. Other key themes discussed included Africa's growing significance and Türkiye's commitment to strengthening relations with the continent. The concept of the "Global South" was examined in relation to future international challenges and global governance. Additionally, the necessity for transatlantic relations among Western allies and Europe was addressed, along with the need to bridge the growing gap between Türkiye, the EU, and the USA. Critical topics such as artificial intelligence, food security, energy security, women's safety, and the ongoing Gaza-Palestine issue were also discussed.

Ultimately, the primary objective of the Antalya Diplomacy Forum was to foster dialogue, consensus, and productive discourse among policymakers, practitioners, and academics. The forum aimed to contribute to a more just world through ceasefires and peace agreements.

Link to the document 🖱️: [Debrief Antalya Diplomacy Forum 2024- 2](#)

## MURCIR Debriefs No.3

### The 65th ISA Conference -San Francisco

Prof. Emel PARLAR DAL & Dr. Gül MESÇİOĞLU GÜR

May 2024

The International Studies Association (ISA) 2024 Conference provided a comprehensive platform for discussions on various critical global issues. This event facilitated academic presentations and networking and highlighted the evolving nature of international relations in a complex and rapidly changing world.

One of the conference's central themes was the examination of informal international organizations (IIOGs) and their legitimacy. The conference offered a framework to understand the impact and acceptance of these informal structures in international relations. Discussions aimed to explore the role and acceptance of IIOGs and similar entities, reflecting a growing recognition of the importance of non-state actors and informal mechanisms in shaping global politics beyond traditional state-centric approaches.

Gender and feminism were also prominent topics at the conference, indicating a shift toward inclusive and intersectional approaches in international relations scholarship. Traditional international relations theories have often overlooked or marginalized the role of gender. However, recent trends emphasize the impact of gender on international politics, encouraging a rethinking of international relations that centers on gender roles, women's rights, and gender equality.

The conference dedicated significant attention to issues related to the Global South and decolonization. The term "Global South" refers to economically underdeveloped or formerly colonized nations, and the process of decolonization narrates the struggle for independence and liberation from colonialism in these regions. These issues were examined through the lens of global justice and equality, addressing the ongoing legacies of colonialism.

Discussions on grand strategy, international political economy, climate change, international organizations, global governance, international law, human rights, and populism and democracy further enriched the conference agenda. These discussions included analysis of global economic balances, development policies, and the future of the global economic system. The impact of climate change on international security, the economy, migration, human rights, and the environment was also a key focus. Additionally, the conference addressed the implications of rising populist leaders on democratic institutions and explored strategies for preserving and strengthening fundamental democratic principles.

Surveillance and intelligence were discussed in the digital age. The conference considered the effects of state and private surveillance operations on individual privacy, freedom, and security. The roles of artificial intelligence and data were also highlighted as significant factors that bring about revolutionary changes to international relations.

The conference offered ample opportunities for networking and informal interactions. It included designated areas for professional connections and programmed events to foster collaboration. Informal coffee zones were particularly well-received, facilitating relaxed discussions and enriching the overall experience. Set against the backdrop of the Ukraine-Russia War and the conflict in Gaza, the conference served as a testament to the vibrant field of international studies, providing a forum for sharing cutting-edge research and fostering a community of scholars dedicated to addressing global complexities.

In summary, the ISA 2024 Conference was a productive and enlightening event that addressed a diverse range of critical topics within international relations. It facilitated the exchange of ideas among participants, the acquisition of new perspectives, and the exploration of collaborative opportunities. Ultimately, the conference contributed to a deeper understanding of global challenges and the promotion of global peace and prosperity.

Link to the document 🖱️: [Debrief the 65th ISA Conference 2024](#)

#### **MURCIR Debriefs No.4**

### **The 9th Delphi Economic Forum**

**Antonia Dimou & Dr. Ahmet Erdi**

May 2024

The Delphi Economic Forum functions as a cultural and intellectual hub that facilitates discussions across various fields, including art, literature, philosophy, and science. By providing a platform for these discussions, the forum contributes to the advancement of ancient Greek society and its cultural heritage. As a result, the Delphi Forum has become a pivotal aspect of social, political, and cultural life in ancient Greece, fostering the exchange of diverse ideas and contributing to societal progress.

The most recent edition of the forum, announced by its president Symeon Tsomokos, took place in the historic town of Delphi from April 10-13. This edition centred on the theme "The Great Transition," focusing on the multifaceted changes occurring globally in geopolitics, climate, technology, and other sectors. The forum featured speeches, roundtable discussions, debates, and networking opportunities for participants, aiming to foster dialogue, instigate change, and translate discussions into actionable initiatives. This reflects the forum's goal of addressing critical issues and driving practical solutions for positive change.

Operating as a nonprofit, member-oriented organization, the Delphi Economic Forum is dedicated to advocating innovative concepts for sustainable and competitive growth across Europe and the broader Eastern Mediterranean region. It seeks to engage political, economic, business, academic,



and intellectual leaders in addressing emerging challenges, influencing national and regional agendas, and promoting policies that encourage sustainable and socially responsible growth.

Governed by a board of directors and an advisory committee, the forum remains committed to its mission of facilitating constructive dialogue and promoting positive change in the region and beyond. Notably, discussions at the forum highlighted Türkiye as a significant topic, underscoring its focus on addressing critical geopolitical matters in the region.

In summary, the Delphi Economic Forum serves as an important platform for intellectual exchange and societal advancement, fostering dialogue and innovation across various fields, particularly in relation to regional challenges and transitions. The forum also aims to promote sustainable and responsible growth while contributing to positive change in the region and beyond.

Link to the document 🖱️: [Debrief the 9th Delphi Economic Forum](#)

## 2024 IN PHOTOS

