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Intelligence Analysis Techniques

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What is political structure analysis? How is it analyzed? It is a social scientist's approach to terrorism and intelligence. When analyzing a topic, assumptions are made. These assumptions are usually based on reading the literature on that topic. When academically produced information is accepted and studied, these assumptions are called implicit assumptions. Checking these implicit assumptions is called checking basic assumptions. Trying to understand these assumptions without analyzing them can have risky and dangerous consequences. An example of checking these underlying assumptions is the case of the post-9/11 mass murders, where there is no pattern, where the assumption is that they were carried out by a white individual, possibly with a military training background, in a minivan-like vehicle, when in fact they were carried out by a black individual, in a Cadillac, with no military training background.

There are many different analysis techniques for checking assumptions and analyzing events. Four of these analysis techniques are descriptive, dashboard, low probability high impact and devil's advocate. The descriptive technique is done by checking what prior information the main knowledge is based on after the initial screening. With this check, it is questioned how far the information is correct or how accurate it is. There may be differences between the moments when the events from which this information was generated took place and the moments when they were evaluated.

The time lag may give rise to data that can generate new information. This is because evaluations built on false information may still be in use, or information may have lost its accuracy or validity. As a result of all this research and evaluation, the accuracy of the information is checked.

The dashboard analysis technique is used for long-term analysis. It can be used for different themes and geographical areas and consists of horizontal and vertical columns. In the vertical columns, the categories to be analyzed are listed. These categories can be related to economic, political, social, or similar issues. Horizontal columns are assigned time periods. While the periods can be weekly in areas with high security risk, they can generally start with 1-3 year periods and go up to 15-30 year periods. With this table, improvement or deterioration situations related to the categories are determined. These determinations can be indicated by color spectra or numerical data.

The low probability high impact analysis technique is a technique used to identify situations that have the potential to radically change the current course of events, although the probability is very low. It is used to analyze the impact and change of the events in question at the time they occur. This analysis works from four different possibilities:
-those that are known to happen but have a low probability of occurring,

-what is not known to have happened but is likely to happen,
-unimaginable situations and events because they had not been encountered until that day
-a bundle of problems caused by the simultaneous occurrence of several negative elements that are already in place (also known as a perfect storm).

The fourth technique, Devil's Advocacy, is to argue and counter-argue against a commonly held belief. The other side is forced to reconsider their actions in case their facts turn out to be wrong. This technique has two objectives: to obtain measurable data and to generate arguments.

Finally, within the framework of all these analysis techniques, it should not be forgotten that the collector and the analyzer are not the same person in research. In this context, while the data collection part is objective, the evaluation part is subjective.

Türkiye – European Union Relations and Geostrategy

Prof. Murat Erdoğan

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Türkiye-EU relations have been shaped on geopolitical grounds. As an undefined region in the European geography, Türkiye aims to be included in Europe through values and criteria. The ideological attitude that started during the Ottoman Empire reflects Türkiye's aim to rise above the level of contemporary civilisation. On the way to integrate into Europe, Türkiye acquired knowledge and experience in military, clothing, art and other fields with the acquired understanding of Europeanness. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the health organisation, security, university and other systems were integrated into the EU.

The Treaty of Paris of 1856 is important as the first document to recognise the Ottoman Empire by European states. The European community of states aimed to unite against a common enemy, Russia. The First World War brought the end of empires, and the Second World War underlined the importance of democracy with the bitter realities revealed by Hitler's Germany. The Council of Europe, founded in 1948, adopted the basic philosophy of Europeanism. Names such as Jean Monnet and Churchill were influential in the founding process. European integration was achieved with steps such as the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951, later the European Atomic Energy Community and the Merger Treaty (or Treaty of Brussels) in 1965.

Türkiye's EU membership has been a controversial issue for a long time and Türkiye-EU relations have gone through various stages throughout history in a rather complex manner. The origins of the relations date back to 1959, when Türkiye applied for membership to the European Economic Community (EEC). However, there have been debates on whether Türkiye should be considered fully European. Türkiye was expected to make progress, especially on issues such as human rights, democracy, independence of the judiciary and freedom of expression.

There are certain criteria for Türkiye to become European. These factors include economic liberalism, cultural partnership and religious differences. Türkiye has not been fully liberalised economically. Although free market policies were adopted during the Adnan Menderes period in the 1950s, it is not possible to talk about a fully liberal economy. Culturally, Türkiye has attracted attention with its different aspects from Europe and the majority of its people have lived as Muslims. However, countries such as Türkiye and Greece have strategic importance for Europe. Especially during the Cold War, the Soviet threat in Eastern Europe was increasing. The rise of the communist party in Greece was contrary to the interests of the Western alliance. Türkiye, on the other hand, was in an important position for NATO's first strategic concept, the Containment

Policy, which was established in 1949 against the Soviet threat. For these reasons, Türkiye and Greece were admitted to the European Economic Community (EEC) as NATO members at the same time in 1952. The Western alliance provided various forms of aid to support countries like Türkiye and Greece. For example, the aid provided under the Marshall Plan is an example of this support.

Türkiye laid the legal foundations of Türkiye-Europe relations by signing the Ankara Treaty on 12 September 1963. This agreement is an important step towards Türkiye's membership to the European Union. Article 2 of the Treaty foresees the strengthening of trade and economic relations between the parties, emphasising the need to ensure the rapid development of the Turkish economy and the improvement of the living conditions of the Turkish people. With this article, it was stated that Türkiye's path to full membership was opened and the necessary conditions were examined. However, after the signing of the Ankara Treaty, a problem arose between Türkiye and Greece, which continues to this day: The Cyprus Problem. Although Cyprus was not an important place for Türkiye at the beginning, it became an issue in which Türkiye intervened as a result of the conflicts that broke out on the island. The Cyprus Problem caused tensions between Türkiye and Greece and even led Greece to withdraw from the military wing of NATO for a period.

Greece had a negative attitude towards Türkiye's EU membership and this situation made Türkiye's EU membership process difficult. During this period, Türkiye signed a Customs Union agreement with the European Union in 1995. This agreement was recognised as an important step in Türkiye's EU integration process. The Customs Union aims at economic convergence for Türkiye's EU membership and provides for the removal of barriers in trade.

After the İzmit earthquake in 1999, there was a period of rapprochement in the relations between Türkiye and Greece. This period is later called as the period of "Earthquake Diplomacy". After the earthquake, assistance and cooperation between the two countries increased, which contributed to the positive progress of relations.

In 1999, Türkiye was granted candidate country status at the Helsinki Summit. This status gave Türkiye the right to start negotiations for full membership. However, negotiations have not progressed for a long time and have frequently stalled for various reasons. Türkiye's progress in areas such as democracy, independence of the judiciary, freedom of expression and minority rights is considered as an important criterion by the European Union. In recent years, relations between Türkiye and the European Union have been going through a rather tense period. In particular, concerns about democratic values in Türkiye, violations of press freedom and human rights issues have been the subject of criticism by the European Union. In addition, the events following the coup attempt in Türkiye in 2016 and the measures taken in the fight against terrorism have also negatively affected relations with the EU.

The customs union and economic relations between Türkiye and the European Union are ongoing. Türkiye is one of the EU's largest trading partners and realises a large share of its exports to the European Union. There is also co-operation on issues such as the refugee crisis. In recent years, Turkish-EU relations have been hit by several crises. In particular, democratic backsliding and human rights violations in Türkiye are criticised by the EU and reforms are demanded in order to make progress in the negotiations. Moreover, Türkiye's military operations in Syria, disputes over energy resources in the Eastern Mediterranean and the migration problem have also strained relations.

Türkiye's EU membership is still full of uncertainties and negotiations are currently suspended. However, Türkiye continues its relations with the EU and aims to strengthen partnership relations with the EU. Economic, political and cultural co-operation continues and Türkiye contributes to European security as an important trading partner of the EU and a NATO member. Institutions such as ATAUM (European Communities Research and Application Centre) play an important role in Türkiye's relations with Europe.

In conclusion, Turkish-EU relations have been shaped by geopolitical, ideological and historical factors. While Türkiye's European integration and EU membership are controversial, there are many challenges in the relationship, but there are also goals of cooperation and partnership. How Turkish-EU relations will develop in the future is uncertain, but dialogue, reform and mutual understanding will be important.

Balances and Actors in Northern Syria

Prof. Serhat Erkmen

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The situation in Syria is complex and multifaceted. It is a region that cannot be studied without knowing the historical, ethnic, sectarian, and economic differences of interests. First of all, it is known that the Bedouin tribes in Raqqa, which were brought under control with US pressure, are under PYD control and cooperate with the Islamic State (ISIS). This situation shows the existence of groups under the influence of the PYD and the balance in the region.

Within the scope of Operation Peace Spring, it is seen that the Syrian National Army and the Interim Government are making efforts to stabilize the country. However, the first step in this process is to organize the administrative structure. The number of districts, their economic status and strategic importance come to the forefront when making decisions on how the administrative structure should be structured.

Especially in Deir ez-Zor, there is a division between the regime and PYD control. The presence of the Euphrates River increases the strategic importance of the region and shows that conflicts cannot be easily separated by ethnic or religious boundaries. Although oil is an important resource in the region, its quantity is limited, and its quality is low. In addition to the Syrian National Army, the Turkish military is present in the region, providing internal and external protection.

In Idlib, there is a de-escalation zone and various military groups. The Syrian Arab Army, Syrian militia organizations and Shiite militias brought in by Iran also play an active role.

Russia is also an important actor in the region. Russia's military structures consist of its army and private military companies such as Wagner. There are also Russian militia organizations formed by former rebels.

The US-backed Syrian Free Army is also a force to be reckoned with.

In addition, the control of strategic roads such as the M4 and M5 highways is of great importance. Especially, the M4 carries a large part of the Syrian economy and connects production in Aleppo to the international port.

All these factors reflect Syria's complex geographical and political structure and show that any event in the region can have a domino effect. Any violent incident in the Middle East can affect regional balances and lead to new crises. To understand the situation in Syria, various factors should be taken into account:

Bedouin tribes in Raqqa are under the control of the PYD and are known to cooperate with the Islamic State (ISIS). This emphasizes the influence of the PYD in the region and the role of the US policy.

Syria's geography and complex political structure increase the potential for a domino effect of events in the region. The Middle East can be considered a regional subsystem, and any violent incident can affect the balance in the region and lead to new crises.

In conclusion, the complex situation in Syria is influenced by many factors. Ethnic, sectarian, economic and political interests increase the complexity of events in the region. The cooperation of Bedouin tribes under the control of the PYD with ISIS emphasizes the influence of the PYD and the role of the US policy. At the same time, Syria's geography and complex political structure increase the potential for a domino effect. To summarize, understanding the situation in Syria requires considering a variety of factors and external interventions in the region seem to play an important role.

Migration and Security Relations between Türkiye and the EU

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The concept of migration is seen as a security factor in International Relations due to its potential demographic, economic, political, and social consequences. Türkiye, due to its geographical location, has been significantly affected by migration flows both within its borders and towards Europe as a transit point. The civil war in Syria and political instability in the Middle East have increased these migration flows, bringing migration and security issues to the agenda of Türkiye and the European Union.

Migration is the movement or temporary relocation of people to another country for various reasons. Migrants leave their countries for various reasons, including economic conditions, social limitations, family issues, and education. Migration is a mutually permissible development tool and, when managed properly, has many benefits for the receiving country. The European Union annually accepts five million migrants to fill gaps in retirement and birth rates, but we do not see the same rate in refugee numbers. The distinguishing factor here is that refugees bring much lower added value compared to migrants because they come with asylum requests due to justified fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinions, according to the United Nations definition. Türkiye has been the country hosting the most refugees since 2014. As a candidate and neighbour of the EU,

Türkiye's borders and migration policies also have a significant impact on the European Union.

In recent history, the largest wave of migration that has brought security issues to the international arena has spread from Syria to the world. The humanitarian crisis faced by Syrians began with anti-regime protests in 2011 and has evolved into a crisis of unprecedented scale in terms of the ratio of magnitude to duration. It is important to emphasize that the primary victims are refugees who seek protection for their lives, but it is undeniable that refugees sometimes create a social shock in the countries where they seek asylum and are factors in various economic and political problems. Türkiye, where all types of migration are experienced, has become the first choice not only for Syrians but also for refugees coming from Afghanistan and Iraq. The driving force behind these increasing demands lies in the "Open Door Policy."

With the policy reinforced by the analogy of "Ansar-Muhajirun" and expected to enhance prestige on the international stage, Türkiye has not returned any Syrian entering the border without discrimination based on religion, language, or race, and has legalized the "Temporary Protection" status granted to Syrians. Following this law, Türkiye has aligned itself with the EU and ensured the establishment of the Migration Administration General Directorate.

As a signatory to the 1951 Geneva Convention, which forms the basis of refugee law, Türkiye has made this decision and acted in accordance with international law. However, the "temporary protection" has not resulted in the expected return of refugees to their countries with the end of the war. As of September 2023, the number of Syrians under temporary protection in Türkiye is 3,186,561. This uncontrollable and unforeseeable influx of people has spread from camps to cities, leading to various economic and social concerns.

In this unprecedentedly liberal process, refugees have dispersed to the regions of their choice within the country, and unsurprisingly, ghettoization has begun due to the lack of a controlled policy, bringing along various issues. According to the United Nations, there are three different solutions to the refugee problem. The first is the "Return" option, which involves returning refugees to their countries of origin. In this option, threats to refugees must be eliminated, and the UN cooperates to provide security for refugees during the return process. The second solution is "Resettlement." Here, the UN encourages the transfer of refugees to a third country where they can be resettled. This option is pursued when refugees cannot find a permanent solution in the country, they are currently in. The third solution is "Long-term Asylum," which is directly linked to integration. This solution aims to help refugees establish a regular and secure life in the host country, along with integration policies, in scenarios where the first two options are not possible. For Türkiye, it is now impossible to send refugees back to Syria, where stability has not yet been achieved, and voluntary return is not seen as feasible for Syrians who have been living there since 2011. Surveys conducted in Türkiye indicate that Turks do not desire a shared future with Syrians, but the ongoing process highlights Türkiye's high level of social acceptance.

The issue of Syrian refugees in Türkiye has become a permanent rather than temporary problem, and the third option is seen as Türkiye's only point of interest. In Türkiye, where border security is not fully guaranteed, identifying a person entering the country's borders without declaration has long ceased to be a realistic solution. Borders cannot be secured unilaterally and require cooperation with the other side, but without trust and a stable environment on the counterpart side, the other side will be exposed to this irregular flow of people, ultimately finding the solution in integration policies. Especially for the Türkiye territories hosting over 750,000 newborn Syrian babies, this solution pathway is of vital importance because each newborn baby, along with their family, will constitute a significant portion of the population and will integrate into various aspects of societal life from education to healthcare.

In this process, unlike Türkiye, the European Union did not want to take in an influx of people it could not control and sought assistance from its neighbour Türkiye. Following the increase in refugees seeking to go to the EU via Türkiye in 2016, a refugee agreement was signed between the EU and Türkiye. This agreement aims to prevent individuals attempting to cross borders into Europe illegally and to ensure better protection for refugees in Türkiye. According to the agreement, those attempting to enter the EU will be returned to Turkish borders, and Türkiye will accept them.

The EU will provide financial support for the care of refugees, and in return, Türkiye commits to starting negotiations for visa liberalization with the EU if certain conditions are met. With this agreement, the European Union has appeased rising anti-immigrant far-right voices within its borders, provided financial support, made Türkiye a buffer zone, and prevented potential security issues.

The integration of Syrians within the country has become essential for Türkiye's political and social structure, as voluntary return is not feasible, and acceptance by other countries is not as likely as in Türkiye. Syrian nationals obtaining citizenship will constitute a critical percentage of political elections in the coming years, and the crisis, which is currently a matter of opposition-government debate, will indeed become a real determinant. Rather than being idealistic about irregular migration and refugees, taking action based on realistic analysis by examining research and numerical data to acknowledge the impossibility of returning from the current point brings significant importance in addressing the issues it poses. The issue of migration should be treated as an objective and non-political global issue for the continuation of internal security and stability, and considering Türkiye's geostrategic importance, it should not be considered completely separate from the EU.

Main Issues Affecting Turkish Foreign Policy

Prof. Tarık Oğuzlu

Prof. Tarık Oğuzlu is currently a faculty member and the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Istanbul Aydın University, Department of Political Science and International Relations. In addition to serving as the Chairman of the Academic Board of the Foreign Policy Institute, Prof. Dr. Oğuzlu consistently contributes to the written and visual media with his comments and analyses.

While the world was moving forward with a unipolar system after the end of the Cold War, former US President Barack Obama's statement, "I am the first American President of the new world order", is an explanation that international order evolving towards a multi-polar system. However, China's subsequent inclusion in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and its announcement of double-digit growth figures every year indicate that international system has moved into a strictly bipolar world.

In the new world order, while Türkiye will be remaining within the Western bloc, it will increase its cooperation with the West. Türkiye, as a country of geostrategic importance for the West, could not be offended by the West. For this reason, approving the purchase of F-16s and providing them with modernization kits shows that Türkiye is an important ally to US. The geopolitical aim of the USA is to prevent the formation of regional hegemons in Europe, Eurasia, the Middle East, and the Indo-Pacific. For this reason, Türkiye cooperates to maintain regional balances. Establishing and maintaining the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue against China in the Asia-Pacific region is a good example.

Türkiye, on the other hand, has shown anti-US and anti-Western stances from time to time in history.

It has resisted the deep pressures from the USA and the West regarding crises such as Jupiter Missiles, the Poppy Crisis, and the Cyprus Issue. At the end of the 1970s, Bülent Ecevit said, "If there is a third-world, left-oriented new economic order, as Türkiye we will be part of it as well," and explained that the Western obligation was not adhered to.

Questioning of the Western activities from a more comprehensive approach can be attributed not only to the discourse of domestic politics but also to the fact that the system allows for it.

The unipolar order between 1991 and 2008, the spread of the capitalist free economy by the USA in the world, and the crisis in 2008 and especially the rise of China reveal that there are other options in the world.

In the post-2008 period, Türkiye implemented an Ankara-centered and strategically focused but essentially multi-dimensional and multi-lateral foreign policy in the Middle East region with "Strategic Depth". Türkiye wished to take advantage of the Arab Uprisings to stand out in the region and aspired to become the governor and architect of the new Middle East. However, as a result of Türkiye's stance of 'precious loneliness'; its relations with countries such as Egypt, Israel, UAE, and Saudi Arabia have been disrupted.

Furthermore; distrust, instability in relations, and skepticism have occured. At the same time, Eastern Mediterranean has turned into an area of conflict between ideas arising from Western policies in the Middle East and Central Asia. Events such as the shooting down of the Russian plane, the assassination of Ambassador Andrey Karlov, the purchase of the S-400 air and missile defense system, and the removal of Türkiye from the F-35 program show the dynamic nature of relations with both the USA and Russia. Türkiye is maintaining a more solution-oriented relationship with Russia as its rifts with the West widen. Among the reasons for this is Türkiye's ability to get along with the Russians rather than the Westerners in Syria and Iraq.

In the European Union, the fear of not being able to preserve postmodern and Kantian values have been increasing. There has been an increased tendency to preserve the norms they have, rather than the ideals of spreading these norms to the world. These tendencies, the transition from Kant to Hobbes, will benefit Türkiye geostrategically. In other words, as long as there is no unlimited freedom, no absolute good, absolute bad, or absolute rule, Türkiye will grow stronger in the current international order day by day.

Türkiye will find a place for itself in the world order by assuming the role of a mediator and guarantor state for the finalization of the current Russia-Ukraine and Israel-Palestine conflicts, and as a country that portrays itself as a supporter of the international peace. Türkiye's position is very important, especially in terms of being in communication with Russia, regarding the 'Grain Corridor Initiative' and meeting its grain needs. The strategic gap between Türkiye and the US is quite clear and will most likely remain so. There are four countries that could potentially pose existential threats to the US, which are China, North Korea, Russia, and Iran. Türkiye has partial cooperation with China.

There is a regional rivalry between Türkiye and Iran that will not lead to a close combat. North Korea is not on Türkiye's agenda due to geographical distances. However, Russia is a very important partner for Türkiye, especially with its proximity to the Turkic states and Türkiye's role as a bridge between Russia and the West. Therefore, Türkiye is becoming an important partner for the US against Iran due to the regional competition factor and as the closest NATO member to Russia in the Russian-Western dispute.

Türkiye recognizes the importance of the United Nations (UN) and NATO in the changing order, but is also aware that the current power is shifting from the Euro-Atlantic to the Indo-Pacific. Rather than destroying the system, Türkiye will be expecting reforms that increase the importance of powers such as China, India, and itself. Türkiye, which can be considered one of the countries of the Global South, has a wider room for maneuver compared to many countries. For instance, former British Defense Minister Gawin Williamson made an agreement with the Chinese company Huawei for 5G infrastructure, but was dismissed due to a possible national security vulnerability. However, Türkiye can easily cooperate with China and Russia, as well as with the USA and the European Union.

Africa in World Politics

Assoc. Prof. Yunus Turhan

Yunus Turhan conducted fieldwork and participated in humanitarian aid projects in sub-Saharan African countries such as Mozambique, Tanzania, Zanzibar, and South Africa. Currently, he serves as an Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations at Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University. Additionally, he holds the position of Director at the University's Center for Mediterranean Basin and African Studies.

Africa's growing influence in world politics is an important issue. Indeed, the continent has an important raw material and marketplace. However, it is debatable whether the African continent will take its place as a power center in world politics. To conduct this debate, it is necessary to shed light on the importance of Africa in human history, its historical breaks, turning points, and African identity.

First of all, Africa is simultaneously the oldest and the youngest continent in the world. It is the oldest continent because the oldest soil found is in Africa. It is the youngest continent because it has the youngest population in the world. With over 1.4 billion inhabitants, Africa has an average age of 17. With 14, Niger has the youngest average age. In this context, while Europe is getting older, the importance of being a young continent stems from the potential of the young population in areas such as the labor force and future management. Comprising 54 countries, the continent ranks second in the world in terms of surface area with 30 million km2, after Asia with 44 million km2 . The African continent has enough area to include the USA, China, India, Japan, Mexico, and many European countries. When world maps are examined concerning geographical features, a political aspect of the maps is witnessed. While the two farthest ends of the African continent from east to west are 7200 km apart, the two ends of Russia are 6400 km apart. However, Russia has a much larger area on the map compared to the African continent.

Therefore, the visibility of Africa on the map is politically constructed.

When looking at Africa's human history, there are eight turning points. First, it is the historical starting point of humanity and our species, going back 4,2 million years. Secondly, agricultural activities began on the continent in 10,000 BC. Thirdly, the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great and the cultural accumulation that developed during this period was an important turning point. Egypt became one of the most important cultural and commercial centers of the period with the establishment of the Library of Alexandria by Ptolemy I Soter after his death in accordance with Alexander the Great's wishes. Fourthly, with the Muslim conquest of Egypt in 639, the establishment of Cairo as the capital of Egypt is important. The fifth turning point was the capture of Egypt from the Fatimids by Saladin Ayyubi in 1171. The sixth important break was the establishment of a trading center in El-Mina by the Portuguese in 1471. In the 1885 Berlin Conference, the division of Africa by the Western powers and the beginning of de facto occupation can be seen as the seventh break. The last break was the 1960 African Independence Year, which was recognized with the independence of 18 colonial countries.

There are also different theories about the formation of the name Africa. These are the Roman theory, the Phoenician theory, and the Weather/climate theory.

According to the Roman theory, the Romans called the tribes around present-day Tunisia "Afri". The word "Afri-terre", was formed by adding the word terra, which means soil, means the land of the Afrians. This term was transformed and became Africa. According to the second theory, the Phoenician theory, the name Africa derives from "Frigi", which the Phoenicians called the land of corn and fruit. In the context of this theory, Africa has been a continent that continues its destiny with the name given to it by Westerners. Finally, according to the Weather/Climate theory, the continent, named after the Roman word "Aphrike", refers to hot, dusty lands far from the cold.

Africa, which is defined as the cradle of humanity in world history, has important findings as a result of the examination of paleoanthropological changes. The "Taung Boy" who lived 4 million years ago and was discovered in Taung, South Africa in 1924 is one of the oldest known ancestors of the world. The fossil known as "Lucy", also one of the oldest known ancestors of humans, is an adult female of the species Australopithecus afarensis, thought to have lived about 4,2 million years ago. It was discovered in 1974 in present-day Ethiopia. Australopithecus afarensis is also one of the best-known precursor human species that lived for a long time in East Africa during the Pliocene. Homo Sapiens, as modern humans are known, migrated from Africa about 100,000 years ago and began to spread across Eurasia via the Strait of Babulmendep. Over the years since the first human remains were found in Africa and the rest of the world, scientists have developed different hypotheses and theories about human origins. According to the "out of Africa" theory, humans migrated from Africa and wiped out the Neanderthals in Europe, while according to the "multi-regionalism" theory, Homo Sapiens and other humans living in Eurasia were very similar, so humans evolved in and out of Africa over a long period of time.

These hypotheses have been complicated by the fact that human species such as Denisova, Neanderthal, and Hobites, who lived in different geographies in the same periods as Homo Sapiens, are known to have existed and that these DNAs are still present. Thanks to discoveries, Homo Sapiens has been both right and wrong against all species living in the world. In 1987, biochemist Rebecca Cann and other scientists traced the origin of mitochondrial DNA in all humans to a single woman who lived in Africa about 200,000 years ago. This seems to conclusively settle the "out of Africa" and "multi-regionalism" debate. So, today, these hypotheses have started to integrate and the "African Eve" (Mitochondrial Eve) hypothesis has emerged. In other words, African Eve had children with Denisovans and Neanderthals who lived in different geographies, including Sapiens. So, even if we are not all black, all modern humans are indeed from Africa. In light of all this information, we can trace a history of human history that spreads from Africa to the world.

Considering Africa's regional characteristics and progressive history, African identity can be defined in different ways. In line with colonialist and colonialist history, Africans have been taught that they are Africans by the colonial experiences of Europeans. Ali Mazrui talks about three African identities: climate, religion, and Western definition.

First, according to climate, there is an identity that climate gives to Africa. Secondly, in religion, there is the influence of Pandeism. According to this belief system, each tribe has its gods and an animal that people identify with. Unlike the gods in Europe, the gods in Africa do not fight. In this respect, there is no hierarchical understanding of Pandeism. If you look at the social structure in Europe, hierarchy and power relations still exist. The last identity factor, the Western definition, is based on a racist understanding.

With the domination and exploitation of Africans by Westerners, African people have been oppressed and subordinated to white people.

Ali Mazrui has this to say about the difference in the social, cultural, and political transformations of Africans imposed from outside in history: "We were all Africans until colonialism split us into Tanganyikans, Kenyans, and Nigerians".

With the arrival of the Atlantic world into the continent, Africa was introduced to the slavery system and became part of the history of colonial exploitation. This process created a rupture in Africa. As Ali Mazrui sheds light in his quote, while tribes lived in a balanced way in African society, Europeans and the slave trade disrupted this balance. During this period, the Portuguese established churches with the Pope's decree, the French established cultural centers, and the British entered Africa and established trade and railroads. With these activities, Africa's history began to be transformed and exposed to foreign influence. The slave trade and system are important for the history of the continent. In 1441, Antão Gonçalves' voyage to West Africa is recognized as the beginning of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The Portuguese Empire has been an important factor in this history. In 1454, a papal edict granted the slave trade exclusively to Portugal. Although Europeans had their understanding and practice of slavery before that, the slave activities in Africa and the practice of taking people from there became systematized. Europeans' understanding and practice of slavery is based on the Slavic slaves sold by Italian merchants in the Mediterranean markets. In other words, the first slaves were slaves brought from Europe before Africans. The intertwining of Slavs with the slave trade led to the widespread belief that the words Slav and slave were synonymous. These European slaves could return to their homeland or be freed under certain conditions.

The slave trade also points to a larger system of which it is a part. With slavery playing an important role in the development of capitalism, the rotation of the economic wheel was established through markets and the slave trade. Due to the inherent dynamics of capitalism, "more product, more market" legitimized slavery. It is no coincidence that capitalism, which developed with the market system, developed most in England in this context.

The awareness that developed over time against slavery and its effects brought along opposing and libertarian activities. After the French Revolution, awareness and movements started with concepts such as equality and justice. The first uprising of slaves against the institution of slavery on the African continent was the Coromantee Uprising (also known as Tacky's War) in Jamaica in 1760. The first successful black revolution was the Haitian Revolution in 1804. Awareness of slavery began to emerge not only in the communities that experienced it, but also among white people and citizens of colonialist states. In 1787, the "Society for the Abolition of Slavery" was founded by British politician William Wilberforce. In 1803 Denmark outlawed the slave trade. In 1807, Great Britain also abolished the slave trade. These consciousness-raising and mobilizations that affected Africa after the French Revolution did not actually abolish slavery or end the exploitation of the region by Westerners. On the contrary, with the transition from colonialism to the administrative sphere system, that is, colonialism, a new shaping took place.

The Berlin Conference of 1885 is of critical importance in the division, administration and, exploitation of Africa in the new order. With this conference, de facto occupation began, colonial administrations were established, borders were drawn and territories were distributed to Europeans.

While 1/10 of Africa was colonized until 1870, 9/10 of the continent was colonized as of 1890 as a result of the determination of European administrations with this conference. Ethiopia, which can be considered as the only place in Africa that was not colonized during this period, was under Italian rule for 4 years only as a result of the distributions. This is the reason Ethiopia was the place where Pan-Africanism was born and developed, and other African countries later modeled their flags after the Ethiopian flag. By 1960, there was a new turning point for Africa. In this period, the new general conjuncture of the world order was characterized by a bipolar world system dominated by the Soviets and the United States, and a weakening Europe. With the impact of the First and Second World Wars, the growing awareness and military organization of Africans, who were used as soldiers in the wars, on behalf of their own lands, led to the development of Pan-Africanism. In this process, Ghana became the first independent African country in 1957. In 1960, 18 colonial countries gained their political independence, although they still remained economically dependent. 14 of these countries became independent from the colonial rule of France, 2 from the United Kingdom, 1 from Belgium, and 1 from Italy.

In the context of both the history of the continent and world history, the legacy of colonialism on Africa is an important topic of discussion. Considering the effects and consequences of colonialism, critical and controversial new/post-conceptions of modernism, which developed with a Western focus, have begun to be addressed. Nevertheless, the oppression and exploitation experienced by the continent has hindered the development of the countries in many ways and led to their inability to become a power in the capitalist world system. Your sentence is grammatically correct. For instance, the regions with the lowest levels of education tend to experience the most frequent coups.

Finally, for the sake of the future of the African continent, it is useful to discuss whether Africa can be a power center in the 21st century. Africa is currently very technologically backward. There are political problems in the countries. Although they have officially gained their independence, they remain economically dependent. For example, France, realizing that all countries would eventually fall out of its control, introduced the CFA franc as a common currency in all the countries under its rule on December 26, 1945 in order to ensure the continuation of this dependence. Today, the countries included in the CFA currency system, which are still unable to use their own economic systems, infrastructures, etc., pay France 500 billion dollars in fees annually. On the other hand, Africa is now aware that Europe/West is no longer its only door and that it has alternatives such as Russia and China. Your sentence is grammatically correct. Militarily, they can secure support from Russia, China, and, when necessary, India.

When it is looked at Africa's future on paper, the continent's existing wealth gives it the potential to be a potential power actor. Therefore, if it is projected until 2040, there is a possibility for the continent to emerge as a significant power center. The critical question here is: who will govern a region with such potential and how will it be governed? Considering that 35% of the world's undiscovered reserves are in Africa and in the hands of Western traders, the importance of the actor of governance emerges. In other words, Africa's ability to generate solutions is the continent's real challenge. As political economist George Ayittey has put it, "Africa needs African solutions". African peoples, who should be one of the most important parts of this solution process, should be included as an integral part of this process instead of an autocratic-supremacist approach.

Turkish Foreign Policy I

Assoc. Prof. Selver B. Şahin

Selver B. Şahin received her PhD from Canterbury University and worked as a researcher and faculty member at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. Her book titled "International Intervention and State-Making: How Exception Became the Norm" has been published by Routledge. Currently, she continues her academic career as a faculty member in the Department of International Relations at Bilkent University.

After the Justice and Development Party came to power in November 2022, Türkiye's politics has undergone significant transformation points. These changes have not only been limited to domestic politics but have also manifested in Turkish foreign policy.

One of the prominent figures of the era, Ahmet Davutoğlu, became the foreign policy chief advisor to then-Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in 2003, and subsequently served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2009. However, due to his role as chief advisor alongside his position as Minister of Foreign Affairs, he was one of the most influential figures shaping Türkiye's foreign policy at the time. With his book "Strategic Depth," Davutoğlu introduced a new understanding of foreign policy, and from May 1, 2009, until August 2014, he implemented the theories he proposed, first as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and then until 2016 as the 26th Prime Minister of Türkiye.

Davutoğlu's foreign policy vision aimed to establish Türkiye as a prominent "central country" in its region, utilizing its geopolitical position and especially its role as a carrier of the historical legacy inherited from the Ottoman Empire. Davutoğlu formulated a policy of being a "mediator" country capable of resolving crises in its vicinity and set the zero problems policy with neighbors, leveraging Türkiye's position in the region.

Alongside a balanced and pragmatic foreign policy approach, Davutoğlu advocated for the development of power policies, particularly in the Middle East, Caucasus, and the Balkans, emphasizing the need to improve relations with the EU and the US. Soft power elements were utilized as primary resources during this period, and cooperation based on civil instruments increased. Within the framework of these policies, Türkiye pursued a multifaceted approach incorporating various elements such as commercial partnerships and cultural values into its roadmap. The biggest challenge of this foreign policy period was the Arab Uprisings Starting in 2010 with the freedom-seeking movements of the people in the Middle East and their uprisings against dictatorships, Türkiye's, along with its zero problems policy, supported the region's people against the leaders with whom it had friendly relations. The concept of the "Turkish Model" emerged during this period and was proposed to countries in the region striving to construct their own economic and political systems. This model offers a country and governance that is Muslim, democratic, modern and possesses a culture that influences not only its region but also the entire world.

The model used in foreign policy was an increasing display of prestige for Türkiye, but the progress of the Arab Uprising negatively affected this positive image.

Subsequently, the Syrian crisis not only affected Türkiye's relations with Syria but also with Russia, the US, and Iran, all of which have interests in the region. The strengthening of non-state actors in the region and the Syrian crisis, as highlighted by Şükrü Elekdağ, reinforced the results of the 'Two and a Half Wars' strategy. This analysis takes into account the support provided by the state actors Syria and Greece to the non-state actor PKK, through their collaboration, while considering Türkiye's vital interests. Following the Syrian crisis, the migrant crisis, along with the financial assistance to Türkiye resulting from the agreement between the EU and Türkiye, has implications for Türkiye's foreign relations and security. Another factor influencing Turkish foreign policy is the crises with Russia and the US. These crises grew as Türkiye applied to NATO for the placement of Patriot defense systems in line with its air defense system needs. While Russia criticized this action, fearing it would escalate tensions in the region, relations softened in the future with the purchase of S-400 systems, leading to increased tensions between Washington and Ankara. Statements by the US expressing support for stability following the July 15 coup attempt accelerated Türkiye's rapprochement with Russia. This situation created complex networks of relationships and tensions in the region. Türkiye aimed to diversify its alliances and reduce dependence on the West but faced challenges in balancing its relations with NATO and Russia. The issue of the S-400 system has remained a controversial point, continuing to strain Türkiye's relations with the United States and some other NATO members. Türkiye seeks to protect its interests in Syria by collaborating with Russia while also striving to act in harmony with NATO allies.

Türkiye – Africa Relations

Assoc. Prof. Yunus Turhan

Yunus Turhan conducted fieldwork and participated in humanitarian aid projects in sub-Saharan African countries such as Mozambique, Tanzania, Zanzibar, and South Africa. Currently, he serves as an Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations at Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University. Additionally, he holds the position of Director at the University's Center for Mediterranean Basin and African Studies.

The presence of Turks in Africa and their relations with the continent go back much earlier than their presence in Anatolia. In 1040, about 200 years before the Battle of Dandanaqan against the Ghaznavid army, which was the milestone in the transition to Anatolia, Turks had actually been in Africa. During this period, they were brought to Africa as slaves and/or laborers. The Kipchak Turks who were taken to Africa established an empire there. Therefore, the presence of Turks in Africa is even more ancient than their presence in Anatolia.

In today's modern Egypt, the Tulunid Empire (868-905) was established under the leadership of Ahmad ibn Tulun. This empire was the first community to register a Turkish presence in Africa. The underlying reasons for reaching Africa before reaching Anatolia is an important process that should be considered. Apart from the migration of the Western Huns to Europe and the Danube Basin in 375, the fact that the Turks settled in Africa before Anatolia and remained in that geography is proof that there are many common points between the Turks and the local elements of Africa. External factors were important in the Turks' orientation towards Anatolia. Due to the oppression of the Oghuz Turks by the Ghaznavid and Qarakhanid rulers, Turks migrated towards Anatolia, a geography where they could move more comfortably and freely. However, there is a different sociological explanation for the presence of Turks in Africa.

Turks, who were initially taken to Africa as slaves and/or laborers, continued to stay in Egypt even when the political will was weak, integrated into the local society through relationships such as marriage, and took part in the administration. This integration points to the importance of Africa in the eyes of Turks and the deep dimension of the ties established with the continent. In this process, Turks preserved their own identity and culture while integrating with the local society.

Turkish rule in North Africa, which began with the Tulunids, continued under the Ikhshidids (935-969) and Ayyubids (1171-1250). Then, with the Mamluk Sultanate (Kölemenoğulları, 1250-1517) founded by the Kipchak Turks (known as white slaves), the Turkish dominance in Africa (in the context of Egypt) began to spread and take root on social grounds. This Africa-centered dominance continued during the Ottoman Empire by changing its form.

The Ottoman Empire's (1517-1912) first interest in Africa dates back to the reign of Mehmed II. Mehmed II's aim to create the Anatolian Union and the allegiance of some principalities in Anatolia (especially in the Karaman and Kayseri regions) to the Mamluks in return, was the first source of tension between Africa and Anatolia. Selim I was the first to put Mehmed II's idea of a military operation in Africa into action. Selim I overthrew the Safavid Shah in Iran at Chaldiran, and then headed to Egypt, aiming to eliminate this source of trouble and to gain the religious

authority, namely the Caliphate, that the Ottomans needed to become a global power. With the conquest of Egypt, the Turks' presence in Africa became linked to Anatolia. One can speak of a certain colonial rule of the Turks in Africa, although not in the conventional sense. Selim I, who took over the Caliphate from the Abbasids, stayed in Egypt for about eight months. At the same time, with this expansion, the intellectual accumulation of the region (such as architecture, engineering, works of art, and libraries) was transferred to Anatolia. This rare Ottoman conquest of the East is considered by some scholars to have been a turning point. Professor Dimitri Kitsikis, who studies Turkology and Sinology, argues that Selim I's Egyptian expedition had a vital impact on the future of the Ottoman Empire and considers the collapse of the Ottoman Empire as the aftermath of Selim I's Egypt expedition. The lack of expansion to the south of Africa during the Ottoman period was due to the move away from the center in Anatolia and the migratory habits of the Turks towards the West.

During the 395 years of its rule in Africa, the Ottoman Empire pursued a decentralized approach to governance but did not intervene externally to change the demographic, social, cultural, economic, or social structure of the continent. Nevertheless, its support for the Zanzibar community, its sending Ebubekir Efendi to the Cape of Good Hope as Imam in 1863 in response to the request of the Muslim community in South Africa, and its close political, diplomatic and religious relations with the Kanem–Bornu Empire in Nigeria are proof that not only the northern part of the continent but the entire continent was at the center of the Ottoman political and military envisagement. As a result, some African countries such as Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia and even Niger and Chad came under Ottoman rule in whole or in part, and for nearly

four centuries the Ottoman Empire preserved the local identities of African societies.

In this way, the Ottoman Empire ensured the continent's continuation of its ongoing economic and commercial system, delayed the exploitation of the region by Western powers, and contributed to the development of Pan-Africanism, which later became the basis of anti-colonial movements and African solidarity. this understanding and management was the main point that distinguished the Ottoman Empire from other countries by looking against the policies of Western states that would affect the expansionist, system-transforming (opening the region to global exploitation), and demographic (slave trade between 20-30 million) structure.

Since the first presence of the Turks in Africa remained specific to the continent until Yavuz Sultan Selim, Africa's connection with Anatolia started after the 16th century. In other words, due to the inherent management approach of the Egypt-centered political structure, Africa's relationship with Türkiye was institutionalized during the Ottoman period. The door to Africa, which was opened with the Battle of Ridaniye (1517), was closed with the Treaty of Ushi signed with Italy in 1912. With the loss of Tripoli and Benghazi, the last lands of the Ottoman Empire in North Africa, the 4-century-old bond with the continent ended. However, the Turkish presence, which lasted for approximately 11 centuries, reveals that Africa is a very important historical region for the Turks. This ancient past established with the continent entered a period of stagnation after the establishment of the Republic of Türkiye.

From 1923 to 1950, the Republic of Türkiye had a different range of foreign policies than the Ottoman rule. Entering a period of stagnation and differentiation in foreign policy can be considered in two dimensions: internal and external factors.

In the context of internal factors, the founding administration of the Republic in this period followed an inward-looking policy aimed at maintaining the status quo and the nation-state. Therefore, Türkiye's borders beyond the National Pact were not in the administration's interest. The main target priority was to institutionalize Westernization, which was initiated in the 18th century, within the framework of the principle of reaching the level of contemporary civilizations. In terms of external factors, the fact that almost the entire continent was under Western mandate in the 1920s resulted in Türkiye not having an African country with which it could establish or develop good relations. In addition, the Cold War threat and Türkiye's pursuit of a foreign policy compatible with the West in the face of the Soviet threat were effective. In this period when Africa was not at the forefront of foreign policy, Türkiye's relations with Africa became active primarily through engagement with Ethiopia. This is because, after the First World War, only Ethiopia was an independent state in Africa. The fact that both states had similar historical processes in their struggle against imperialism led to the establishment of friendly relations between Atatürk and Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie. As a result of this relationship, a consulate, Türkiye's first diplomatic representation in Africa, was opened in Addis Ababa in 1926. 7 years later, Ethiopia's embassy in Ankara was opened. In 1935, diplomatic relations developed between Türkiye and Ethiopia and Türkiye's consulate was turned into a permanent embassy. Your sentence is grammatically correct. In the same year, Türkiye openly supported Ethiopia, which was invaded by Italy under the leadership of Benito Mussolini.

As mentioned, another factor that affected Türkiye-Africa relations during the Cold War period was the Cyprus issue. A new foreign policy transformation took place with the İsmet İnönü government established in 1963.

As a critical development in this period, the "New Foreign Policy Goal" was declared in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Türkiye No.11600 dated January 7, 1964, which is considered as the first African initiative that left its mark on the history of the Republic of Türkiye. In order to alleviate the international political loneliness in the Cyprus issue and to find global support, the administration appointed seven separate goodwill delegations consisting of academics, diplomats, journalists and politicians to visit the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin American countries. With the messages conveyed through the ambassadors sent to Africa, it was aimed to initiate studies with African countries in political, commercial and cultural fields. When Türkiye could not find the support it expected from the USA and NATO on the Cyprus issue in the 1960s, it revised existing international policies and turned to neglected geographies. The first delegation included Nigeria, Algeria, Senegal, Morocco, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Mauritania and Liberia; The second delegation included Congo, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Gabon and Chad; The third delegation visited Burundi, Kenya, Ethiopia, Malawi, Somalia, Rwanda, Libya, Tanzania, Sudan, Madagascar and Tunisia. The bilateral relations that are intended to be established by visiting these countries, despite the fact that Türkiye does not currently have diplomatic representation, are important for the development of Africa-Türkiye relations during the Cold War period. However, it cannot be said that this initiative was successful in the Cyprus issue. For example, in 1965, when the decision regarding the sovereignty of Cyprus and Turkish intervention was taken at the United Nations General Assembly, Sub-Saharan countries, except Senegal (which also abstained), voted overwhelmingly against Türkiye. In the following period, after the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation, then Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit wanted to initiate an initiative towards Africa again.

This desire can also be seen in his statement: "Türkiye's new target geography should be the Middle East and African countries."A similar discourse and policy was on the agenda during the 30th Government Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel's era, with Asian and African discourses. However, conjuncturally, Türkiye's African initiative remained inconclusive. In African countries that gained their independence, there was a fear that the division on the Cyprus issue could set an example for the minorities in their own countries. In the following periods, with the Cyprus issue falling off Türkiye's foreign policy agenda, African relations became secondary again.

The period between 1998 and 2005, when the initiative came to the front again and this period can be considered as another period. Numan Hazar, who served as Türkiye's ambassador to Nigeria in 1998, stated that the Cyprus issue could not be easily understood in relations with African countries and insisted on the determination of a more comprehensive African policy towards the multi-ethnic continent. With the support of the then President of Foreign Affairs, İsmail Cem, a comprehensive study on Africa was initiated. In this direction, the "The Action Plan for opening up to Africa" was adopted with the participation of various private sector and public sector staff. The main aim of the plan was to increase political, economic, cultural and diplomatic relations over time. The global agenda had a significant impact on the Action Plan's return to the foreign policy agenda in 1998. Türkiye's initiative in Africa coincided with the African initiative policies implemented by powers such as China, Brazil and India in the late 1990s. Therefore, in parallel with global developments, Türkiye has actually followed the global trend with the new paradigm developed within the framework of its own historical and cultural affinity elements within the framework of common historical experience.

However, Türkiye, which started to open up to world markets with liberal policies in the 1980s, wanted to benefit from the economic gains offered by Africa. However, factors such as political instability, economic difficulties and the 1999 earthquake that Türkiye went through prevented the implementation of the Action Plan in question until the AKP government.

During this period, the African issue, which remained untouched until 2002, began to re-emerge. In AKP's Africa policy, the region was perceived as an economically centered region. "The Action Plan for opening up to Africa" was included in the party agenda by the AKP, demonstrating the political and economic will to develop relations with African countries. The global economic crisis that broke out in the mid-2000s allowed startups and entrepreneurs to lose interest in traditional trading partners and expand into new market areas. Thus, the bourgeoisie, with the economic power that developed under the AKP government and the increasing capital, also opened up outside the relatively risky and mainstream trade centers.

In general terms, due to the administrative and relational structuring of African countries, relations with the countries there are mostly based on individual relationships. This is because countries in Africa do not have an institutional state structure. Regarding this, it is important that the political leader who visits Africa the most in the world is Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, because these visits also reflect Türkiye's African initiative and relations. Relations were taken to the next level when Türkiye was declared a "strategic partner" at the African Union Summit in January 2008. At the same time, African Summits have been held since 2008. These summits are important for African Studies in Türkiye. Türkiye's military engagement in Africa is relatively new to countries such as China, Russia, France and England.

The cooperation that Türkiye developed with African countries in the field of defense and security after 2017 has added military depth to the African policy that has been built over the last 20 years. Türkiye, which has been in the region only in the context of its soft elements for a long time, has now begun to maintain its presence in Africa with its military capacity. For example, the "Camp TURKSOM" opened in Somalia in 2017, which is Türkiye's first largest overseas military base, has become the hard power of the African-Turkish presence. At the same time, approximately 1/4 of Somali military personnel were trained here. Somalia was the first country to which Türkiye sent troops after South Korea. Considering that 90% of world trade occurs through maritime trade, this military development is important in Türkiye-Africa relations.

As a result, when historical and current developments are considered in general terms, although Türkiye has the potential for a strategic partnership in its relations with Africa, this partnership has not been fully achieved. Türkiye is moving forward mostly within the framework of strategic cooperation. During all these developments, the fact that the Republic of Türkiye and previously the Ottoman Empire did not have a colonialist past in Africa was a factor that positively affected the relations. Regarding this, religious diplomacy is framed in a way that does not touch the religious and cultural relations of African societies. In general terms, the issues that need to be developed in the context of Türkiye-Africa relations are related to the development of a systematic African program and the perception of Africa as an active actor/power that should be handled actively and in its own focus for Türkiye, rather than as an alternative to the European Union.

Transatlantic Relations from the Post-Cold War Era to Present I

Prof. Didem Buhari

Didem Buhari serves as a Professor in the Department of International Relations at Izmir Katip Çelebi University. She obtained her doctoral degree from the Politics and International Relations Department at the University of London (Royal Holloway), her master's degree from the University of Edinburgh, and her bachelor's degree from the Department of International Relations at Middle East Technical University.

Transatlantic Relations represent the economic, political, cultural, and military ties between the United States and the countries of the European Union. The European Union is a political and economic union that integrates 27 countries on the continent in various economic, political, and societal aspects. It constitutes a significant portion of global prosperity and influences almost every part of the world. The role of the European Union and its relations with the West are extremely important. First of all, strong economic relations can be noted. These relations, which constitute a large part of the global economy, represent the trade partnership between the EU and America, the largest market in the world. Secondly, within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), they cooperate strategically in defense and security to address potential threats in the region. This relationship is crucial for maintaining international peace and security. (Security Community, the US and Europe share a common identity and sense of history more than just being strategic partners).

The concept of "adversarial partnership" emphasizes the existence of a strategic partnership while acknowledging the presence of competitive or conflictual elements in the complex structure of relations between Europe and the US. In this context, China's debt diplomacy stands out.

This diplomacy, which makes the countries that China lends money to economically dependent, generally aims to strengthen economic relations with other countries through large-scale infrastructure projects or providing loans. The USA and the EU may perceive this strategy of China as an effort to expand their sphere of influence or gain a competitive advantage, and this may lead to tensions in Transatlantic relations. Additionally, NATO's encirclement of Russia is affecting countries' relations in the changing world order. NATO's expansion in the post-Cold War period has continued with the accession of Eastern European and Baltic countries to NATO. Russia perceives this expansion as a threat to its borders and considers the increase in NATO's military presence as a threat to its national security. However, the decision to increase NATO's military presence in Eastern Europe and the Baltic countries is aimed at NATO's defense and deterrence policies. It aims to ensure the security of NATO members rather than directly threatening Russia. This situation could increase tensions between NATO and Russia and make relations strained. Another relationship is their joint consideration of power balance. They shape the balance of power on the global stage by acting together. Historically, by abandoning the Monroe Doctrine and participating in World War I, the United States demonstrated an early example of Transatlantic unity.

Similarly, by approaching Europe after World War II and taking measures such as the Marshall Plan, the US strengthened Transatlantic relations and contributed to the establishment of NATO. During this period, the US presence in Europe and its relations with NATO played a significant role in preventing Soviet expansion. After World War II, a two-sided system emerged. In this context, the Eastern Bloc (USSR) and the Western Bloc (US, capitalist states) formed the basis of Transatlantic relations, making their mark on history. While NATO's function continued, the Cold War and the subsequent dissolution of the Soviet Union ensured that it continued to play an important role in the fields of security and defense. Additionally, trade and economic connections increased between the US and Europe and were supported by various trade agreements. Cooperation against global security threats, especially in the fight against terrorism, has been an important part of Transatlantic relations and has led to joint operations in regions such as Afghanistan and Iraq. However, there have been disagreements between the United States and Europe on some issues, especially in situations such as the Iraq War, and this has caused tension in relations. The global financial crisis and Europe's economic problems have added dimension to Transatlantic relations and increased the importance of economic cooperation. Initiatives such as trade agreements and economic reform efforts have contributed to keeping relations alive and growing.

To mention different theses on Transatlantic relations, we can refer to the US empire/imperialism (Pax Americana or American Peace). 'Europe is obedient and does whatever the US says'. Another aspect is interdependence.The alignment of interests emphasizes the need of states for each other. Additionally, the concepts of multilateralism and international stability come to the forefront.

Challenges and Opportunities in Turkish Intelligence

Assoc. Prof. Ali Burak Darıcılı

After serving for 15 years as a Case Officer at the Prime Ministry's Intelligence and Security Department of Türkiye, Ali B. Darıcılı began working on cybersecurity, digital domain, intelligence, security, and terrorism within the discipline of international relations starting from 2014. Since 2017, he has been serving as an Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations at Bursa Technical University's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.

Rather than a mere news-gathering exercise, intelligence can be defined as an 'intelligence cycle' with stages of identification and orientation of intelligence needs, gathering of intelligence, processing of intelligence, and dissemination and utilization of intelligence. It is a cornerstone of international relations and is often associated with international security. In the context of modern security studies, the concept of security has both narrow and broad meanings. The narrow concept of security usually focuses on threats in the military or defense domain. This includes issues such as the physical security of the state, territorial integrity, and the protection of the country in case of war. Military intelligence, in particular, involves the processes of gathering and analyzing information against such threats. The broad concept of security goes beyond the narrow concept of security. This approach deals not only with military threats but also with economic, environmental, social, and political threats. For example, economic intelligence can be used to identify risks in commercial activities and protect national economic interests. Social intelligence can be used to anticipate and prevent social unrest. Intelligence activities have historically been used in many countries to strengthen states and protect their interests. For example, intelligence activities related to geographical exploration supported a country's efforts to explore and exploit other regions to increase its economic and military power.

Similarly, military intelligence has been used to plan a country's military operations and monitor its enemies.

While military intelligence was used extensively during the First World War, it started to be demilitarized after the Second World War. This demilitarization was also observed in the National Intelligence Organization (MIT), which was separated from the Turkish Armed Forces and attached to the Prime Ministry. During the Cold War, intelligence activities were of strategic importance. For example, organizations such as MI5 and MI6 gathered intelligence against the threat of the Soviet Union and other actors to protect the UK's national security. In the US, organizations such as the CIA were used to protect American interests and monitor Soviet threats during the Cold War. However, intelligence activities today have a broader perspective. To deal with new and complex threats such as terrorism, cyber security, and environmental threats, intelligence is constantly improving its technology and methods of analysis. In this context, the use of intelligence in different fields such as non-governmental organizations and the private sector has become widespread.

Unlike traditional military threats, asymmetric threats are low-cost, creative, and unexpected.

Such threats are usually carried out by non-state actors or terrorist organizations and have the potential to overcome the defense systems of the targeted country and cause difficulties. Asymmetric threats, especially in areas such as cyber-attacks, cyber espionage, terrorism, and organized crime, are becoming increasingly important in modern security studies. The role of intelligence is critical in dealing with asymmetric threats. Such threats can often be difficult to detect and prevent through traditional intelligence methods. Therefore, it is important to continuously develop and update intelligence collection and analysis capacity. Intelligence agencies also need to cooperate with other security agencies and international partners and increase information sharing.

It is also important to strike a balance between freedom and security. Intelligence activities must be conducted in accordance with democratic norms and human rights, protecting the fundamental rights of individuals while at the same time ensuring the overall security of society. Therefore, intelligence should operate in a balanced manner between the security and freedom of society. This entire process needs to be considered as a whole. A country with strong intelligence alone cannot be said to have absolute power; likewise, the development of its economy and bureaucracy on the axis of correct decision-making processes and high control are among the factors that feed accurate and strong intelligence.

Turkish Foreign Policy II

Assoc. Prof. Selver Şahin

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The analysis of Turkish foreign policy can be examined in-depth under various methodologies and paradigm frameworks, considering both historical and contemporary contexts. This analysis requires a comprehensive approach to understand the complexity and diversity of factors influencing Türkiye's foreign policy. Primarily, individual-level analysis, which is a leader-centric approach, highlights the role of leaders in determining Türkiye's foreign policy. This approach aims to examine how leaders' personal characteristics, ideologies, and political preferences influence foreign policy decisions. For example, under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Türkiye's foreign policy has been influenced by the AK Party's Islamist roots and neo-Ottoman vision.

Secondarily, an institution-centered approach takes into account the internal structure of the state and inter-institutional interactions. This framework focuses on understanding how Turkish foreign policy operates within the rational actor model. For example, inter-agency relationships such as those between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, and the Presidency play a critical role in shaping foreign policy decisions.

Thirdly, the organizational method emphasizes the role of institutions and organizations within the state. This approach focuses on the decision-making processes and interactions of various

Institutions (such as the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, TIKA, etc.) that influence Türkiye's foreign policy. Particularly, actors like the Turkish diaspora and civil society organizations play a significant role in Turkish foreign policy. Fourthly, methods focused on the international system examine how Türkiye's foreign policy is shaped within the context of international relations. This framework considers international factors such as Türkiye's accession process to the European Union, NATO membership, crises in the Middle East, and how these factors influence Türkiye's foreign policy.

In the past 20 years, Türkiye's foreign policy has undergone a transformation influenced by various factors. Studies explaining this transformation often focus on systemic factors, the EU accession process, or leaders. When we examine this transformation through the paradigm of Turkish Foreign Policy, we observe a contradiction between the rise of the "Strategic Depth" doctrine and the effects of the Arab Uprising. The Arab Uprisings were seen as an opportunity for Türkiye, particularly under the leadership of Ahmet Davutoğlu, who envisioned a period where the Turkish model could be shared with other countries in the region. However, the outcomes following the Arab Uprising have been negative for Türkiye. Regime changes did not occur, there were coups in Egypt, terrorist threats such as ISIS emerged, and Türkiye pursued a different path from that of the US's regional allies. Especially

with the strengthening of terrorist organizations like the PKK, Türkiye has carried out cross-border operations. Additionally, the terrorist threat that emerged on NATO's agenda after September 11 has also influenced Türkiye's foreign policy. Türkiye's security objectives are among the significant factors determining its foreign policy. Despite the assassination of the Russian Ambassador in Ankara, Russian-Turkish relations have maintained their stability. Relations with the United States have also played an important role in Türkiye's foreign policy. The deployment of Patriot missiles by the US to Türkiye in 2004, followed by the subsequent S-400 agreement, illustrates the complexity of Türkiye's relations with America in its foreign policy. İbrahim Kalın's concept of "valuable loneliness" has become a rhetoric concerning Türkiye's strategic choices in its foreign policy. Particularly in relations with countries like Syria and Egypt, this concept emphasizing Türkiye's preference for loneliness is important for understanding institutional structuring. The role of significant actors like Ibrahim Kalın is influential in shaping Türkiye's foreign policy. Kalın's leadership style and contributions to institutional structuring play a critical role in understanding the evolution of Türkiye's foreign policy. Public diplomacy and soft power tools also hold significant importance in Türkiye's foreign policy. Institutions engaged in diaspora diplomacy work to serve Türkiye's interests. For example, the Yunus Emre Institute and TİKA strive to enhance Türkiye's cultural and humanitarian influence. The aid response rate to the UN's calls and the societal support for TİKA reflect Türkiye's international impact.

In conclusion, the analysis of Türkiye's foreign policy occurs within the interaction and complexity of various factors. Bringing together systemic, institutional, leader-centric, and paradigm-based approaches is necessary to comprehensively understand Türkiye's foreign policy.

Türkiye – Russia Relations

Prof. Yelda Ongun

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The relations between Türkiye and Russia, two states with imperial traditions, are often characterized by rivalry and enmity throughout history, except for short intervals. When the historical process of relations is analyzed, the Russian Empire, which was one of the reasons for the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, was the state that the Ottomans fought the most wars within the period between the 17th century and the 20th century. The time of Catherine II was the period when the Ottoman Empire suffered great losses in two major wars. The Ottoman-Russian War of 1768-1774 and the resulting Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, followed by the Ottoman-Russian War of 1787-1792 and the resulting Treaty of Iasi, resulted in major losses for the Ottoman Empire. The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca is one of the most severe treaties signed by the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century. With this treaty, the Black Sea was no longer a Turkish lake and Russians benefited from capitulations for the first time. With the loss of Crimea, a Muslim Ottoman territory, Russia gained strategic success in the Black Sea and gained the opportunity to establish a navy. These developments would bring the problem of the straits to the agenda during the 19th century. The Ottoman Empire received its first foreign debt from England due to the Crimean War, which led to the bankruptcy of the Ottoman Empire's economy, and the process that led to the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (Düyun-u Umumiye) began. The 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878, known as the 93 War, in which approximately two-thirds of the European territories that were controlled by the Ottoman Empire were lost, and Russia became dominant in the Balkans with the Treaty of Ayastefanos, Western states turned their eyes to the Ottoman Empire and as a result, the Berlin Conference was held and the Armenian issue became an international problem here. After this conference, which is seen as the starting point of the Armenian issue, Armenians sought a homeland and reforms, and Armenians who cooperated with Russia in line with their interests were arrested for this reason, first for minor criminal offenses and then for acts of treason. The subsequent relocation and resettlement law for Armenians and its consequences constitute the origin of a series of developments that still have lasting effects on Turkish domestic and foreign policy. The Molotov-Sarper meeting at the end of the Second World War was also one of the confidence shattering periods in Turkish-Russian relations. This meeting took place between Selim Sarper, Türkiye's ambassador to Moscow, and the Soviet Union's Foreign Minister Viacheslav Molotov over the non-renewal of the 1925 Treaty of Friendship between the Soviet Union and Türkiye, which was due to expire in November 1945, and included demands that Sarper rejected without consulting Ankara. Since the demands included the ceding of Kars and Ardahan to the Soviets and serious concessions on the Straits, its rejection would be the beginning of the Soviet threat perception in Türkiye and would later lead to Türkiye's entry into the Western Bloc.

Türkiye-Russia relations have experienced five exceptional periods of rapprochement in history. The first one was between 1789-1805, thanks to the foreign policy of Selim III, who chose diplomacy instead of war. Secondly, between 1833 and 1841, during the reign of Mahmut II, the Ottoman Empire, who was defeated as a result of the revolt of Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha, asked Russia for help to solve the Egyptian problem and the Royal Pier (Hünkâr İskelesi) treaty was signed. According to the closed article of this agreement, in return for the aid provided to the Ottoman Empire by Russia, if Russia was attacked, the Ottoman Empire would close the Dardanelles and Istanbul Straits to other states in accordance with Russia's interests. The third period of rapprochement took place during the War of Independence. The 1917 Revolution, which established an anti-Western regime in Russia, was the most important factor that brought the Bolsheviks and Türkiye closer. On 26 April 1920, Mustafa Kemal sent a letter to Lenin outlining the Ankara government's policy based on the "National Pact" (Misak-ı Milli) while asking for a military and political alliance with Moscow. The fourth period of rapprochement between the two countries began in the second half of the 1960s. Türkiye, which shifted to a multilateral foreign policy with the crises with the USA and the Johnson letter, experienced another period of rapprochement thanks to the policy of peaceful coexistence of Khrushcev, one of the constructors of the changing Soviet Policy after Stalin. High-level visits starting in 1965 supported this peaceful environment, but the subsequent reopening of US bases in Türkiye, which had been closed after the arms embargo in 1978, and the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 reversed the period of rapprochement with Russia, and the Iranian revolution and Türkiye's rapprochement with the US were not viewed favourably by the Soviets. After the collapse of the USSR, Russia lost its buffers against the Western alliance and experienced downsizing.

NATO's expansion was seen as the main source of threat by Russia and Russia, not wanting to have EU and NATO presence in the border region against their possible advances in the Ukraine-Georgia region, intervened in the regions. After the end of the Cold War, the US strengthened its geostrategic superiority over Russia by increasing its military bases, including in Eurasia. The global power approach of the US as an absolute power, taking its place in conflicts and democracy crises in every region of the world, was questioned in 2007 with Putin's historic speech at the Munich Conference. Putin spoke about the possible dangers and disinformation of the power hegemony created by the unipolar world order, and with this speech, he prepared the ground for his future attacks. The 2014 invasion of Crimea and the war in Ukraine are the most concrete examples of this.

Russia attacked Ukraine, with which it shares a border of more than 2200 km, on the grounds of positive NATO and EU relations and historical background and aimed to create its own buffer zones. In addition to these attacks aimed at protecting its territorial integrity, Russia has adopted policies to show that it is one of the main participants of the international system from economy to security and to increase its influence in the region. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), BRICS, Eurasian Economic Union, Asian Infrastructure and Development Bank are the cornerstones of this policy. During this period, a turning point in its relations with Türkiye was the airplane crisis. On November 24, 2015, a Russian fighter jet was shot down for violating Turkish airspace despite all warnings and the most important crisis in recent history erupted between the two countries.

Putin, who read this crisis as a betrayal, put Russia in a victimized position with the downing of the plane and created a fait accompli that would make it easier for Russia to install the S-400

Air Defense System in Syria, which it would have had difficulty installing in Syria in a normal period of time, and Russia strengthened its political and military presence in Syria very much after this process.

After this crisis, the most important step that accelerated the process of improvement in relations started with the mediation of Kazakh President Nazarbayev. Subsequently, Moscow's statements of support for Türkiye during the coup attempt in Türkiye on July 15th 2016 gave momentum to the normalization period. Subsequently, Türkiye purchased the S-400 Air Defense System from Russia in December 2017. This event, which led to the US excluding Türkiye from the F-35 program, strengthened relations between Russia and Türkiye, and in the Sochi talks in 2018, they agreed to establish a demilitarized zone in Syria before the Idlib operation. By purchasing Russia's S-400 missile defense system, Türkiye aimed to meet its urgent security needs while strategically sending a message to the West that Türkiye actually has an alternative options other than the West. These improved relations have also led to economic agreements, with Russia emphasizing that it considers the ongoing nuclear power plant project in Akkuyu as one of the symbolic investments of Ankara-Moscow cooperation. The growing and deepening relations between Türkiye and Russia have raised concerns in the West, especially in terms of the possibility of circumventing the economic sanctions imposed in the aftermath of the attempted invasion of Ukraine. Türkiye has declared that it will not participate in the unilateral sanctions imposed by the United States and the European Union but has also stated that it will not allow the sanctions to be pierced through Türkiye.

In the face of increasing Western sanctions against Russia, Türkiye has been displaying an ongoing balancing-utilitarian stance. Türkiye, which has an indispensable geostrategic importance among the two power factors, increases its importance in the international arena thanks to this balanced policy. The reflections of the perceived threat to Russia on regional security, with a focus on the Black Sea, the state of regional trade in the Grain Agreement and its impact on global trade, and the increasingly divergent approaches of the parties to other global issues from the Caucasus to Syria, Libya to the Mediterranean are the challenging topics behind the scenes of the agenda. While it is expected that Turkish-Russian relations will continue with minimal damage thanks to Türkiye's policy, it should not be forgotten that the future of Turkish-Russian relations is as fragile as we have seen from historical gains since the Ottoman Empire began the process of dissolution and that delicate balances must be taken into account.

Transatlantic Relations from the Post-Cold War Era to Present II

Prof. Didem Buhari

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Transatlantic fractures refer to disagreements and tensions between the US and Europe on political, economic, or military issues. These fractures may arise due to different priorities, policy preferences, or strategic objectives at certain times. Firstly, if we need to address the security dilemma within the Transatlantic alliance; this dilemma can be explained by abandonment and entrapment. Likewise, the US and the EU suffer from this threat. Moreover, there is a possibility of being dragged into unwanted wars with neighbors. It can be said that a more conservative (Neo-Conservatist) approach was adopted in foreign policy. There is a liberal world order and an active and expanding foreign policy. America seeks closer relations with a changing and developing Europe (desire to connect). In this process, there is growing antipathy towards Germany and France. Multilateralism is a concept that the European Union supports, while the United States opposes it. Additionally, in contrast to the European Union's soft power diplomacy, the United States is inclined towards the use of military force. The Marshall Plan (American support for the reconstruction and development of Europe) was implemented to develop Europe, which had no infrastructure. Europe has become very strong economically and has almost reached the point where it rivals the dollar. The United States expects increased investment in defense and security from Germany and France, which are part of NATO.

There is noticeable anti-American sentiment in Europe (France, in particular, does not want to assimilate into American imperialism). Anti-American sentiment appears as French Leftists and Populists.

Pressure is applied to Europeans during this process, raising the question, 'Is America provoking too much?' Fear of falling into a trap (from the European perspective) can be mentioned. The sanctions and expansionism by the US also harm Europe during this period. There is a need to establish a strategic dialogue against rising powers. 'The Russian reaction to the US saying that Russia is a regional power and not a rival to us has attracted attention'. One bad example after another - Clinton's Kosovo operation, Bush's war on terror, and the invasion of Iraq. There is also a fear of abandonment from the European point of view. Europe's concern raises questions like, "Will America abandon us, and how much assurance does NATO provide in terms of security?" Russia is seen as a military threat, and there is a need for the US/NATO to deploy more missiles in Europe. There is suspicion that "the US will not adhere to Article 5 and will abandon Europe in case of a Russian attack."

In the European Union, a division is beginning to emerge between Atlanticists and Europeans. Atlanticists primarily rely on the US and NATO for the security and defense of Europe.

Europeans, on the other hand, seek to have autonomous European security and defense.

According to the US perspective, the Transatlantic alliance is divided into three parts. Firstly, it is considered indispensable for the security and mission of the United States (due to Europe's strategic importance and the historical memory of World War II). Secondly, there are discussions about the division of labor. "The US fights, the EU does the dishes." (John Peterson). The need for European military power is being questioned. The third is burden-sharing; Europe should pay and support the US and NATO. After the Cold War, an arrangement was made with 'Father Bush' and it was said that the common enemy disappeared with the collapse of the Soviet Union. With the new world order, old enemies have integrated into the liberal order. Henry Kissinger denied this by saying, "If I want to talk to Europe, who can I call?" Attention is drawn to the Old Europe and New Europe order.

Anti-Europeanism in America (American populism): Europeans are described as an actor who cannot protect their national security and are dedicated to multilateralism. Republicans accuse Democrats of resembling Europeans (weak on national security, not tough enough against enemies, too multilateral, weak capacity to act alone).

Over time, Europe has become dependent on Russia for energy. This situation poses a threat to America. In 2006, Russia's Gazprom shut down the pipeline to Ukraine for 2 days to exert pressure, significantly affecting supply in Europe (it was shut down for 14 days in 2009).

The International Criminal Court (ICC), which handles crimes of genocide and ethnic cleansing, was established on July 1, 2002, and began operating on March 11, 2003, as an international court.

Additionally, regarding international environmental agreements, although the Kyoto Protocol was signed by the United States in 1997, it was later replaced by the Paris Agreement; in fact, the US withdrew from the agreement in 2020 but rejoined it as a party in 2021.

Banana Wars at the World Trade Organization: Europeans have made agreements with former colonies, while Latin Americans have been protected. Latin America imposes high taxes on bananas compared to the Caribbean.

The challenges in Transatlantic relations reflect the complexity of the relationship between the United States and Europe. While the US seeks for Europe to share the defense burden, it may be concerned about the empowerment of an independent Europe. Europeans, on the other hand, may want the US to maintain its security guarantees while being reluctant to accept US economic and political dominance. A balanced Transatlantic partnership requires greater European involvement with less American hegemony. This can achieve a balance that aligns with the interests of both the US and Europe and strengthens a relationship based on trust. The European crisis foresees Europe making its own decisions. Merkel told Trump, 'NATO should not be trusted.'

The new defense initiative of Europe, Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), was adopted in December 2017. (In the words of Mogherini: "A historic day for European defense"). The European Union cooperates with NATO, and the principle of no competition or discrimination is primarily adopted. The criteria for PESCO are as follows; the EU and NATO must harmonize in areas of development, PESCO forces and capacities must be available for NATO use, and PESCO must be open to non-EU NATO allies.

Terrorism

Prof. Serdar Erdurmaz

Serdar Erdurmaz served in a permanent position at the NATO Headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, between 1987 and 1990. During the same period, he established and managed the Brussels Military Attaché Office. He holds a Master's and a Ph.D. in International Relations and is an expert in Military Strategy, Command, and Administration. Currently, he continues his academic career as a Part-Time Faculty Member at Atılım University.

In today's world, there are two important threats other than wars. One of them is irregular migration and the other one is terrorism. Terrorism varies according to periods and different types. To qualify an activity as terrorism, it must first serve a political purpose. Activities such as bank robberies or burglaries cannot be considered as terrorist activities. Before the September 11 attacks, terrorism existed regionally. However, after September 11, terrorism started to be seen at international level. Terrorism is a different concept for each country. For Türkiye, the YPG is an extension of the PKK on the Syrian borders. However, despite being Türkiye's partner under the NATO umbrella, the United States has not adopted the same attitude towards these actors as Türkiye has and, moreover, has cooperated with them regionally.

After 9/11, George W. Bush addressed to the nation and declared a new crusade and war on the terrorist organization "Al-Qaeda" in Afghanistan. He called on the Afghanistan government to hand over Al-Qaeda. He also stated that there are terrorist groups that portray Islam as a religion of peace and carry out terrorist activities through exploiting Islam. For instance, in the US, a white woman stating that "she is a Muslim" can arouse suspicion that she might be a terrorist. Terrorism has given birth to Islamophobia. In one of his speeches, President Bush mentioned that there have been attacks on US embassies in several countries, including Tanzania, but it is not known exactly who attacked them, however an organization called Al-Qaeda carried out these attacks.

Bush also said that this organization, which is organized inside Afghanistan and has carried out attacks on the United States, has a strong network around the world. Stating that the issue was absolutely non-negotiable and that al-Qaeda members should be handed over to the United States unconditionally, Bush said, "Either you are with us or you support terrorism." This speech was a declaration of a global war against terrorism.

In his speech, Bush said that the terrorists in Afghanistan must be handed over, otherwise the Taliban will respond in the same way. It was mentioned that countries like Iran and North Korea, which are nuclear threats or on the way to becoming nuclear threats, should change their path. Afterwards, these countries faced interventions within the scope of the Greater Middle East Project. NATO intervened in Afghanistan for the first time after the 9/11 attack, using Article 5 for joint defense. However, Türkiye stated that it would not engage in a hot conflict and carried out peace-keeping activities and constructed schools and bridges. While it was important to establish a central government after the intervention in Afghanistan, the formation of a central government in a country consisting of minorities such as Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, and Uzbek was not deemed possible.

The US realized that the only way for the intervention to be successful was to gain the support of the Afghan people. In order to establish a central authority after a solid parliamentary system, the police and military structure had to be institutionalized to support the central government. Even, the Taliban has been offered a seat in the central government. Otherwise, it was thought that the Taliban would be a threat in the region once the US withdrew. As predicted, after the US withdrew from the region, the Taliban established a central government and one of the first things they did was to take away women's rights. An ultra-religious and sharia-based society was created.

Territorial terrorism is an act of terrorism that erupts in a region and stays in that region. In Ireland, there has been a conflict between the Anglican and Catholic groups in which they represent the North and the South. While there was an armed struggle at the beginning, weapons were laid down and the Republic of Ireland, centred on Dublin in the south, and Northern Ireland, centred on Belfast in the north, were established under the United Kingdom. Northern Ireland remained within the United Kingdom.

For an activity to be defined as terrorist, its purpose must be political. For years, the PKK has been carrying out terrorist activities inside Türkiye for a political purpose. The second condition is that there must be an act of violence and an asymmetric action. The action must take place at unexpected moments; it must frighten society or target society. The third condition is the identification of the target. Actions that fulfil these three conditions are called "acts of terrorism".

International terrorist activities in the world began with Al-Qaeda. Even before 9/11, terrorism was based on the left wing and the right wing. In Russia, for example, a woman who was against communism killed a policeman on duty and declared in court that "I am not a murderer, I am a terrorist; I killed for a purpose, I did not kill to make money, I should be punished according to the purpose of my action".

Al-Qaeda has shown the world one of the first examples of terrorism on a global scale. Al-Qaeda's modular expansion into large divisions has enabled it to operate through individuals and groups across countries without borders. It has been argued that Mohammed bin Laden's company, the Saudi Binladin Group, functionally used the Hawala system in Saudi Arabia in 1931 to provide encrypted funding for operations as and when required. Unlike Al-Qaeda, terrorist groups in the Far East do not have a hierarchical structure. Terrorist groups located in East Asia accept central administrative decisions within their own organizational structure; however, activities not involving the administration are not permitted. In the international system, religious extremist organisations can subcontract actions to other terrorist groups in exchange for money.

Terrorism can be categorized according to its actors, the type of weapon used, and its motivation.

Terrorism According to Actors

- **State Terrorism:** It is the name given to terrorist activities carried out first-hand by states themselves. In 1980, it was discovered that the destroyed in the airspace of England was the activity of Libya under the leadership of Gaddafi.
- **State Sponsored Terrorism:** This refers to the activities of terrorist groups that receive state support in the form of funding, weapons, or training. The Russian Federation has provided financial support to terrorism in European countries. Afghanistan's support to the Taliban and Al-Qaeda is another example.

- **Non-State Terrorism:** This is the name given to terrorist activities that take place without any connection to any state.

Terrorism According to Weapons Used

- **Cyber Terror:** This is the name given to terrorist activities in cyberspace. Cyber attacks by the US and Israel to learn and prevent Iran's uranium enrichment activities with the Stuxnet virus are examples of cyber terrorism. Another example is the cyber attack on the Türkiye's health system.
- **Bioterror:** This is the name given to terrorist activities involves biological weapons. For example, a biological weapon in a small matchbox can grow geometrically when dropped in a movie theater and infect people.
- **Nuclear Terrorism:** Terrorist activity in which nuclear weapons or nuclear materials are used.
- **Chemical Terror:** This is the name given to terrorist activities in which chemical weapons are used. The use of nerve gas in Syria is a case in point. Another example is Saddam Hussein's use of odourless nerve gas during the Iran-Iraq war and the death of Iranian soldiers in 2-3 days because the Iranian soldiers did not notice the substance.

Terrorism According to Motivation

- **Religious**: Terrorist activities motivated by the propagation of religion or the belief that they are oppressed for religious reasons.
- **Political:** This is the term for terrorist activities that are carried out for the purpose of political oppression or the imposition of one's own ideas.
- **Class-based:** It is the name given to terrorist activities arising from the feeling of class exploitation or for the purpose of class ascension.

Terrorist activities have become easier to prevent in today's world. Explosives integrated into computers and technological devices can be detected more easily. For example, MI6 realized that a large number of ink printers had been purchased from Saudi Arabia and looked inside the printers but found nothing. A technician continued to inspect the printers, noticed a cable in the ink reservoir and found the explosive. In today's world, security can also be ensured through facial recognition and gesture and movement tracking.

In the same way, it has become very easy to access terrorist equipment. For example, a 1971 book called "The Anarchist Cookbook", which came to the fore in the post-9/11 debates, explains how to make explosives and missiles. The missiles once used by Hamas are among the missiles described in this book. In addition, the reason why even water cannot be brought into the airplane is that there have been incidents of terrorist groups carrying out terrorist activities by mixing different chemicals into the water.

It is not always possible to detect terrorist activities in advance. Recognizing events after they have occurred is a common situation in the fight against terrorism. Incidents such as the stadium raid in France and the massacre of people in a disco took place after German intelligence tracked the smuggling of weapons components into France piece by piece. This could have been prevented if German intelligence had decided to warn France. Subsequently, the members of the European Union agreed on collective intelligence sharing after this incident.