

inter

The compilation of featured articles on INSAMER English

Biannual Journal (2022/1)

# Notional



## Quest for STABILITY

### CHALLENGES FOR THE **TALIBAN REGIME**

The new government declared  
in Afghanistan has been a  
**disappointment** for...

### **NEW AFGHANISTAN** AND ITS NEIGHBOURS' RESPONSIBILITY

**US-NATO forces'** withdrawal from  
Afghanistan has raised some crucial  
questions about the...

### **A CHRONIC WAR** OR DIVIDED YEMEN PROJECT?

Yemen has been drowning in the  
protracted '**civil war**' since 2011.

### **"SYRIAN REFUGEES",** A CARD IN THE INTERNAL POLITICAL CONFLICT

A great tension has been sparked in  
Turkey following the Ankara riots  
against **Syrian refugees**...



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**\*Azizullah Sadat**

Age : 9  
Birthplace : **Afghanistan**  
Dream Profession : **Teacher**

\*Shared personal data are symbolic.



## Editor

Dr. Serhat Orakçı

## Translation

Mervenur Lüleci Karadere

## Proof Reading

Nur Fitri Taher

## Art Director

Selin Vatandaş

## Contributors

Abdul Waheed Parry

Kenda Shaherhawasli

Riad Domazeti

Dr.Ersin Doyran

Kadriye Sınmaz

Burak Çalışkan

Emin Emin

Dr.Serhat Orakçı

El Mustapha Ait Sidi  
Mhamed

Huthaifah Busuulwa

# EDITORIAL

We are glad and happy to present our new issue of **InterNotional**. In this issue, we compiled cover stories focusing on Afghanistan, Yemen, Syria and their seek of stability after a long overdue conflicts. After a 20 year-long war, American military has been forced to leave Afghanistan leaving one of the poorest nations behind. However, new face of the country, Taliban regime, has to deal with wide range of domestic and regional issues. Whether the regime might be a power creating stability for Afghans or not is a question seeking answer. After a 10 year-long civil war, Yemen is still suffering from the internal conflicts. However, Yemen conflict is getting regional dimension after Houthi's recent drone attacks to Emirati capital Abu Dhabi. Syria is still remaining in a dark tunnel. Civil war with its international dimension does not seem ending in a short term. However, it does not mean end of Syrians seek for peace and stability. Due to such a somberness, in this issue we have chosen title "Quest for Stability". But it is not all. There are also other articles focusing on Israel's new era, BRICS' role, nationalism in Europe and Turkey's Africa interaction in the current century. We hope you enjoy the new issue of **InterNotional**.

Wish you pleasant reading..

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# WORLD IN 2022

(JULY-DECEMBER)

## SUDAN'S PRIME MINISTER RESIGNED

Sudanese PM **Abdullah Hamduk** has announced his resignation from the post. Hamduk had been **kept under house arrest** by the military for one month before he returned his post in November. **Street protests** continue in Sudan since 2019 due to **economic** and **political crisis**.



## OMICRON VARIANT OF COVID-19 IDENTIFIED

**South Africa** became the first country identifying **Omicron**, a highly mutated variant of Covid-19. The new variant appeared **more infectious** than other variants of coronavirus.





## COP26 HELD IN GLASGOW

**26. United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP26)** was held in Glasgow, Scotland. In the event, **25 thousand** delegates from **200 countries** and **120 heads** of states came together in order to discuss reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

## MILITARY COUP D'ÉTAT IN WEST AFRICAN GUINEA

A group in **Guinea's military** seized power and detained president **Alpha Condé**. Special forces commander Mamady Doumbouya announced dissolution of government, **parliament** and **constitution**.



## TALIBAN RETURNED TO POWER

Taliban captured Afghanistan's capital **Kabul** and the US withdrew its remaining troops from **Afghan soil**. The Taliban who were ousted by American invasion in **2001** have regained control of the country.

## 2020 SUMMER OLYMPICS HELD IN TOKYO

*The 2020 Summer Olympics* were held in Tokyo after a **postponement due** to Covid-19 pandemic.

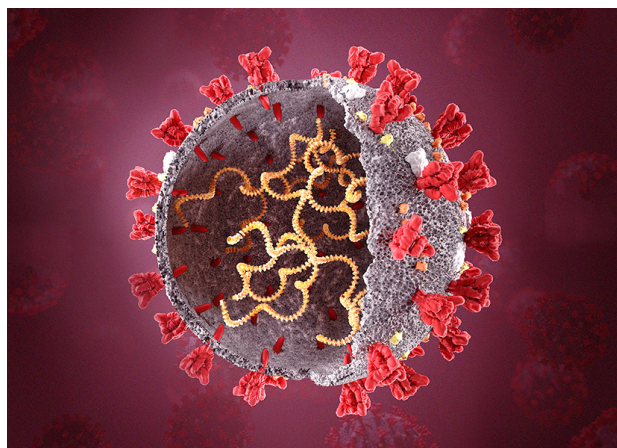




JANUARY FEBRUARY MARCH APRIL MAY JUNE **JULY** AUGUST  
SEPTEMBER OCTOBER NOVEMBER **DECEMBER**

# TURKEY IN 2022

(JULY-DECEMBER)



## OMICRON VARIANT DETECTED IN TURKEY

Turkey reported first cases of ***Omicron coronavirus variant***. Turkish Health Minister Fahreddin Koca confirmed the new cases in ***Istanbul*** and ***Izmir***.

## SPACEX LAUNCHED TURKEY'S TURKSAT 5B

Turkey's new telecommunication satellite ***Turksat 5B*** was launched successfully from Cape Canaveral Space Force Station in Florida by US Company SpaceX in December. The satellite is going to be 8th active satellite of ***Turkey in the space***.



## TURKEY DEVELOPED TURKOVAC VACCINE

Turkey has developed COVID-19 vaccine **TURKOVAC** and started administrating it in Turkey's hospitals. The new vaccine had been authorized for **emergency use** and it will be available globally. By this, Turkey joined ranks of the countries that **produces COVID-19 vaccine**.



## TURKISH CURRENCY CRISIS

Turkish Lira hit lows against foreign currencies in December. **The lira plunged 18.5** level against the dollar by **losing 20% value**. After the government announced supportive new measures to encourage lira holdings, Turkish currency came back to **level 12**.

## TURKEY RATIFIED THE PARIS AGREEMENT

**The Turkish parliament ratified** the Paris Agreement in October and adopted net zero emission by **2053**. Turkey had signed the Agreement in New York in 2016. The decision marks a new era **Turkey's climate policy**.





# CHALLENGES FOR THE TALIBAN REGIME

ABDUL WAHEED PARRY

*The new government declared in Afghanistan has been a disappointment for most Western countries that had been the main donors to the previous regime of the war torn country. Following the Taliban's announcement of a new interim cabinet, the West was quick to alarm that the group's promise of an inclusive government would not be kept.*

What disturbs the West is not only that the interim cabinet excludes women, but most of the people in it are from the previous Taliban regime of the 1990s. This has sent waves of fear that the group will slip back to the excesses of the past. US Secretary of State Antony Blinken said at a press conference at US Air Force Base in Ramstein, Germany that the new Taliban regime “does not meet the test of inclusiveness” and that “it includes people who have very difficult backgrounds.” The US maintains that any US support for an inclusive government should be earned by Afghanistan.

So far the Taliban regime has not gained any international recognition. The promise made by Western governments seems to remain unfulfilled. There are deliberate actions made to keep Afghanistan backwards, and the country is being forced into economic and political isolation.

## A Dying Country

Afghanistan's economy is dying due to the continuous war in the past half century. Post 9/11, when America occupied the country in 2001, massive amounts of foreign aid flowed there. International aid was a major contributor of the economic flow in the country, comprising more than 40 per cent

of GDP. After the Taliban came back, most international aid was suspended. Similarly the Taliban does not have any access to Afghan central bank funds that were seized by the US as its bargaining chip with the new regime. This economic crunch could spell disaster, as the Taliban has to pay government employees and manage critical infrastructures like electricity and water. The United Nations has even warned of a humanitarian crisis signaled by the decreasing food supply given the uncertainty.

Earlier there were suggestions that Afghanistan's economy will remain functioning and integrated into the global economy despite the Taliban regime. China was supposed to play the major role in this regard. However, sanctions imposed by the West and US are making this idea difficult to realize, as these sanctions hamper the Taliban from offering any peaceful resolution to the country's internal differences.

*“Afghanistan and DAB under the Taliban are likely to be treated as sanctioned entities by the rest of the world. In addition to the financial implications, there will be additional consequences to this situation. Afghanistan's physical money supply will be impaired. This is because the central bank does not print its own currency.” (Bloomberg, Sept. 2021)<sup>1</sup>*



Analysts are predicting that these sanctions will not apply only to the financial transactions, but to Afghan businesses as well. Western media in particular has started their propaganda against the Taliban for their misuse of money.

*"While the Taliban have been subject to American terrorism sanctions for years, the group's newfound control of Afghanistan's government institutions and domestic resources will significantly increase its wealth and influence. If the new Taliban government's central bank, ministries and agencies are not explicitly subjected to U.S. sanctions, the Taliban will be better able to use that money as it wishes." (The Wall Street Journal, Sept. 2021)<sup>2</sup>*

Former governor of the central bank of Afghanistan has suggested the Taliban to adhere to an inclusive government and answer the economic challenges to get out of this situation.

*"The Taliban will face the same economic challenges as the previous regime - but under sanctions and with much less international financial support. Afghanistan's new rulers must face this reality, form an inclusive government and adhere to international standards. Otherwise, they will further impoverish themselves and the Afghan people." (Bloomberg, Sept. 2021)<sup>3</sup>*

## Inclusivity for Survival

The Taliban has full control of Afghanistan now. The deal of US withdrawal was signed in broad daylight with the whole world as the witness. The Taliban has dealt successfully with the rebellious group in the Panjshir valley. The Taliban is no longer an armed group with limited resources. However there is a big challenge for the Taliban, which is more of an internal than an external challenge. The challenge is to save the war torn Afghanistan from a looming civil war. There are many





regional and international actors who are ready to fuel such problem in Afghanistan. If the Taliban failed to prevent the civil war, it will create players with vested interests, who will push the Taliban to the wall. People in the West are trying their best to support elements who oppose Taliban.

*"A leading figure in the Afghan resistance has retained a Washington lobbyist to seek military and financial support in the United States for a fight against the Taliban, according to a lobbying contract and a representative of the resistance leader. Ahmad Massoud, the leader of one of the most prominent groups of fighters seeking to oust the Taliban from power, signed the contract this week with Robert Stryk, who built a lobbying practice during the Trump administration working with clients that others on K Street were wary of representing. The contract, which was filed with the Justice Department on Wednesday evening and indicates that the work will*

*be pro bono, comes as an array of Afghan constituencies are seeking lobbying help as they jockey for recognition in Washington and the international community. While Afghan opposition groups have support from some Republicans in Washington, the Biden administration has made clear that it has no interest in playing any further role in a civil war in Afghanistan." (Newyork Times, Sept. 2021)<sup>4</sup>*

The Taliban needs to create an inclusive government. This will not only make Afghanistan stronger, it is also necessary for the survival of the Taliban itself. Also, the best opportunity for the Taliban to get support from US is to benefit from the need of the US to balance its opposition to the Taliban's rule and its need for assistance on issues like evacuating US and its allies' citizens left in the country. With international recognition, it would be easier for the Taliban to seek international funding and legitimacy to resuscitate the country and cement its position.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup> The Taliban can't mint money and other business challenges in Afghanistan <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2021-09-07/the-taliban-can-t-mint-money-and-other-business-challenges-in-afghanistan>

<sup>2</sup> Beefed-Up Sanctions Could Limit the Damage in Afghanistan <https://www.wsj.com/articles/afghanistan-withdrawal-biden-imf-world-bank-sanctions-taliban-al-qaeda-terrorist-financing-11630251194>

<sup>3</sup> The Taliban can't mint money and other business challenges in Afghanistan <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2021-09-07/the-taliban-can-t-mint-money-and-other-business-challenges-in-afghanistan>

<sup>4</sup> Struggle for Control of Afghanistan Comes to K Street <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/15/us/politics/afghanistan-taliban.html?searchResultPosition=14>

# HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan with a per capita income of **\$580** is among the **poorest countries** in the world. Currently, half of the country's population is in **need of emergency aid**.



NUMBER OF PEOPLE  
IN NEED OF AID:

**18 MILLION**



WOMEN/CHILDREN IN NEED  
OF EMERGENCY AID:

**14 MILLION**



UNEMPLOYMENT  
RATE:

**%25**



NUMBER OF REFUGEES  
AND IDPS:

**3,5 MILLION**



NUMBER OF ORPHANS :  
APPROX

**1 MILLION**



POVERTY RATE:

**%35**

## REQUIRED MATERIALS OF AID:



FOOD



HYGIENE SUPPLIES



CLEAN WATER



SHELTERING

## CAUSES OF THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS:

- ★ Insufficient agricultural land
- ★ Civil war and security issues
- ★ Political instability and misgovernment
- ★ Foreign interventions





# NEW AFGHANISTAN AND ITS NEIGHBOURS' RESPONSIBILITY

**ABDUL WAHEED PARRY**

*US-NATO forces' withdrawal from Afghanistan has raised some crucial questions about the future of the country. With foreign troops leaving, the Taliban fighters were advancing, with almost no resistance from government forces. In the recent weeks, the Taliban have captured most districts and its fighters have taken the control of almost all the provincial capitals, not to mention the capital Kabul without any bloodshed.*

“The Taliban escalated its campaign, moving to seize provincial capitals that have fallen like a row of dominoes and mounting a surprisingly sophisticated campaign. They moved early in the north, knowing that this region had spawned

the Northern Alliance under Ahmad Shah Massoud that drove the Taliban from power in 2001. The Taliban deployed their own version of special operations forces, known as “red units,” which helped break government defences. When the Taliban



*seized provincial capitals such as Kunduz, they freed prisoners held there, augmenting their forces.”<sup>1</sup>*

The speed of the Taliban's advancement is quite a stunning manifestation of combat zone momentum. Each victory fuelled another, added with Biden's decision to withdraw all US combat troops without a concrete power transfer plan to the victorious Taliban that could help stabilize the country afterward.

*“The Taliban takeover of Afghanistan less than a month before the 20th anniversary of the Sept. 11, 2011, terrorist attacks. Strengthened by the copious U.S. weaponry they have captured, and by the prestige that comes with having humbled a superpower.” (The Washington Post, 15 August 2021)<sup>2</sup>*

The most surprising situation for the US and its allies is that the Afghan military has not performed any better on the battleground despite Biden's claim that they are now better trained, which justifies US troops withdrawal.

*“The Taliban exemplified something that inspired, something that made them powerful in battle, something closely tied to what it meant to be Afghan.” (Carter, 2021)<sup>3</sup>*

The Taliban stated after their takeover that they are willing to cooperate to stabilise the country, but the West-installed government seems reluctant to acknowledge them in masses. The situation in the near future will determine the course of events not just in Afghanistan, but the whole region.

The unwillingness of the West-sponsored government to cooperate with the Taliban will reflect in the chaos; and the disorder cannot be

contained only within Afghan borders. It will certainly spread beyond Afghan borders and destabilise the whole region. If Afghanistan's neighbours want to ensure peace within their own borders, they will have to cooperate with the Taliban to stabilise the already war torn Afghanistan.

If regional powers and their Western masters failed to conduct a peaceful power transfer to the Taliban, Afghanistan will plunge into another full-scale proxy war, and the whole region will be destabilised, which will have a ripple effect into the rest of Asia and all the way to Europe.

*“The pentagon and the U.S. Congress deserve a share of the blame for the debacle, and certainly for the rosy progress reports that so often emerged. But what the United States or its allies could or should have done differently... is a debate that should consume politicians, pundits and historians for years to come.” (The New York Times, 15 August 2021)<sup>4</sup>*

One of the immediate outcomes of such a fearful situation will certainly be a massive refugee crisis, like that in the aftermath of the Soviet-Afghan war in the 1980s or the recent Syrian War. The first waves of this mass departure are already felt in Turkey and the neighbouring countries of Afghanistan.

It is significant to acknowledge that not only have the Afghans changed culturally, politically, and demographically since the 1990s when the Taliban ruled the country, but the Taliban too has changed. They have successfully participated in diplomatic engagements with global super power. Their approach in the battlefield has proved more mature than expected. They have proven successful diplomatically as well as militarily.

*If Afghanistan's neighbours want to ensure peace within their own borders, they will have to cooperate with the Taliban to stabilise the already war torn Afghanistan.*





It is high time for both the neighbours of Afghanistan and Western powers to stop defaming the Taliban and adhere to the humane principles of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Those who believe that they can stop the Taliban are delusional. The Taliban's recent advancements have negated the propaganda made against them, such as the belief that they will do what ISIL did in Syria and Iraq.

Regional powers must take the challenge seriously and act before Afghanistan plunges into turmoil and turns into a civil warring-state. All regional players and the West should urgently initiate a mutual cooperation framework that mobilises the region around a common security goal: to stabilise Afghanistan. Pakistan and Iran's role is especially important here, as these countries are known to be much

closer and supportive to the Taliban and maintain extensive influence over them.

The withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan has provided its neighbouring countries a time to make a historic decision about the future of the region. If the region wants to live in peace, anchored in the values of tolerance, progress, and co-existence, every country must accept the re-emergence of Taliban. No one in the region wants to continue to engage in a destructive never-ending zero-sum game of conflicts. It is logical to understand that the US and NATO had the luxury to choose between staying in Afghanistan and leaving. But Afghanistan's neighbours do not have this luxury. So the wise choices to be made in these tough times will determine the collective future of the region.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup> The bloody war in Afghanistan is nearing a final tipping point, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/08/12/bloody-war-afghanistan-is-nearing-final-tipping-point/>

<sup>2</sup> Twenty Years of Afghanistan Mistakes, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/08/15/twenty-years-](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/08/15/twenty-years-afghanistan-mistakes-this-preventable-disaster-is-biden/)

[afghanistan-mistakes-this-preventable-disaster-is-biden/](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/08/15/twenty-years-afghanistan-mistakes-this-preventable-disaster-is-biden/)

<sup>3</sup> Malkasian, C. (2021), "The American War in Afghanistan", Oxford University Press

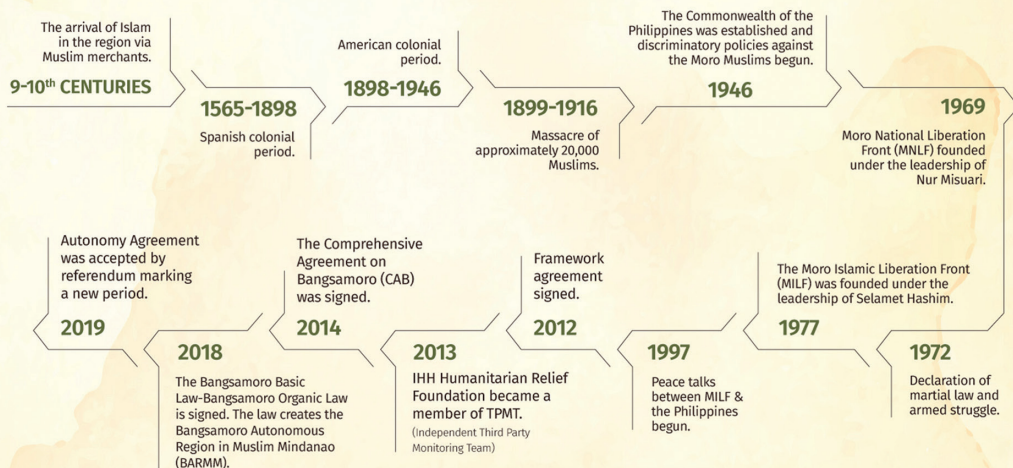
<sup>4</sup> The Tragedy of Afghanistan, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/15/opinion/afghanistan-taliban.html>

# MORO MUSLIMS

The Moro Muslims, who entered a new period with the 2019 referendum, are experiencing the excitement of finally **having their own administration** and the responsibility of **establishing new institutions**. What has been accomplished and what needs to be done in the following period is of vital importance in shaping their future.

■ Proposed Bangsamoro Autonomous Region

## HISTORICAL PROCESS:



## STATE FORMATION PROCESS

**29 MARCH 2019**

An 80-member Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) begun. **Al-Hajj Murad Ibrahim**, leader and one of MILF founders became Prime Minister and its 15-member Cabinet was announced.

**7 SEPTEMBER 2019**

Within **6 months** from September, the disarmament process 12,000 MILF soldiers was completed.

**28 OCTOBER 2020**

The Bangsamoro Basic Law was approved, and a few months later the city of Cotabato joined the autonomous **region borders**.

**20 NOVEMBER 2019**

As a result of the referendum, 63 more towns were included in the **Bangsamoro Autonomous Region**.



## WHAT WILL HAPPEN NEXT?

BARMM currently serves as a transitional government in the region. On **9 December 2020** the law proposal has been submitted to the Philippines parliament to extend the Bangsamoro transition period by 3 years and hold the first elections in **May 2025**.

*The Bangsamoro Assembly will pass 5 priority laws:*

- Bangsamoro Internal Revenue Code
- Bangsamoro Education Code
- Bangsamoro Electoral Code
- Bangsamoro Civil Service Code
- Bangsamoro Local Government Code
- Bangsamoro Administrative Code



# A CHRONIC WAR OR DIVIDED YEMEN PROJECT?

**RIAD DOMAZETI**

## ***Divide et Impera***

*Yemen has been drowning in the protracted 'civil war' since 2011. The Arab Spring and capture of capital Sana'a by Iran-backed Houthi militia and military intervention of Saudi Arabia-led Arab Coalition have turned the already poor country into a place of insane humanitarian disaster. The humanitarian situation, aggravated by the war, not to mention the Covid-19 pandemic, is now one of the deepest tragedies after the Second World War.*

**A**rm struggles for influence of regional and powerful states constitute the biggest obstacle to the continuation of the current status quo and to peace. While foreign powers conduct direct military interventions on Yemen, they are seizing all of Yemen's underground and ground riches. Interferences with the motto 'chaos first, then the savior' are transforming Yemen into an uninhabitable place, open to foreign intervention through the perception of a collapsed society; a society where war and violence prevail, poverty and living conditions in chaos, with no state authority that functions the way it should. Currently, interfering forces that undermine the freedom and democratic efforts in Yemen are preparing the ground for the disintegration of the country by direct or indirect intervention.

Meanwhile various diplomatic initiatives - especially the UN - to stop the conflicts in Yemen have been unsuccessful until today. On the other hand, the ruptures among Yemenis caused irreparable damage to the political integrity of the country. UN-backed peace talks between the Houthis and Hadi's government resulted in failure, and the social gap among Yemenis is widening.

It should be clearly stated that today, Yemen is on the verge of division with a chronic state of war, thanks to the acts of foreign actors. Yemen is de facto divided into at least three autonomous regions. Iran-backed Houthi is in the North, the United Arab Emirates (UAE)-backed separatist Southern Transitional Council (STC) in the South, and the legitimate central government in the Central and Eastern regions.

## The Partition Scenario of Yemen in the Regional Actors' Triangle

Yemen is a geostrategic importance in terms of international trade and energy supply. The country is located on the strategic crossroads of the Arabian Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea. With about 200 large and small islands around the Gulf of Aden, Yemen is one of the most strategically important passages in the world. Yemen, which boasts the most important sea passage between Asia, Africa and the West, has always been viewed by major powers as a key destination that needs to be



dominated. Throughout history, regional and global powers have always fabricated instability in Yemen for their personal interest by exploiting the country's sectarian and ideological nature.

In regional context, Iran, the UAE and Saudi Arabia are Yemen's neighbors that interfered and played a big role in destabilizing Yemen.

Iran is a pivotal actor that backed the Houthi militias. Iran is supplying the Houthis with arms and is supporting them economically and diplomatically. Iran contests Mansur Hadi's legitimacy and considers Saudi Arabia's military intervention arbitrary and illegal. It should also be noted that since 2016, Tehran has been seeking a comprehensive agreement with China involving a US\$400 billion investment agreement over the period of 25 years, where it includes military agreements such as joint training exercises.

On the other hand, Saudi Arabia sees the Houthis as a threat since it is a proxy of Iran that protects its regional interests. Saudi Arabia is the most concerned country when it comes about the situation in Yemen. Saudi Arabia's Southern borders are at high risk from Houthi attacks. Moreover, the Houthis are targeting

the Kingdom's oil processing facilities, as in the September 2019 Abqaiq-Khurraiss attack. Nevertheless, despite Saudi Arabia-led Operation Decisive Storm, the circumstances in Yemen only become worse and Saudi Arabia still hasn't reached its defensive and security goals. The situation remains in favor of the Houthis and the country's infrastructure and social divisiveness exposed the danger of even worse scenarios.

The most controversial power in Yemen's civil war is the UAE. In alliance with Saudi Arabia, the UAE had troops in the Southern regions of Yemen. Besides the UAE soldiers, more than 90,000 UAE-funded mercenaries are also present in the country. The first of these groups were formed in late 2015 and early 2016, initially as a way to combat the Houthis and Al-Qaeda. In Hadramawt, the UAE backed the Hadrami Elite Forces, which helped push Al-Qaeda out of al-Mukalla city's port in 2016. Around the same time, the UAE also formed the Shabwani Elite Forces in neighboring Shabwa, and the Security Belt Forces, which were designed to protect Aden. The Southern Transitional Council (STC), which was formed a year later in 2017, aligned itself with the UAE. Both have a shared interest in opposing the Al-Islah party and Muslim Brotherhood.





Indeed, over the past three years, UAE-founded-and-funded proxies have effectively formed the STC's military. There are, however, a few notable exceptions, including the largely Salafi Giants Brigade as well as Tariq Saleh's National Resistance Forces, both of which are close to the UAE but are not within the STC's umbrella of support. Finally, the UAE has also remained active on the island of Socotra, where its representative Khalfan al-Mazrouei is instrumental in distributing aid. The UAE has also continued to recruit local Socotris for its proxy forces in Yemen and has set up facilities on the island to train new recruits in battle skills, weapons handling and first aid before sending them to the frontlines. This makes maritime security essential, particularly in the U-shaped area around the Arabian Peninsula encompassing the Persian Gulf, the Arabian and Oman seas, the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea. From this perspective, UAE's involvement in Yemen was part of its broader regional strategy, which included military bases and ports on both sides of the Red Sea.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, the UAE has captured the strategic Miyun Island and has constructed military airport without the Hadi administration's knowledge. The UAE with its proxies clearly aims independence from Northern Yemen.

The UAE's proxy units that operated outside the control of Hadi's government are a huge threat to Yemen's territorial unity. The UAE's economic and geostrategic agenda has turned Yemen into a failed state and divided society.

It can be easily said that all of these developments will serve their roles in the 'Divided Yemen Project'. It is seen that this political structure, which is expected to be under the control of the UAE, has made a serious investment in South Yemen - both psychologically and economically - in the last five years.

\*The demonstrations in Yemen, which began in 2011 with only humane and libertarian ideas, have now evolved beyond their original intentions as the country is turning into a score-settling battleground between Iran and Saudi Arabia. As a result, Yemen, where the political and military unity has been lost, is on the verge of division with the interventions of foreign powers. Unless there is a comprehensive integration process and a peace plan for the country, it is unlikely that the country could be united. Without doubt the main reason for this is the control of international trade and energy corridors by regional actors and global powers.

## End Notes

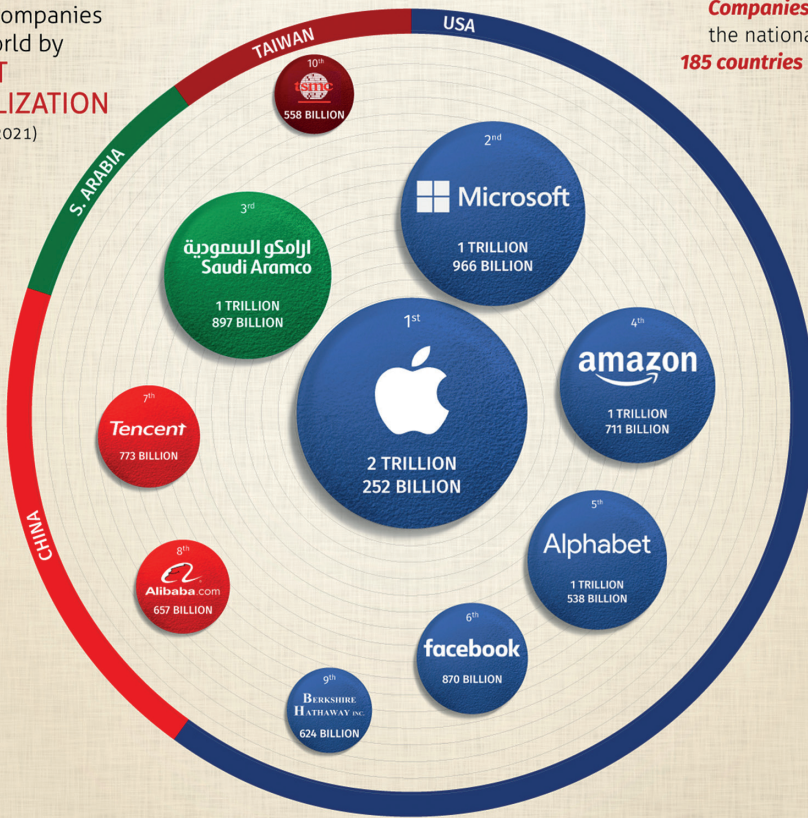
<sup>1</sup> [https://sanaacenter.org/files/The\\_History\\_the\\_Politics\\_and\\_the\\_Future\\_en.pdf](https://sanaacenter.org/files/The_History_the_Politics_and_the_Future_en.pdf)

# GLOBAL COMPANIES

## BY BRAND AND MARKET CAP

The **brand** and **market value** of large companies that use both **Information Technology** and the advantage of the global system can sometimes be even greater than the gross product of some countries.

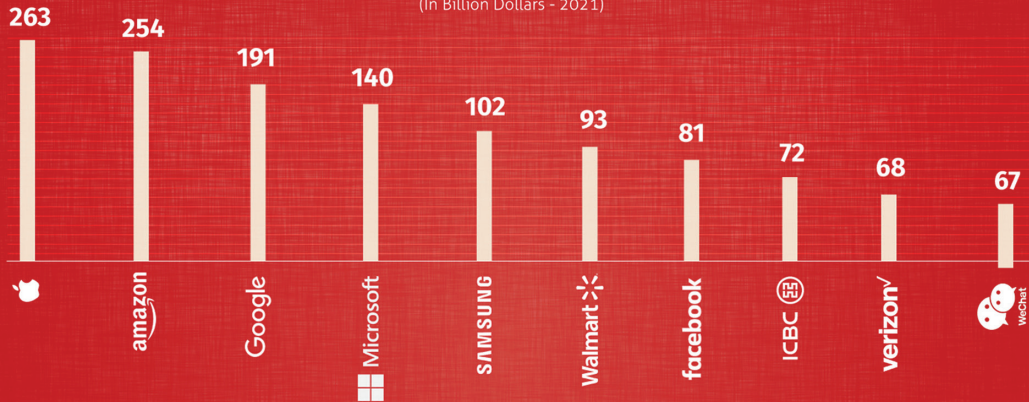
Biggest Companies  
in the World by  
**MARKET  
CAPITALIZATION**  
(In Dollars - 2021)



**Companies larger** than  
the national income of  
**185 countries** individually.

## Biggest Companies in the World by BRANDS VALUE

(In Billion Dollars - 2021)





# “SYRIAN REFUGEES”, A CARD IN THE INTERNAL POLITICAL CONFLICT

**KENDA SHAHERHAWASLI**

*A great tension has been sparked in Turkey following the Ankara riots against Syrian refugees after two Syrians were accused of killing a Turkish teenager few weeks ago. This tension affects not only the Turkish society but even among the Syrian refugees residing in Turkey. The riots happened following inflammatory statements from some opposition political parties, which can be described as a proactive election campaign that seeks to crowd and mobilize the masses.*

Rioters usually constitute a social event that should not be ignored or considered as a temporary situation, especially if such events are repeated or involved hostile behavior targeting a specific segment of society. Such behaviors must not be met only with pacifying speeches on the media or even with political statements; it needs a strategic plan that can contain the problem and prevent its recurrence so it can't be used for destructive purposes.

## A look at the Turkish scene

It is clear that the instigating media campaigns against Syrians on social media have taken a more organized approach and have repeated with a higher frequency, which indicates that these parties want to invest the refugee's issues to the fullest, whatever its cost. On the other hand, it was remarkable that these campaigns

used a lot of misleading information, whether about the “good situations inside Syria” or about the aids that Syrians receive. They ignored the reality of what is happening in Daraa governorate for example, which has been besieged and bombed by the Assad regime, and the daily casualties of Syrian civilians in Idlib near Turkey's military bases.

This sentiment was created to increase the public anger within the Turkish people who are suffering due to the economic crisis and the Corona pandemic.

Some politicians also made false promises to their voters that they will return the Syrian refugees to their country within two years should they win, but these promises are misleading and hiding the very important fact that Turkey signed the Geneva Convention in 1961, which is binding on all countries with moral and legal obligations that cannot be easily overridden or evaded, including when it comes to refugees. Moreover, solving the

Syrian refugees problem can only be achieved within the framework of a United Nations political solution agreed to by the states concerned, and it is, therefore, a bigger matter to be handled just by a single political party or state efforts.

There has also been a clear shift when the incitement of social media campaigns transferred to the street, and the electronic armies with their hashtags have turned into groups working on the ground and destroying, breaking up everything owned by the Syrians. All the while the security forces and police appear powerless.

The campaign organizers may think that they have succeeded in mobilizing the street, but they are not aware of the danger of their actions. Encouraging the masses to break the

law is a threat to civil peace in the society. It means that any future dispute that may happen between any political, social, or other parties will turn into an internal division and each party will try to achieve success even if they cross all the red lines.

*Riots - such as  
the one in Ankara  
- are usually  
approached from  
one side only.*

## The Invisible effects on the Syrian side

Riots - such as the one in Ankara - are usually approached from one side only. The rioters are blindly biased to the Turkish side,

without being interested in considering about the Syrian side. The riots in Ankara have increased the panic and fear level among the almost four million Syrians residing in Turkey who are under temporary protection, and





they feel more threatened of being exposed to collective punishment without law or police protections. On the other hand, some people exploit this situation to spread inflammatory rhetoric to the Turkish society, calling them to defend themselves outside the law framework, reinforcing their fears by false agendas about the Syrian refugees.

The media have given great attention to this riot, but they didn't give the same extent to the legal proceedings that follows. This may give the impression that the law is turning a blind eye to those involved, leaving space for the recurrence of such abuses in the future.

An important element that has gone unnoticed is that the images of how Turkish people resent outsiders and how they violently destroyed people's properties have gone viral, and this may affect Turkey's tourism sector. These images will depict that Turkey is an insecure and risky country for some nationalities,

especially Arabs, which may have negative economic repercussions in the future. Syrian and Arab investors may flee Turkey if they feel that their economic interests and business may be threatened if the incitement continues, and this may happen in the middle of today's global economic challenges; they will need to find a new place to run their activities that will be safer and more stable for them.

Addressing these riots is the Turkish government's responsibility in the first place by stopping media incitement campaigns and holding the perpetrators accountable according to the law. However, this does not cancel the responsibility of the Turkish people and the Syrian refugees to stop this xenophobic attitude and create the Syrian refugees presence into a mutually constructive situation for both peoples. This process is vital because Turkey is a stable country and must remain so; no one is admissible to destabilize its internal security or disturb its civil peace.

# REFUGEES, ASYLUM-SEEKERS AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD



According to the *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees* (UNHCR) report, the number of **refugees, asylum seekers and Internally Displaced People (IDP)** worldwide in the first half of 2021 has exceeded **84 million**. At the end of 2020, that number was **82,4 million**.

## REFUGEES

Total number of  
refugees in 2021 is

**20,8 MILLION**

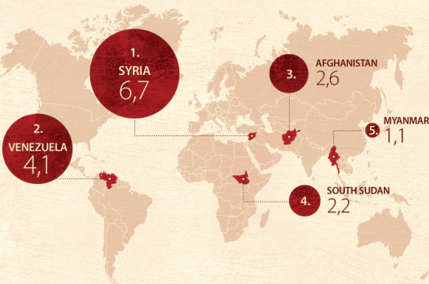


Developing countries  
hosted **85%** of  
world's refugees.

**73%** of refugees lived in  
countries *neighboring*  
their countries of origin.



### TOP 5 COUNTRIES LEFT BY REFUGEES: (in Millions)

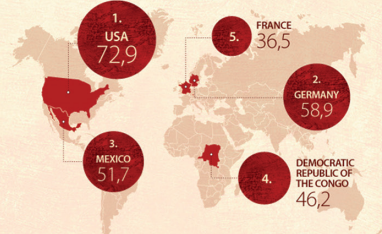


### TOP 5 COUNTRIES HOSTING REFUGEES: (in Millions)



## ASYLUM SEEKER

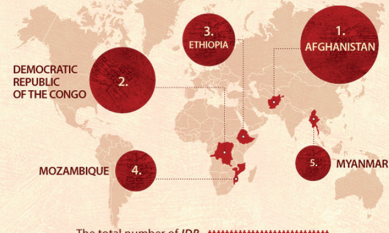
### TOP 5 RECIPIENTS OF NEW INDIVIDUAL APPLICATIONS: (in Thousand)



The total number of *asylum seeker*  
in 2021 is 4,4 million.



### INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEOPLE TOP 5 COUNTRIES:



The total number of *IDP*  
in 2021 is 50,9 million.



## STATELESS PEOPLE

### TOP 4 COUNTRIES (in Thousand)



The total number of *stateless persons*  
in 2021 is 4,3 million.





# THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL CHANGES ON SYRIA

**KENDA SHAHERHAWASLI**

*Ten years have passed since the Syrian War broke, which has become one of the largest and deadliest humanitarian crises in history. Political statements around the world accused the Assad regime of committing war crimes and announced their position against it. Many international reports have documented the violations that occurred in Syria, followed by dozens of resolutions that demanded this regime to engage in a political process based on steps that would stop the crisis.*

**B**ut is the international community really serious in its position vis-a-vis the Syrian crisis, or could it change its position or reverse its policies providing changes in their political interests, even if these changes affect the Syrians and prolong their suffering?

## Political steps towards the Assad regime

It is difficult to ignore many indications that show clear political changes, both in the policy of the international community or that of the US, towards the Syrian case. The changes began in the Arab arena a few years ago, when some countries such as Egypt and the UAE embraced the Assad regime's re-floatation and asked for its return to the Arab League, not to mention the preparation of some Arab countries to reopen their embassies in Damascus.

These efforts were responded by James Jeffrey – when he was US Syria envoy - when he said that “The UAE knows that we absolutely refuse that countries take such steps,” referring to the

developments including the reopening of the UAE embassy in Damascus, further describing the move as a “bad idea”.<sup>1</sup>

This latest policy change is not limited only to the Arab countries. Something also changed in international NGOs. The World Health Organization (WHO) elected Syria as an Executive Board member for the Middle East, ignoring all the reports of the hospitals and medical facilities targeted by the Assad regime and how it prevents the entry of medicines and aid into areas besieged by its forces.<sup>2</sup> WHO has found no shame in dealing with a war criminal who has targeted its facilities and staff. Moreover, it ignored the objections forwarded by Syrian and non-Syrian organizations that denounce this step.

In the same context, The United Nations Special Committee for the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has elected, by acclamation, Syria's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Bassam Sabbagh, as its rapporteur.<sup>3</sup> This means that the very organization that is concerned about defending human rights





has welcomed a country that has committed violations, war crimes, and crimes against humanity against its people, as one of their own.

On the other hand, Denmark Government's approach in repatriating Syrian refugees to Syria seems incomprehensible, especially since it considers that Syria has become a safe place as fighting has ceased in the country. But it ignored the fact that many refugees fled as a result of their political positions, which means that Denmark would only put these people's lives at risk by forcing them to return before a political solution can be found.

In its latest development though, US policy toward the Syrian issue has also begun to change after Biden assumed presidency.

With the passage of the Caesar Law that is putting pressure on the Assad regime and its supporters, the American administration has lately begun to ease its grip on those on whom sanctions were imposed.

Furthermore, some American voices have begun to offer new policy options calling to tacitly agree that Assad - though a war criminal - can stay in power for the near term and give Syria triple of whatever financial aid Iran was giving the country if he kicks out the Iranian forces from Syria.<sup>4</sup> This proposal, made by New York Times columnist Thomas L. Friedman, does not see any embarrassment in this suggestion. Even though Assad opposes human rights and supports a state sponsored terrorism, Friedman places America's interest above all else.



## The political resistance campaigns.

There is a political change that must be observed on Syria, especially with a Russian-led diplomatic movement that has been working to put pressure on global players to re-accept the Assad regime in accordance with Russian interests and gains. The Syrians must brace themselves for all scenarios and organize for political battles no less difficult than the military ones they were forced to take.

Syrians have many margins for their movement, especially if they understand how to exploit their cause the right way. They can launch an international campaign to mobilize public opinion against Assad's crimes, which can embarrass international governments in relation to what they think about how they deal or cooperate with a war criminal.

Syrians around the world have many stories and experiences, with thousands of videos

*Syrians  
have many  
margins  
for their  
movement,  
especially  
if they  
understand  
how to exploit  
their cause the  
right way.*

documenting their suffering and lives which can be made into documentary films or human stories that show the hidden human relics caused by the regime's crimes. Turning their stories into art, music, films, series or books in many languages can contribute to create a solid public opinion that support their human rights cases in the face of dictatorships' political efforts.

They can also establish many partnerships with human rights organizations to take their cases to international courts to punish those who were involved in such crimes.

It will not be an easy path to take, but it is not impossible, especially as there are a lot of evidence, witnesses, and events that have gravely affected

people who have suffered from arrests, sieges or bombings, or were forcibly displaced, or experienced medical complications because of the medical supplies prohibition. The popular political resistance tools may be slower than states' political tools, but these tools still can have a profound impact on the consciousness of peoples if used properly.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup> US singles out UAE over Assad rapprochement, warns of sanctions , TRT WORLD, 19/5/2020, <https://bit.ly/2SP17dT>

<sup>2</sup> WHO Syria on twitter , 28/5/2021, <https://bit.ly/3gSa5fQ>

<sup>3</sup> Syria's Permanent Representative to UN elected as

Special Committee on Decolonization Rapporteur , SANA agency ,15/6/2021, <http://sana.sy/en/?p=237892>

<sup>4</sup> Tom Friedman's Latest Stratagem Is Having US Taxpayers Subsidize Syria's Assad, *algemeiner*, 19/6/2021, <https://bit.ly/3gKrxEO>



# IRREGULAR MIGRATION AND TURKEY

**Irregular migration** is defined as entering a country illegally, staying there illegally, or not leaving that country within the legally allowed period despite having entered legally.

Countries from which irregular immigrants leave are called the **source**; countries they want to reach are called the **destination**; and countries they are in to **transit** between the two are called the transit countries.



TURKEY HAS BEEN SEEN AS BOTH A **TRANSIT** AND **DESTINATION COUNTRY** FOR IRREGULAR MIGRANTS IN RECENT YEARS.



In the last **five years**, nearly **1.150.000** **irregular migrants** have been apprehended in Turkey.

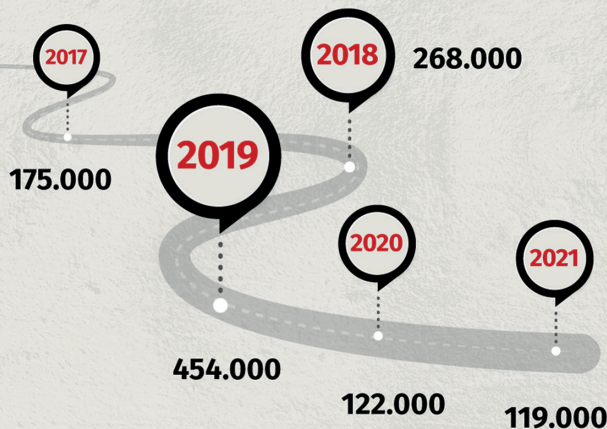


More than **500.000** of them are **AFGHANS**.

More than **300.000** are **SYRIANS**.



## NUMBER OF IRREGULAR IMMIGRANTS CAUGHT IN TURKEY IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS



**Syrians**  
Under Temporary  
Protection  
**3.723.000**



**Foreigners**  
in Turkey with a  
Residence Permit  
**1.232.000**  
(As of November 2021)



# THE NEW APARTHEIDS: COLONIALISM REVISITED IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

DR. ERSİN DOYRAN

*Last month, the State of Israel while celebrating the 73<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of its establishment, the Palestinian lands on which it was founded drew once again pain, blood and tears deep into it – and unfortunately, not the last. Undoubtedly, there were very important developments during the thirty-year period of British colonial rule in Palestine, from ‘the promise of one nation’s territory (Palestinians)’ by another nation (the British) to a third nation (the Jewish nation)’ with the Balfour Declaration in 1917, to the establishment of Israel in May 1948.<sup>1</sup> However, successive declarations of war at short intervals after ‘48 brought the problem in the region to the top of the international agenda. In the meantime, it was quite remarkable that the naming of the issue had changed and transformed over the years in a way that pointed to the history and handling of the issue, and many other things too: the Arab-Israeli wars, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and in the last fifteen years, the Gaza tragedy, the ‘Gaza Wars’ or the Hamas-Israel conflict, as if it was intended to be portrayed as a separate issue from the whole Palestinian cause. In fact, every naming necessarily involves some attempt to define and specify, to include or exclude, and finally to dominate.*



The Palestinian people have been exposed to the most brutal facets of colonialism in the past hundred years from the usurpation of their homes and lands to the burning down of olive trees, to the fact that millions of Palestinians were forced to live in very harsh conditions for years as refugees, to the treatment as 'second' or even 'third' class citizens in their own homeland. Palestine has turned into a gigantic colonial-space where individual, social, and political suffering is constantly displayed before the eyes of humanity in an almost theatrical-tragic way. Towards the end of the last century, in one part of the world – South Africa –, the *Apartheid* regime, one of the most vicious racist-colonial regimes of modern times, was overthrown at the end of a long struggle; while in another region, on Palestine, the Israeli *Apartheid* was carrying out an ethnic cleansing quietly but decisively on the colonial-space it had created over the years with an unprecedented international support and camouflage. 'Peace and security' discourse is tediously repeated in neo-colonial rhetoric and politics, together with the claims of bringing democracy, freedom and human rights overseas. Israeli apartheid regime has always tried to hide itself behind these discourses. However, there are now 'new' actors, different voices, and asymmetrical groups, all claiming aloud their own rights and representation, and whose effects are not as easily predictable as before. It has also led to the emergence of very different spheres of struggle and resistance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Today, as we approach the first quarter of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the forms of colonialism, or in other words, the policies of any 'Empire' attempting a kind of global dominance – although 'Empire' mostly refers to the USA today, I shall use the term in a more broader sense, including, for example, China in terms of the strategy it pursues and the language it uses; and even to some extent France, Germany, or Russia –, and the configuration of opposition to those imperial policies have both been quite differentiated and diversified compared to the last century.

The change of conditions and the use of new tools and technologies have *refined* the imperial ambitions and neo-colonial methods

and policies, if not invisible. Although it is impossible not to discern Israel's apartheid policies if your eyes and ears are not closed to the truth, a much more complex and *refined* picture emerges when one considers especially greater Western metropolises. It would be relatively easy to follow and predict the hard power use such as the declaration of wars, military interventions and occupations, or soft power elements as to the establishment of influence through trade, investments, debts and grants, by which the great powers, especially the US, attempt to dominate overseas and protect their interests in distant regions. On the other hand, the 'Empire' is most *truly* felt inside today. The 'uncanny' individuals and communities at the great metropolises – which no longer just form their slums, but often 'disrupt' the usual flow of urban life by highly irregular and unpredictable behavioral patterns – have changed everything in a way that now terrifies the *native* inhabitants. The rules and the order of the 'Site' have not only been shaken, but these foreigners (or *barbarians*) who have appeared suddenly also want to have a say in determining the new rules. The usual response to these 'insolent and arrogant' strangers has been social exclusion and rejection *par excellence*. It should be stressed that the rejection attitude here is not only an ordinary and simple one, it has also formed the basis of increasingly xenophobic, and at the same time, systematic administrative policies. That is exactly one of the main thoughts of this article: in the year 2021, the new forms of colonialism and imperial policies are 'socio-political apartheid' operating against 'others' at home; i.e. in imperial capitals and at other major centres throughout the mainland of the 'Empire'. These are definitely 'new-ghetto' formations of the world we live in today; they are not easily noticed at first due to their *non-spatiality* (i.e. *spacelessness*). Yet the new apartheid belongs to this metropolitan city and is shaped by the conditions that determine the socio-political structure of the metropolis.

The (Western) metropolis of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has been conditioned by certain dynamics that have shaped the post - Cold War era. Foremost among these are the radical withdrawal of publicity<sup>2</sup> and a blind 'market



society individualism' - devoid of any sense of personality and any ethical and aesthetic concerns. These conditions, which completely destroy the social fabric of urban life, have isolated people more and more, and created a terrible inequality. As to the metropolitan apartheid - deprived of even the intra-ghetto solidarity networks that a physical ghetto could provide - the same conditions have made the already critical position of those marginalised groups several times more difficult. The immigrants, refugees, foreigners, different minority groups, and all the 'others' who have been decisively pushed out of the 'real life' by the owners of the metropolitan space face strongly the feeling of 'being alone and helpless', which, in turn, aims at breaking any possibility of a resistance by these communities. Thus, the spaceless nature of the new apartheid at the metropolis hinders any search or pressure for solidarity. While the primary aim of classical colonial and imperial domination was the control and transfer of physical and visible resources of the overseas to the mainland; as a result of a series of global processes, the colonised of the past is now demanding the right to have a say on the 'Empire'. The relationship between the old coloniser and the colonised has now become much more complex. So the 'Empire' has today had to re-direct its imperial

ambitions in this new context. Emerging at the metropolises of the West and heavily felt in nearly every aspect of the urban life, this new and spaceless colonial-racial form - which I conceptualise it here as the 'metropolis apartheid' - is the internalisation of 'Empire'; and both as a systematic policy-making style and as an administrative model reveals its new orientation towards the former colonial 'object', which now demands the right to coexist with its old coloniser on an equal status at the imperial spaces.

Yet it will be incomplete if we end the story here. Perhaps the most obvious truth that the long history of colonialism has taught is: there are two sides around the table; the two sides work 'together' on the painting canvas: 'Empire' and the Resistance. The resulting picture has been shaped by the strokes of these two throughout the history. It will certainly continue to be so in the future.

**Note:** I would like to commemorate here the late Edward W Said, the author of many important works, including the masterpieces *Orientalism* (1978), and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), who inspired me to think about many things I discuss in this essay, and who was a valuable teacher and also a tireless activist during all his lifetime.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup> For this period and beyond, see Professor Rashid Khalidi's recently published, excellent work that is truly a masterpiece: *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917–2017* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2020).

<sup>2</sup> See Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977).





# SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION

1996

SCO's foundations were laid in 1996 with the "Shanghai Five" formed by the coming together of *China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan* and *Tajikistan*.

2001

With the participation of *Uzbekistan*, the name of the structure was changed into "Shanghai Cooperation Organization".

2017

*India* and *Pakistan* joined the organization.

2021

*Iran* was accepted as a **full member**.

**MEMBER STATES:**



**AREA:**  
**36 MILLION KM<sup>2</sup>**  
approx



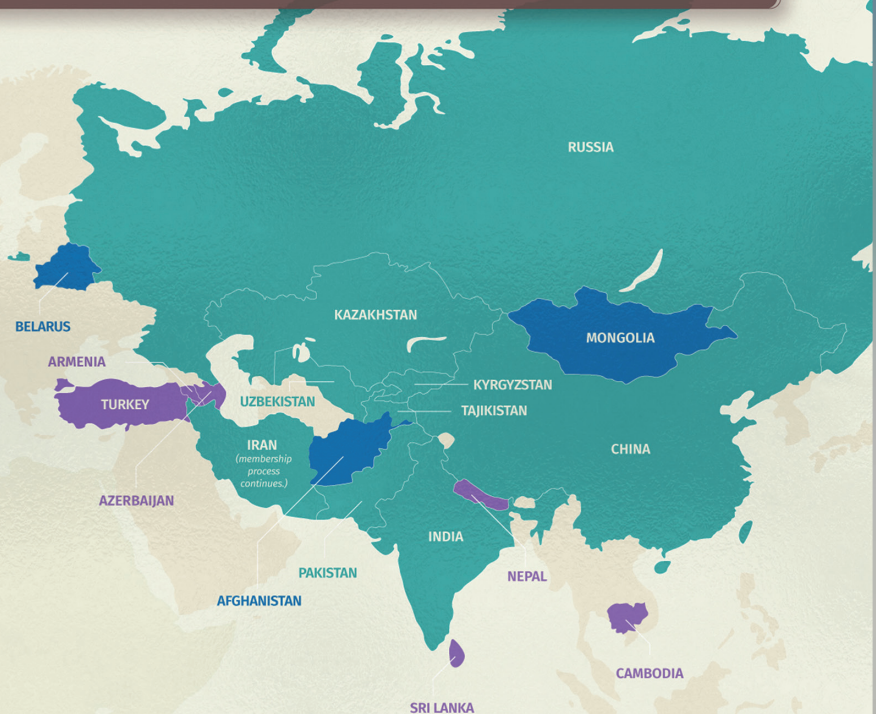
**POPULATION:**  
**3.3 BILLION**



**ECONOMIC SIZE:**  
**\$22.5 TRILLION**

Despite the **problem areas** and **conflicts** of interest among member states, the SCO is **expected to increase its influence** on a regional and global scale in the coming years.

- MEMBER STATES
- OBSERVER STATES
- DIALOGUE PARTNERS



## WHAT CAN BE DONE?

- In the face of the changing **political, economic** and **military balances** on a global scale, the relations with the SCO and countries of the region should be emphasized.
- The growing interest in the region within the framework of the **Asian Initiative Again** could be transformed into new outputs.
- Information **sharing meetings** and **academic studies** are vital to know the organization better, with which **Turkey** is in intense cooperation.
- The advantage stemming from Turkey's **deep-rooted historical, cultural and religious ties** with many member states, especially the Turkic republics, can be considered as a driving force in **Turkey-SCO relations**.
- By training experts who can speak **Chinese, Russian and Hindi**, studies on the region can be carried out using **primary sources**.

# CHANGE COALITION AND THE NEW ERA IN ISRAEL

KADRIYE SINMAZ

*In Israel, the Bennett-Lapid coalition formed the government in a vote of confidence in the Knesset on 13 June. So the two-year election marathon is over for now. A government rotation led by right-wing Yamina party's leader Naftali Bennett and Yair Lapid, leader of the centrist Yesh Atid party, was implemented in partnership with eight other parties. The new government has removed Benjamin Netanyahu - who has been prime minister since 2009 - and started a new era in the country.*

During the election process, there was a grouping between political parties that outstripped ideological rhetoric; anti-Netanyahu and pro-Netanyahu.

Netanyahu was the longest-serving prime minister in Israel with a total of 15 years in office - in 1996-1999 and 2009-2021. A hawkish politician known for his opposition to peace talks in the 1990s, Netanyahu also brought security policies to the forefront in the 2000s. Netanyahu, who equates Israel's survival with own existence, almost tried to prove it with his attacks on Palestine. The last quarter-century of Israeli politics was dominated by identity politics. Netanyahu has deepened the polarization in the society with his harsh rhetoric on dissidents. A large part of the public also attributed the country's fourth election in just two years to Netanyahu's personal ambitions. In particular, his insistence on continuing his political career despite three bribery and corruption cases against him that strengthened the anti-Netanyahu front.

Although Netanyahu received the highest number of votes in the election, he failed to

form a government. Yair Lapid convinced Bennett and Abbas to form the Change Coalition.

The eight-party coalition includes three right-wing, two centrist, two left-wing and one Arab party. The right-wing parties consist of Bennett's Yamina Party, Gideon Saar's New Hope Party and Avigdor Liberman's Yisrael Beitanu (*Israel Our Home*) Party. The Labor Party led by Merav Michaeli and the Meretz Party led by Nitzan Horowitz, which have secular Zionist understanding and supports a two-state solution, form the left-wing of the government. Benny Gantz's Blue-White Party and Yair Lapid's Yesh Atid Party represent the centrist element of the government. In the Change Coalition, three politicians are particularly noted: Naftali Bennett, Yair Lapid and Mansour Abbas.

Naftali Bennett, who became prime minister in the new government, began his political life as Netanyahu's deputy in 2006. He was then elected president of The Jewish Home party in 2012 and parted ways with Netanyahu. Bennett held several different ministries in Netanyahu-era coalition governments. "I've killed a lot of





Arabs in my life, and there's no problem with that," the hardline religious-nationalist said in 2013. Bennett is also known to have accused coalition partner Mansour Abbas of being a "terrorist supporter" in the past. Bennett has a large number of votes from Jewish settlements and is known for his anti-Palestinian rhetoric. Therefore, his current position as prime minister in an administration with Arab and left-wing parties is one of the most curious issues about the new government.

A prominent figure in the Change Coalition is Yair Lapid. After being given the task of forming the government, Lapid had two options in front of him: accepting Bennett as prime minister, or making the fifth election. Lapid gave the priority to Bennett, even though his party was the second-largest group in parliament. Moreover, it is not known if the Change Coalition will continue in office until the third year, in which Lapid will take over. Lapid, who stands out for his liberal ideas, argues that it is necessary to balance democratic and Jewish identities of Israel.

The most notable name of the Change Coalition is Mansour Abbas. Because for the first time in history, an Arab party representing Israel's Arab citizens is directly involved in the Israeli government.

The roots of the United Arab List (*Raam*), led by Abbas, date back to the 1970s. In 1971, Sheikh Abdullah Derwish founded the Islamic Movement in Israel, which adheres to the principles of the Muslim Brotherhood. Due to differences of opinion arising in the 1990s over the Oslo Accords and accession to the Knesset, the movement was divided into south and north wing. The north wing, led by Raid Salah, continues to boycott Israeli elections. The south wing, led by Derwish, formed the *Raam* to participate in the elections. Abbas participated in previous elections along with three different Arab parties. But because of a disagreement with the List's left-wing parties, he participated alone in the March 2021 elections and secured four MPs in the Knesset.

Abbas' main expectation from the government was to allocate funds to improve the socio-





economic conditions of Arabs and Bedouins, and to end racism in the law. Arabs, which constitute 20% of Israel's population, have been subjected to racist policies for many years. In this context, Abbas' government partner - although he received the support of part of the Arab community - had also led to the reaction of many Palestinians. Abbas has been criticized for legitimizing Israel's occupation while the apartheid regime rhetoric against Israel has become widespread in Europe and America. It is estimated that the steps taken by the Change Coalition regarding Israeli Arab citizens will also affect Abbas' political career.

## What awaits Israel's Change Coalition?

One of the government's priority agendas is to eliminate the possibility of Netanyahu from ever being prime minister again. In this context, the new government will first take decisions to restrict the term of the prime minister, which has been discussed for a long time, and to prevent people with legal cases from becoming prime minister.

The more important and long-term problem that awaits the Change Coalition is the polarization caused by the increasing determinacy of social identities. In Israeli society, identity polarization such as Jewish-Arab, right-left, religious-secular, Ashkenazi-Mizrahi has become more evident, and Israelis identify themselves through these identities. The fact that four elections are held in two years is also the epitome of this situation. These different identities in the society are reflected in the coalition supported by the eight parties. In this regard, it is estimated that the life of a government formed by parties

with different ideological backgrounds will be short-lived. But if a new election period is entered, the same problems will only reoccur. On the other hand, although the government partners have different political views, they seem to be pragmatists in their decision-making.

Although members of the Change Coalition extend or shorten the life of the government through their decisions, the polarization in the society continues. But by thinking about the causes of the polarization and putting an end to racist policies, more permanent solutions can be created.

## Turkey-Israel Relations

During Netanyahu's terms, Turkey-Israel relations faced many crises and followed a tense route. The mutual harsh accusations of the Turkish and Israeli leaders have been reflected in the media. But this tension in diplomatic relations was not reflected in the commercial area, and the foreign trade volume of both countries remained in a certain balance. It is not expected that political relations with Turkey will have a visibly positive profile during the Change Coalition government. Although some talks have been held to improve relations, concrete steps are not expected in the short term. In the new period, Egypt and Jordan are expected to be the leading countries in the region in terms of negotiation with Palestine and communication with Israel. In addition, normalization attempts with Arab countries initiated in Netanyahu's era will continue, and negotiations will be held with other countries. Therefore, in this process, it is expected that Israel will increase its political partner alternatives in the Middle East.

# AIR POLLUTION

Today, air pollution is one of the crucial **environmental** and **health** issues.

The number of people dies due to air pollution-related diseases every year is;



INCLUDING  
**600 THOUSAND**  
OF CHILDREN



MORE THAN  
**7 MILLION**  
PEOPLE DIE



Fossil fuel emissions' annual cost to the global economy is  
**2.9 TRILLION \$**

## CURRENT RESEARCHES HAVE REVEALED THAT AIR POLLUTION CAUSES;



Cardiovascular  
Diseases



Visual  
Impairment



Alzheimer's



Mental  
Illnesses



Respiratory  
Disorder

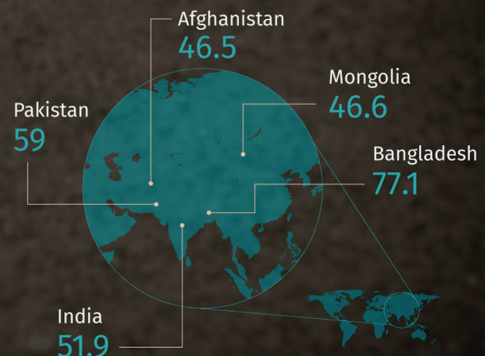
## MAJOR CAUSES OF AIR POLLUTION

- Intense **greenhouse gas** emissions caused by excessive industrialization,
- **Forest fires**, which have increased in recent years due to climate change,
- **Plastic waste** caused by excessive consumption and globalization,
- **Electronic** and **nuclear waste** of global technology and energy companies.

**\*PM 2.5 Measurement:** It is calculated by looking at the ratio of particles smaller than 2.5 microns in the air per cubic meter.

## MOST POLLUTED COUNTRIES

(PM 2.5 Data\*)



# BRICS' ROLE AMIDST GLOBAL LIBERAL DECLINE

**ABDUL WAHEED PARRY**

*Liberal democracies are facing serious challenges in the Global North. The emergence of rightist groups has affected the democracy in its homeland, United States and Western Europe. The retreat of liberal democracy on a global level is the new writing on the wall. In such scenario, emerging democracies are a ray of hope for democracy across the globe.*

**B**razil, India and South Africa as democratic BRICS can be role models for the developing world. But geopolitically, BRICS core idea to reform multilateral fora remains its biggest challenge. The major question is whether BRICS as emerging states in economic growth - and their interests for a multi-polar international system - are enough factors to make it a relevant international actor in world politics.

*"It would be possible to think that BRICS countries would not be a meaningful issue were it not for the understanding that the international order constructed by the WEST since the beginning of 16<sup>th</sup> century is now being challenged by these so-called rising powers. Therefore, discussing the BRICS countries and BRICS as an institution means discussing a change in the international order, and the relative decline of the US dominant position in that order." (Kakonen, 2014)<sup>1</sup>*

Each of the democratic BRICS can play this role actively, if they could manage their internal political and economic crisis. BRICS countries have claimed to be clear about their intentions to cooperate in business, media

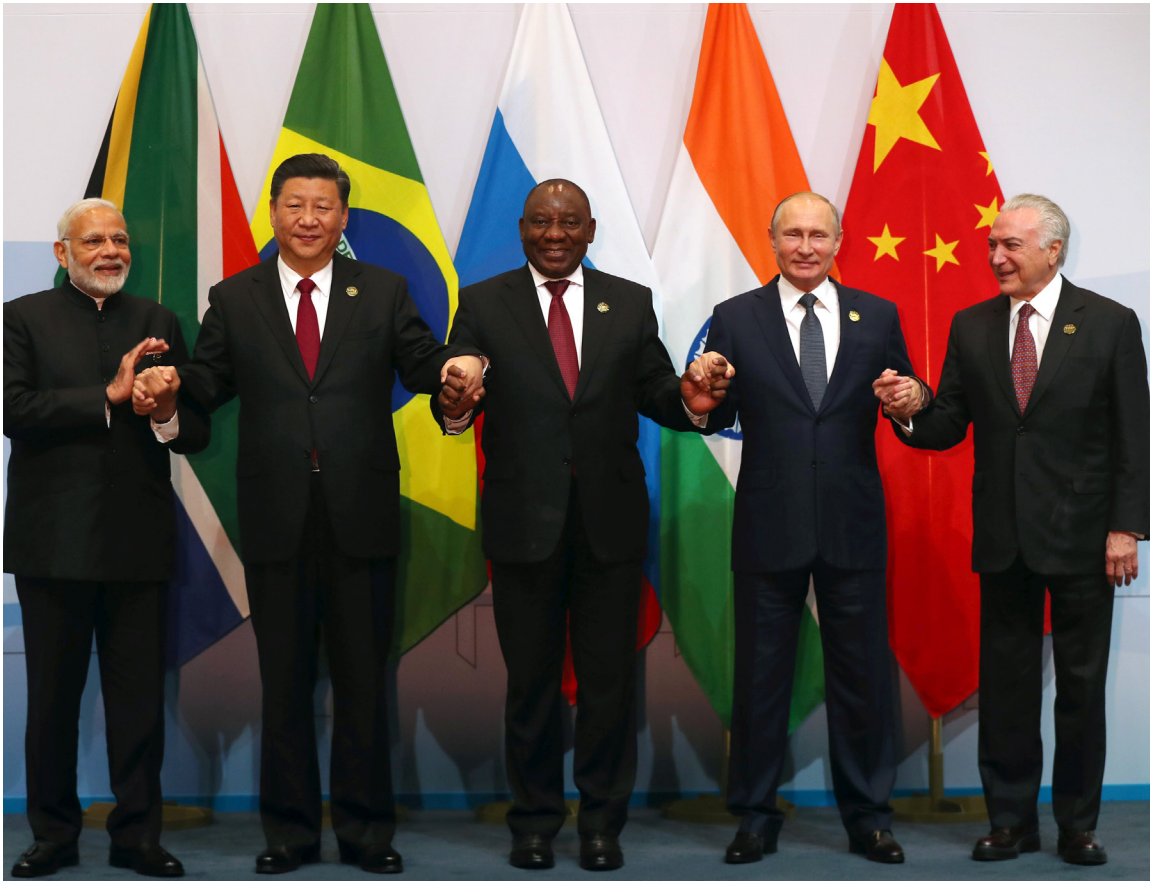
and civil society groups, as well as to focus on government interactions. The 11<sup>th</sup> BRICS summit report published in 2020 reads about the efforts made for the cooperation to play this role.

*"Brazil, under the theme of the summit 'BRICS: Economic Growth for an innovative future', aimed to promote deliverables that would have a direct impact on lives of societies and to emphasize and maximize what BRICS means to all people; while emphasizing the equal role and participation of the BRICS countries." (Muresan, 2020)<sup>2</sup>*

The summit also declared a clear position on BRICS partnership on strengthening and reforming the multilateral system, improvement in economic and financial cooperation, focus on regional issues within geopolitical context, and refining intra-BRICS cooperation.

Brazil and South Africa have been successfully projecting themselves as regional and global middle powers. Although these two states are facing the challenge of countering corruption and are engaged in re-activating their economic growth, both countries have the potential to emerge as role models for the developing states of the Global South. The case of India





varies from these two states. India had been well positioned among the democratic BRICS to play an important role for the Global South. India was in a good position to play a model role at regional level, as well as a global middle power. Unfortunately, the recent political and economic challenges that India has been facing clearly suggest that it can no longer play such role in current circumstances. In recent years Indian democracy has been experiencing a breakdown under extremist-right wing Bhartiya Janata Party. Indian democracy is continuously declining following the country's strong shift towards majoritarianism. Civil rights, media freedom, economic equality and religious freedom are under serious threat under the Modi government. Religious minorities and other weaker sections of the Indian society are facing a threat to their basic survival.

The basic challenge for democratic BRICS is to form a collective platform for teaming up to play any active role on issues related to democratic rights and liberties. Scholars have been questioning the ability of democratic BRICS to form a pro-democracy coalition at the global level.

*"The analysis of democratic BRICS perhaps adds to the uncertainty and unpredictability concerning the future of democratic politics on a global scale and notably in the context of the Global South." (Ziya & Alper, 2018)<sup>3</sup>*

Democratic BRICS have accomplished a significant success in creating a cross-regional cooperation, besides emerging as important regional and global middle powers. Despite the uncertain and unpredictable scenario, these countries have the potential to serve as role models in the global context.



*"BRICS are causing changes in the architecture of international development cooperation, not only with regard to trade and financial flows but also as emerging donors."<sup>4</sup>*

## Challenges as Role Models:

In an economic sense there is no doubt that the international order is already changing. China, Brazil and India are expected to continue their economic growth. The middle-range powers all over the world are becoming increasingly important. This change in the rankings of economic order has been challenging the role and influence of current leading economic powers. But there are many challenges to this changing role played by emerging economies like that of BRICS. Their underlying domestic problems surrounding corruption and socio-economic mismanagements serve as one major challenge to tackle.

*"Even though Brazil, South Africa and India are all consolidated democracies with considerable rights and liberties, their capacity to act as a role model for the developing countries, is restricted by their underlying domestic problems. These challenges include widespread corruption, creeping majoritarianism, severe socioeconomic inequalities and, particularly in the cases of Brazil and South*

*Africa, stagnant economic growth."* (Ziya & Alper, 2018)<sup>5</sup>

Another important challenge for democratic BRICS is the dilemma of being caught between non-democratic BRICS and the Global North. Being representatives of the Global South, they are collaborating with China and Russia, but they are committed to liberal democratic values of the Global North. This dilemma has put democratic BRICS in a situation of collective action problems, limiting their role model capabilities.

Maintaining the continuous democratic trajectory and press freedom is another challenging factor for democratic BRICS to serve as a role model for emerging democracies in the Global South. All three countries are considered to be free democracies, with a good score of political and civil rights, and this has considerably improved since 1990. Press freedom has also increased considerably with an exception of India's worst performance.

*"India's weak performance is rather striking and paradoxical given that it has the largest circulation of newspapers and numerous independent television stations in the world. Journalists find it hard to cover sensitive issues, such as Kashmir conflict, under increasing political pressure, which is in line with the growing evidence that press freedoms are in a process of being further undermined during the tenure of the current Prime Minister, Narendra Modi."* (Ziya & Alper, 2018)<sup>6</sup>

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Since Modi took office in 2014, concerns have grown for the rise of ultra-nationalist Hindu sentiments across the country. The recent legislations in the Indian parliament are sending alarming signals for the future of Indian democracy. Extremist tendencies in the Indian government are damaging the social harmony of the country. Indian minorities, particularly the Muslims, are facing widespread discriminations at the hands of judicial, legislative and administrative institutions.

### ***Tail Piece:***

It can be concluded that democratic BRICS are potential role models for the emerging democracies in the Global South. What must be addressed are the domestic socio-political and economic problems faced by the three countries, especially by India. If these countries could manage their domestic problems successfully, they could successfully be the role models for emerging democracies of the world.

## End Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Kakonen, Jyrki. (2014). "BRICS as a New Power in International Relations", *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2014), pp. 85-104.
- <sup>2</sup> Muresan, Arina. (2020). "Outcomes from the 11<sup>th</sup> BRICS Summit 2019", *Institute for Global Dialogue* (2020)
- <sup>3</sup> Ziya Önis & Alper Sükrü Gençer (2018). "Democratic BRICS as role models in a shifting global order: inherent dilemmas and the challenges ahead" , *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 9 (2018)

- <sup>4</sup> Morazan, Pedro et al. (2012). "The Role of BRICS in the Developing World", *Directorate General for External Policies of the European Union*.
- <sup>5</sup> Ziya Önis & Alper Sükrü Gençer (2018): *Democratic BRICS as role models in a shifting global order: inherent dilemmas and the challenges ahead*, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 9 (2018).
- <sup>6</sup> Ibid





# RUSSIA'S CLAIMS AND KAZAKHSTAN'S SOVEREIGNTY

**BURAK ÇALIŞKAN**

*Kazakhstan, which gained its independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union, faced many problems in the early 1990s. However, the country has solved those problems significantly with the rational and active policy it followed and it also has succeeded in increasing its weight in Central Asia. Being the ninth country with the largest lands in the world and very rich in underground resources, Kazakhstan has rapidly developed economically and significantly increased its visibility in international relations in recent years.*

**K**azakhstan stands out in Central Asia with the economic and political stability it provides, which explains why it reinforces its independence

every year with the multifaceted foreign policy it tries to implement. Despite all this, the comments made from neighboring Russia about north Kazakhstan are met with a great



reaction in the country. In 2020, Russian Duma Deputies Vyacheslav Nikonov and Yevgeny Fyodorov described the existing lands of Kazakhstan as a gift of Russia, hence initiated a crisis between Moscow and Nur-Sultan.

## Unfounded Claims and Rising Reactions

Vyacheslav Nikonov said in a program aired on Russian state television, "There were no settlements in Northern Kazakhstan. Much of what is now known as Kazakhstan was formerly uninhabited land. Today's Kazakhstan lands are a great gift of Russia and the Soviet Union." Yevgeny Fyodorov also made similar statements in another television program.

After these unacceptable statements, a diplomatic note was given to the envoy of the Russian Federation, who was summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan. Precautions should be taken to prevent Russian statesmen from making such statements. In this process, Kazakh citizens reacted strongly to these incidents, both in actions and social media.

Kazakhstan President Kasım Comert Tokayev wrote in an article published on January 5, "No one from the outside gave this vast land to the Kazakhs. We have internationally recognized lands established by bilateral agreements, no one can doubt them. Freedom did not come easy to us. Independence is more valuable than anything else". Tokayev clearly showed his reaction here.

## The "Russian World" Discourse as a Tool of Repression

At this point, it should be noted that discourses and discussions surrounding this matter are not new. From time to time, Russian authorities do bring these baseless allegations to the agenda as a means of pressure on Nur-

Sultan and to increase Russia's influence in the country. As a matter of fact, in 2014, Russian President Vladimir Putin claimed that Kazakhs could not establish any state prior to 1991.

As Russian propaganda, Crimea, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and north Kazakhstan were tried to be shown as the "Russian world". This discourse is also based on the Russian population who settled there, especially during the Soviet Union era, and seen as Moscow's direct sphere of influence. In fact, Moscow, which occupied Crimea and created instability in east Ukraine, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, is in a new search in north Kazakhstan. However, it can be seen that Kazakhstan will not allow such an initiative.

It is an important development that Kazakhs constitute the majority in the country and the proportion of Russians in the population decreased

by half compared to the 1990s. However, what is more important is that the Kazakh government has successfully maintained its multinational state policy until today. Unlike its neighboring states, ethnic problems have not been experienced in Kazakhstan so far. This is the clearest indicator of the success of the Kazakh government policy.

*From time to time, Russian authorities do bring these baseless allegations to the agenda as a means of pressure on Nur-Sultan and to increase Russia's influence in the country.*



## Nation Consciousness is Strengthening

It has been observed that the Kazakh national consciousness has strengthened in recent years. In actuality, upon the latest developments, a group of civil activists in the city of Petropavl in the north of the country asked the Kazakh government to prepare a letter condemning the words of the Russian politicians. The activists also demanded the city's name to be changed to Kazakh language 'Kızılyar'. Although changing the city's name has been on the agenda, no step has been taken in this direction. However, many Russian city names have been changed to Kazakh/Turkish names in the last five years.

As a result, the fact that necessary international response was not shown to Russia - which

intervened militarily in Georgia in 2008 and occupied Crimea in 2014 - raises the questions of whether new international rights violations can occur. Although the political, military and economic relations between Nur-Sultan and Moscow are highly developed, the latest statements of Russian politicians clearly show that Russia is setting its eyes on north Kazakhstan. In addition, despite its certain gains after Karabakh War II, Moscow - whose influence and prestige in the South Caucasus decreased in a broad perspective - is worried about similar processes in Central Asia. For this reason, it brings these discourses to the agenda as a means of pressure. However, both the Kazakh government and the Kazakh people seem determined enough to stand against such violations of rights with their historical consciousness.





# GLOBAL E-COMMERCE

E-commerce gets more predominant each year given the rise of online retail sales.



The **coronavirus pandemic** has accelerated the growth even more.



The **United States** continued to dominate the overall e-commerce market, ahead of **Japan** and **China**.



Global e-commerce sales jumped to **\$26.7 trillion** in 2019, up **4%** from 2018.

The share of e-commerce in total retail sales in the world;



2019  
16%

South Korea  
and China  
25%

2020  
19%

## LARGEST E-COMMERCE COMPANIES

In billion dollar, 2020

CHINA

GMV  
(Gross Merchandise Value)

1,145

Alibaba.com

USA

GMV  
(Gross Merchandise Value)

575

amazon.com

CHINA

GMV  
(Gross Merchandise Value)

242

Pinduoduo Inc.

shopify

CANADA

GMV  
(Gross Merchandise Value)

120

CHINA

GMV  
(Gross Merchandise Value)

379

JD.COM

eBay

USA

GMV  
(Gross Merchandise Value)

100

## E-COMMERCE SALES: TOP 5 COUNTRIES

In trillion-dollar, 2019

UNITED STATES  
9.5

JAPAN  
3.4

CHINA  
2.6

SOUTH KOREA  
1.3

UNITED KINGDOM  
0.88



# CHINA-PAKISTAN ECONOMIC CORRIDOR

**ABDUL WAHEED PARRY**

*China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) as an integral part of the ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a package aimed at Pakistan economic revitalization through a vast network of energy, infrastructure and communication projects to boost Pakistan's crumbling economy. The project is scheduled to finish by 2030. The CPEC project begins at Kashgar in Xinjiang, China, and reaches Karachi and Gwadar, southern coastal cities in Pakistan and other areas.*

China on one hand is working closely with Pakistan in areas of investments and partnerships. On the other hand China's interest in Pakistan could be seen as an increasing threat by India. The resulting dynamic could further influence US foreign policy in South Asia. It could further deepen the US-India alignment to face a threat from China and Pakistan. The US might offer support to Pakistan to contain China's influence in the backdrop of CPEC or sees it as an opportunity to stabilize Pakistan and incentivize it.

CPEC is an extensively debated project for its impact on Pakistan in particular and South Asia in general. There are particular concerns in Pakistan about the project. Similarly, there is a divide in opinion of South Asian countries. Some South Asian states look at CPEC as an economic opportunity. Countries like India assess CPEC as an alliance against India's interests. This paper is proposed to analyze

all these perceptions and present the facts. It would also question about India's threat perception and concerns about the project, and analyze the project in the perspective of international relations theories.

## Introduction:

BRI was conceived by Xi Jinping in 2013 to revive the ancient Silk Road through a new avatar consisting of road and train networks construction across Southeast Asia, South Asia and Europe with a network of sea routes extended to Middle East and Africa. In essence, BRI can be termed to be China's aspirational bid, which had gained tremendous economic power since opening up to the world economy in the 1980's; particularly when China emerged unscathed from the subprime mortgage triggering the 2008-09 global financial crisis. It grew reasonably well while unemployment and slowed economy created problems in the

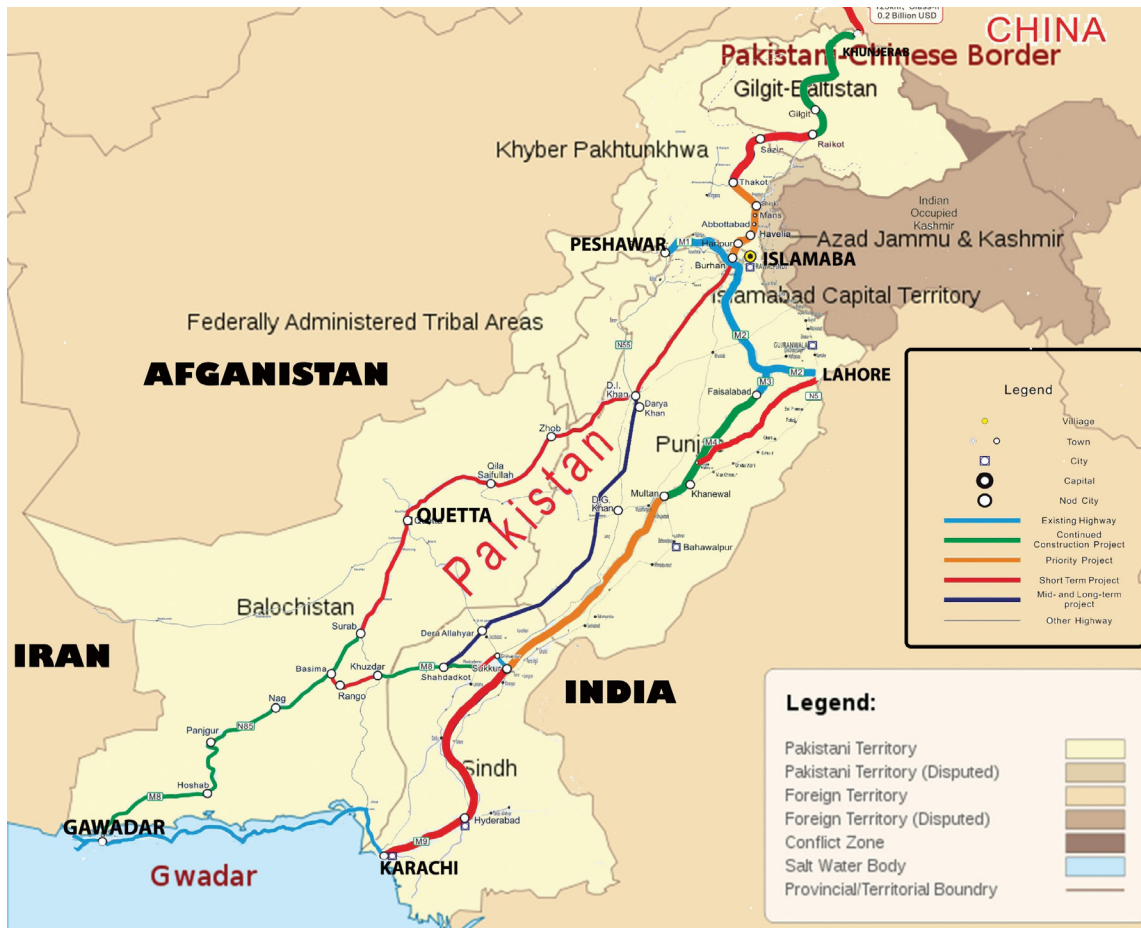
Western world with deeper ramifications for their socio-political system, ripple effects of which are continuing until today.

The CPEC was designed as BRI's flagship program. Pakistan, being China's oldest and long standing strategic and defense partner, in addition to its strategic location as the 'zipper' of Eurasia, was slated to play an important role in the project.

## CPEC:

CPEC is envisaged to be a multifaceted project. Its planned corridor constitutes an array of different projects pertaining to energy, road infrastructure for transportation, and economic free zones within Pakistan. The investment is part of China's BRI strategy which includes the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road. The

investment was initially estimated at \$46 billion, though subsequent commitments increased the initial estimate, primarily to upgrade Pakistan's existing transportation infrastructure, as well as boosting Pakistan's energy generation sector to fix the country's chronic energy shortages, and to provide sufficient energy to fulfill its existing and future energy needs. The special economic zones (SEZs) are supposed to be built on successful accomplishment of early harvest energy and infrastructure projects. CPEC links the strategically significant city of Kashgar in China's Xinjiang province to the Gawadar port in Pakistan's Baluchistan province. The proposed route will allow seamless movement of goods and services between China and Pakistan. It also gives China access to the Middle East given Gawadar's proximity to the Arabian Sea.





## CPEC Components: Energy

Energy sector and investments therein constitutes prioritized component of CPEC. Both countries have sought to build a large number of coal, gas, wind, nuclear and hydroelectric power projects across Pakistan. Many of these projects have been completed and work is going on others. Every year new projects are brought under CPEC with its current focus at the production of cheap indigenous electricity with more environment friendly sources to mitigate the impact of climate change. For example, the Quaid-e-Azam solar park with 900MW capacity is Pakistan's first mega solar power project.

## Transportation Infrastructure

Another important component of CPEC is investment in transportation network within Pakistan. Initially, around a quarter of the proposed initial investment of \$46 billion (\$11 billion) has been directed toward enhancing Pakistan's transportation infrastructure, including highways and railway networks. The CPEC envisions an extensive overhaul of Pakistan's existing transportation infrastructure, laying out new routes for the facilitation of the transit trade and enhancement of market access. The CPEC consists of Eastern, Western and Central route; motorways on these routes have been either completed or are under construction, with the Eastern route and Central route to be completed by 2023 from Kashgar to Gawadar. Furthermore, a major infrastructure project aimed at the modernization and upgrade of Pakistan railways including vita IML-1 may commence soon after formal agreement between the two countries. The EXIM Bank, the China Development Bank, and the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China are among the major financial institutions providing subsidized concessionary loans to finance these infrastructure projects.

## Special Economic Zones (SEZ)

Along the routes and adjoining areas of the CPEC motorways, various SEZs have been planned in order to boost economic growth through industrial development to create job opportunities for the Pakistani people. The SEZ will facilitate international and national investors by providing special facilities like energy, infrastructure and other tax incentives. It is hoped that Chinese companies would relocate to these SEZs. Apart from relocation, Greenfield investments are also expected in these SEZs. The Gawadar free zone, Allama Iqbal industrial city, Dhabeji special economic zone and Rakashakai economic zone are the four prioritized SEZs to be completed and operationalized in the first phase.

## Gawadar Port

As part of the CPEC and the whole BRI project, Gawadar port is of pivotal importance. The port city of Gawadar is a hub of connectivity, and an indispensable interchange for the silk route. The port construction project was transferred to a Chinese company from a Singapore-based company after Pakistan terminated the contract on account of slow construction progress. The Gawadar port will enable China to export its goods to the Middle East and Africa in a shorter time, import oil and gas from the Middle East, all the while providing tremendous opportunity to Pakistan to develop its own industrial base as well as becoming a transit hub for Chinese trade and trading activities of other landlocked Central Asian countries.

## Other Projects

High-speed internet connectivity is sought to be achieved by Pak-China optical fiber cable project under CPEC. China's Huawei installed a \$44 million, 820-km (510-mile) fiber-optic line from Kashgar to Islamabad in January 2019. This new connection is a direct cross-border connection that will greatly benefit Pakistan, particularly coupled with the installation of

enhanced surveillance and data collection regimes under a Huawei sponsored 'smart cities' program. It will provide China with an alternate and shorter access to transit telecom traffic to Europe, Middle East and Africa while improving Pakistan's internet connectivity.

The Imran khan government sought to widen the ambit of the CPEC to agricultural sector and a framework agreement was signed by both countries to enhance agricultural productivity and market access for Pakistan's agricultural goods in China.

## CPEC's Theoretical background

In order to understand the CPEC in terms of international relations theories, we must realize that for China CPEC is an integral component of BRI aimed at promoting economic growth and regional connectivity while reinforcing its status as a global player. The motivation for BRI and CPEC can be explained through both realist and liberal internationalist theories of geopolitics because there are elements of competition and cooperation driving state behavior. On the other hand there is a strong possibility that the United States could offer support to Pakistan. This could be analyzed in the framework of 'imprudent aggressiveness' dimension of US liberal foreign policy. Previously, the US contained powerful nonliberal USSR and kept Pakistan from joining the communist bloc. This tactic could be used to keep track on China. Similarly US-India's recent past relations could be explained in this framework.

CPEC solely being an economic investment project within the boundaries of Pakistan is strange in the sense that, it is effectively influencing the political relations of some regional and international actors like Indo-Pak, US-Pak and Indo-US relations. The liberal theory of international relations lays emphasis upon cooperation between states. It maintains that rather than crude hard power, soft power manifested by economic, social and cultural interactions between nations with mutual benefits define international politics and emphasizes the overarching role of international organizations and institutions

in defining and shaping the interstate relations.

This theory suggests that China's motives are benign and the CPEC is the manifestation of China-Pakistan special relationship. Also, its foreign policy principles of non-interference and non-aggression are in line with Zhou En Lai's *Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence*, one of them being "equality and cooperation for mutual benefit." In line with this principle, China's mutual benefits and the degree of utility in establishing goodwill with Pakistan to promote China's soft power image - as its investments in Pakistan aimed at uplifting the country's ailing economy - will go in a long way in lifting China's status as a great global power. It invests in countries while at the same time reinforcing its image as a country that cooperates with other states by investing in human capital, businesses, and infrastructure without violating state sovereignty or undue interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Realist theory of international relations maintains that achieving and maintaining power is the sole motivation of states, though the instruments to achieve and maintain power vary in time and space. In essence, realism emphasizes self-interest in guiding the actions of a state. This theory may also be China's motivations of its actions. By constructing the proposed corridor linking Kashgar to Gwadar, China would be able to get the shortest possible access to the Arabian Sea through Pakistan. China's geographical contiguity with Pakistan and the special strategic relationship between the two states and the disputes with other neighbors including India and Southeast Asian countries makes the proposed Gawadar port the only viable and secure route for China to access the Arabian sea. Attaining access to the Middle East through a shorter, secure and reliable route gives China the opportunity to import petroleum and natural gas from the resource rich region and export its goods and services to new markets in Asia, Africa and Europe. The Arabian Sea acts as a component of the Maritime Silk Route under the BRI umbrella, allowing China to connect economically and politically with the Middle East and possibly African nations through Pakistan.



## CPEC Impact on Pakistan

The CPEC is likely to provide immense benefits and opportunities while at the same time posing challenges for Pakistan. Some benefits of the project have accrued to the country and are quite visible in less than a decade since commencement of the project. When the project was launched, Pakistan was reeling under chronic power shortage with long duration load shedding for domestic as well as industrial consumers, which had compelled many industrialists to relocate to other countries, creating problems in attracting new investments in industries.

Due to the completion of early harvest power projects, thousands of MW'S of power have been added to the system resulting in effective end of load shedding as supply side constraints have been removed. These projects have also created many direct and indirect jobs in the country. The western route will result in better connectivity across neglected regions of southern Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) and Baluchistan province, which will go a long way to bring prosperity in those areas. The activities pertaining to particularly the Gawadar port project will result in the development of Baluchistan and will bring the separatists in the alienated region into national mainstream.

The second phase of the CPEC is expected to bring large investments into Pakistan as many greenfield projects as well as industries will relocate into the region given developed infrastructure and connectivity will be established in the proposed SEZs. This will create millions of job opportunities for Pakistanis in the long run as well as enhance the living standards by raising per capita income. The nature and scope of the project has prompted many analysts to term it as the 'Marshall Plan' for Pakistan as the country will look for economic recovery and prosperity through modernization and industrialization after suffering from the impacts of 9/11. The recent agreements and MOU'S under the CPEC framework for cooperation in agriculture

will help Pakistan in increasing productivity in agriculture by the use of modern seeds, techniques, irrigation and value addition. Similarly the cyber infrastructure built under CPEC has laid the foundation for the fourth industrial revolution like Robotics and Artificial Intelligence. So the CPEC has proved to be quite helpful to Pakistan in overcoming its infrastructural constraints in growth, as well as laying foundation for long-term socio-economic development of the country.

On the other hand, CPEC has also given rise to many challenges and apprehensions or exacerbated already existing challenges in the country. The pivotal importance of Baluchistan in the project has prompted India to give flip insurgency raging in the province. There are also apprehensions that Pakistan might face challenges from the already hostile US - in case of a great power rivalry between US and China. Pakistan is also likely to be at the forefront of China if the bipolar world comes into existence.

## CPEC and American Geo-Strategic Interests and Concerns:

The end of world history theory and the preeminence of liberal democracy as future national and international order was put forward by Francis Fukuyama, which underscored the invincibility of liberal democratic order spearheaded by America. The global financial crisis of 2008-09 however challenged that assumption. China emerged from the crisis with little impact on its economy. Russia, meanwhile, quietly rebuild its national power and its 2008 war with West-backed Georgia declared its unmistakable intention of foraying back into arena of geo-political competition and great power games.

The strengthening of Chinese and Russian power will help us understand the geo-strategic implications of non-US led international or regional projects for America and its concerns about it. CPEC as the flagship program of BRI is an epitome of the Pak-China strategic



cooperation. The much touted friendship has matured from defense and strategic cooperation to cooperation on economic and developmental fronts. The US views the project both as an opportunity as well as challenge. The disruptive Trump administration have made it difficult to predict US definite response towards the project, although over the years the various think tanks having links with the American establishment have come up with policy papers and publications which sounded at least skeptical and at worst belligerent to the resurgence of Russia and emergence of China on geo-political horizons; some have even termed these developments as far greater threat than terrorism.

America still hasn't figure out its response to the BRI although it is quite evident that it feels threatened by the strategic implications of the CPEC-BRI particularly the Gawadar port. In case of any future escalation, China would be susceptible to American naval blockade and America would view Gawadar port as part of large ports being built by China - in accordance with the so called 'string of pearls' theory - in order to encircle India as America's major strategic partner. The project is also viewed by India as a violation of its sovereign territory as the port passes through Jammu and Kashmir. Also, India's heightened tensions with both China and Pakistan strategically challenges America as it might be forced to rescue India in case of a collusive Chinese threat. This could pose a dilemma to US strategic community, as it seeks to avoid being trapped in hostilities abroad, but at the same time its inaction or timid response may be viewed as retreat by its strategic competitors.

America is also wary of the future linking of Central Asia through CPEC given the growing cooperation between China and Russia as the US views both countries as strategic challengers. CPEC's Gawadar port particularly provides easy access for China to the markets and resources of the Middle East and Africa, thus increasing China's geo strategic heft and reach, which has successfully established itself in the region.

Besides, America also views the CPEC as a strategic opportunity and a common ground for cooperation and consensus with

China, as China's huge investments in the region will ensure its strategic stability and curtail violent extremists' threats to regional and global peace in the region. China and America can ensure that the region doesn't harbor extremist elements. Pakistan also has increased the stakes in curbing such elements as improved security situation and strategic stability will further accentuate the investments, and eventually prosperity.

## CPEC Geo- strategic implications with special focus on INDO-PAK relations

The CPEC-BRI project, despite being focused on connectivity and infrastructure, has undeniable geo-political and geo-strategic underpinnings. The project was launched after China achieved tremendous socio-economic progress and became the second largest economy of the world. China also emerged miraculously unscathed from the 2008-09 global financial crisis that wreaked havoc across the developed world as the worst global crisis since the Great Depression. The market friendly reforms initiated by Deng Xiaoping, the famous Chinese president, enabled China to lay foundations of a strong economy and integrate it with the global economy. China in essence became economically capitalist despite politically still being communist. Until the launch of the ambitious BRI, China's guiding principle was strategic restraint, exemplified by the famous saying of Deng Xiaoping, "bide your time, hide your strength."

China's tremendous growth over the decades, coupled with its effective insulation from the 2008-09 global financial crisis, prompted the country to shun its reluctance and give up its risk-averse strategic restraint by aggressively pushing through its BRI project. Xi Jinping promoted a vision of connectivity, trade, poverty alleviation and development through BRI. The investments and projects envisaged prosperity to all without any ideological commitment and was itself a unique proposition in the modern era. This



is because unlike former USSR's promotion of communism through aid, and Western world's sensitivity towards liberal democracy and human rights, Chinese investments didn't come with indulgence in domestic spheres of other countries. It is thus China's practical manifestation of much touted third way, which lays emphasis upon 'cooperation for benefit to all without violating sovereignty of each other'.

China's moves were being closely followed by the US, as President Barrack Obama announced his Asia-Pacific pivot policy as a countermeasure to integrate its economy closely to that of its allies in Asia-Pacific. Consequently the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) deal was signed and the partnership was supposed to be further strengthened in the future. A major break in the policy came when president Trump pulled out of the TPP deal on his first day in office, declaring it to be harmful to US national interests. The isolationist policies pursued by the Trump administration emboldened China to further accelerate the process of coming at the forefront of global politics. Although Covid-19 emerged from the China's Wuhan city, it swiftly moved to contain the pandemic that ravaged global economy and set countries into deep recession with China being the only major economy in the world, which is slated to post positive growth. China touted it as a major success of its governance system and aggressively defended its role during the pandemic, out rightly denying allegations of its role or irresponsible attitude in the pandemic. China's economy is poised to overtake the US in 2028, making it the number 1 economy of the world. The unapologetic aggressive posturing by Chinese diplomats across the world has been termed as "wolf warrior diplomacy". Covid-19 has changed the world, perhaps forever. Though the changes are yet to be noticeably discernable, but the uninspiring attitude of US authorities has dented its soft power almost irretrievably, while at the same time increasing China's geo political weight, which announced to fund the WHO after the US left it.

India has been critical since the commencement of both BRI as well as CPEC projects. It termed

BRI as shrouded in secrecy and called for a transparent mechanism for pushing through connectivity and infrastructure projects based on partnership between the countries. In essence, it was disturbed by the fact that China was spearheading the project and it will have to join as a junior subservient nation with no or little say in critical decision making. On the other hand, CPEC passed through the internationally recognized disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir; administered by Pakistan, claimed as part of India's territory. China maintained that its investments in any region are purely economic with no political underpinnings and aimed at the development and prosperity of people living in these areas. Despite India's opposition, China continued to push through its projects and maintained that it will resolve all its disputes with India peacefully.

India is strongly opposed to CPEC's involvement in Gilgit-Baltistan region because India considers it to be a disputed territory. Gilgit-Baltistan has the status of a disputed territory as per the Pakistani constitution and the local population has harbored for not getting the territory a formal provincial status. China also has persuaded Pakistan to change the constitutional status of Gilgit-Baltistan, but Islamabad refrained to do so until recently, since it would weaken Pakistan's stand on the Kashmir issue. Pakistan decided to amend Gilgit-Baltistan's status given India's August 2019 constitutional amendment to change the status of Jammu and Kashmir, by revoking semi-autonomous status of disputed territory under Indian control. A permanent status for any part of the disputed area is a violation of the UN resolutions on Kashmir dispute. The wide-ranging implications of such constitutional amendments will impact the very nature of the internationally recognized Kashmir dispute.

India came closer to the US and became - for all practical purposes - its military ally without any formal agreement. China's containment was the main objective of both countries as they had shared concerns about it. The isolationist policies pursued by Trump ensured that the partnership between the two would not morph into outright hostility or tensions with China.

Trump was more interested in securing an advantageous trade deal with China rather than indulging in geopolitical gimmicks, although he became more aggressive towards China after the Covid-19 outbreak. Meanwhile, border clashes in Himalayas in 2020 between China and India is believed to be spurred by China's reaction towards India's unilateral decision in altering the status of Jammu and Kashmir, which Chinese officials had strongly objected. Although the USA supported India diplomatically and blamed China for the tensions, it did little practically to help India.

Meanwhile 2020 turned out to be quite eventful in geopolitical arena as developments regionally and internationally could have deep long term ramifications. The US-Taliban deal that paved the way for intra-Afghan dialogue, and eventual withdrawal of NATO troops from Afghanistan, could go a long way either in stabilizing the region or spurring new geopolitical competition. China, Russia, Iran and Pakistan being Afghanistan's immediate neighbors, have resolved to help ensure peace and stability in the country, and have pinned hopes upon the success of intra-Afghan dialogue, resulting in formation of broad based indigenous Afghan political system that represents all the major ethnicities of the country.

Another important development in 2020 was the signing of Regional Economic Comprehensive Partnership (RCEP) consisting China, ASEAN countries, Japan, Australia and South Korea. This bloc constitutes 30 percent of the world population. Similarly China and the EU finalized comprehensive investment agreement on 28 December 2020, paving the way of broad based cooperation between the union and China. There are also reports about finalization of agreement between China and Iran.

Pakistan finalized a trade agreement with Uzbekistan through Afghanistan with other central Asian countries expected to join the bloc as China has expressed its interest to extend CPEC to Central Asian countries through Afghanistan. These landlocked countries will benefit immensely from Gawadar port's import and export access. Similarly Turkey-China rail service has started

and the Istanbul-Tehran-Pakistan cargo rail service revived.

These developments point to the undeniable fact that the scope and magnitude of BRI and CPEC keeps expanding and increasing and the CPEC can become an important link between BRI and Russia's envisaged Greater Eurasian partnership (GUP). GUP aimed at closer Asia-Europe economic partnership and trade, as Pakistan can be a connecting link between China and the Middle East, and China to Europe through Central Asia thus acting as a 'zipper'.

Biden's presidency could impact the future course of international relations. It is safe to say that the US under Biden will continue to rely upon international institutions and agreements. While remaining a competitor to China, the US will not go for complete decoupling of relations as this is neither desirable, practically possible or useful.

Although there are disputes pertaining to territorial or maritime boundaries between China and ASEAN countries as well as Japan, and serious differences between China and Australia and South Korea, the RCEP agreement has shown that serious political or ideological differences could not be an excuse to keep economic or trade relations on backburner and complex interdependence on each other. Because in this globalized world, remaining isolated or indulgence in zero sum protectionist policies is neither possible nor feasible.

India's refusal to join BRI and its hostile attitude towards it and CPEC might have prompted China to assume aggressive posturing on the border, resulting in heightened tensions and fatal casualties after 50 years on line of actual control in Ladakh. Meanwhile tensions between India and Pakistan were already high since 2019 air force skirmishes between both countries following a Kashmiri car bomb attack, where India blamed Pakistan for the matter. Recent developments have incubated further military cooperation between China and Pakistan including frequent joint exercises and shifting of Pakistan military communication system on Chinese satellite system, enabling





greater interoperability between the forces of two countries. If India continues to exhibit hostile attitude towards Pakistan and China, its worst nightmare of facing a two-front war might come true. There are slim chances of any practical American aid reaching India in case of land war, given the peculiar topography of the area. The new post-Covid-19 world order, whether India likes it or not, is in the making with China as its pivot. The spate of agreements signed in recent months clearly depicts which way the wind is blowing. India now is faced with two clear choices:

1. Join BRI and address the concerns of the 2019 Mamallapuram Summit when president Xi proposed to Prime Minister Modi a trilateral dialogue between India, China and Pakistan for resolving the outstanding issues between the two countries and become a partner in growth and prosperity;

2. To continue its hostile and belligerent posturing towards China and Pakistan with a hope to enlist support from the US and other countries having issues with China. But as depicted by RCEP and EU-China investment deal, other countries and forums - though having differences with China - are not quite interested in pursuing zero-sum games with it. This will leave India as an outlier as even

its neighbor Bangladesh with whom India enjoyed quite close relations is lured into China's investments and is developing close relations with it.

Another option for India might be to placate and accommodate China by de-hyphenating the relationship strategy, but it has already failed in Gawadar, where Pakistan has become pivot in China's strategy. It is unrealistic to assume that when push comes to shove, it will not stand by its iron brother. India's belligerent attitude towards Pakistan is believed to be the major contributory factor in Ladakh crisis.

Thus it can be easily concluded that CPEC has brought China and Pakistan closer and any future war between India and Pakistan would invoke China's interference on the side of Pakistan as CPEC and BRI has tied their destinies together. India's kinetic options with respect to Pakistan are getting increasingly impossible. This increasing bonhomie between China and Pakistan could be an assuring factor in guaranteeing strategic stability in the region, particularly when a regime inspired by revisionist RSS, Nazi Hitler and Italy's fascist party is at helm in India. CPEC and BRI in addition to economic growth could be harbingers of political and strategic stability in the volatile South Asian region.

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# COAL IN TURKEY AND THE WORLD

Coal comes **second** after petrol in terms of being the most important fossil fuels, with a **26%** share of global **primary energy supply**.

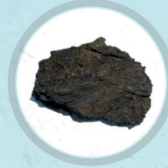
According to its **carbon component** rate, coal varies from;



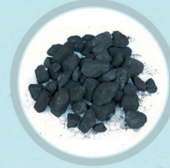
ANTHRACITE



LIGNITE



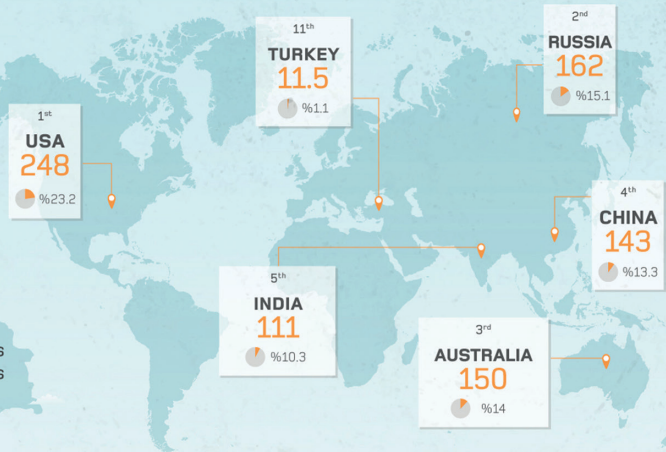
PEAT COAL



BITUMINOUS COAL

- The total global coal reserve is about **1.1 trillion tons**. **3/4** of this are located in the **United States, Russia, Australia, China** and **India**.
- In recent years, **China** alone has produced **1/2** of the total global coal production at around **8 million tons** per year.
- Due to the **environmental** and **health effects** caused by coal, studies have been carried out to replace coal with **renewable energy sources**.

## COAL RESERVES BY COUNTRY (In Ton-Billion -2021)



Turkey is among the world's leading countries with its **rich lignite reserve**.

## FIELDS OF USAGE:



Power Generation



Production of Iron-Steel



Production of Cement



Various Industrial Branches



Heating



# WHOSE UNION IS THE EUROPEAN UNION: THE CAPITAL'S OR THE PEOPLES'?

DR. ERSİN DOYRAN

*The processes that the European Union (EU) has gone through in recent decades have led to the discussion about the future of the Union – and interestingly mostly within the Union itself – more than ever before. For the first time in the history of the EU, a member state – a country big enough to shake the balances within the Union, i.e. the United Kingdom – has left the Union as a result of a contested referendum, while for the last ten years or more, even in a founding country such as Italy, besides the newer member states, the Union's fundamental values and principles have been brought into somewhat fierce discussion under the rule of governments in power, which want to pursue policies independent of the Union displaying that the discussions on the future of the EU are not without any reason. Does the EU that followed a rapid enlargement policy after the Cold War, but increasingly alienated itself from the peoples that make up Europe and from their expectations, stand on the brink of a historical crisis? If there is any truth in these and similar questions, then the most important issues challenging the EU today, I argue, relate to the following critical question, and the answer(s) which we will give to: whose Union is the European Union: the Capital's or the peoples'?*

During the Cold War period, under the security umbrella of NATO and the USA, Western European countries, primarily by creating an economic cooperation area, tried to recover from the devastation caused by World War II, and indeed succeeded, albeit partially, in building an environment of relative prosperity within a few decades. Undoubtedly, as the subject of another story, the raw materials and resources accumulated from the (former) colonies and the employment of a younger and dynamic population, some of which came

from the same colonies, as labor force with the status of 'immigrant/guest worker' played a large part in this success. Although this picture of prosperity began to erode gradually by the 1980s, after a short time at the end of the decade, yet unexpectedly for the many, capitalism declared its 'final' victory all over the world. The emergence of 'new' independent states in the Eastern Europe that had recently been 'liberated' from the yoke of the Soviet Union was considered as a great opportunity by the political elites and architects of the EU in the 1990s.



The evolution of the European Community (EC), which consisted of fifteen member states at that time, into a political Union in the '90s, in line with a strategic decision and through a series of rapid and important transformations, raised the question and comments in many circles, 'Is a United States of Europe emerging?'. In fact what actually happened was the revival of an old 'dream' dating back to almost ancient times. The ideal of a united Europe has remained the supreme

Yet what is newest in the 'new world order' as expressed by the architects of the world-system with a sort of triumphal euphoria, is that large capital groups called multinational or transnational corporations would have an effective and decisive influence on the global scale at an unprecedented level. For sure, throughout the history, the capital has always provided a certain status to its owner. So what was new here was that the entire economic-political system had to be maintained globally



goal of many Europeans including prominent rulers, statesmen, politicians and thinkers throughout the history.

After a short period of uncertainty with the collapse of the Soviet Union, it was understood that the international system would become much more plural and unpredictable compared to the one during the Cold War.

through the interests of these capital groups and with manipulative capital movements. The complicated and sometimes illegal networks of interest of multinational corporations often gave them an overwhelming advantage over other international actors.

As in the whole world, the 1980s and '90s were marked by the 'neoliberal transformation' led



by the US President Reagan and British Prime Minister Thatcher across the European Union region too. The welfare state model, which is also considered as a 'third way' experience between communism and capitalism, has thus been irreversibly eroded. Since then, some minor points of resistance has been tried to be completely destroyed. While the process was largely completed with the 'reforms' carried out by Chancellor Angela Merkel, who had been in power for many years in Germany, this is exactly the mission of the banker-turned President Emmanuel Macron and his team in France. In the UK one can easily consider the task completed. The British Labour Party, led by Tony Blair, who came to power in 1997, carried out the 'necessary reforms' rapidly from where the conservatives left off. Italy, on the other hand, went through a similar experience in the 2000s under the administration of PM Silvio Berlusconi, one of the country's leading corporate media bosses and prominent businessmen.

In addition to these similar processes experienced by the member states separately, as the European Union was transforming from an economic community to a political union after the Cold War, it was strongly underlined that the Union was committed to free market principles from the very beginning, and declared that the new members to be admitted to the Union must have their own individual economic structures based firmly on these principles. Through the economic criteria, which have been set out, emphasized, and closely followed at various summits since Maastricht, the communist economies of the former Eastern Bloc were 'successfully' transformed into free markets within a short time.

...the 'global neoliberal transformation' of the last thirty or forty years has led to a large-scale socio-political and cultural transmutation.

It is clear that the transformation of the economic structure cannot be considered separately from the socio-political structure. As Hungarian economist Karl Polanyi, one of the leading economic historians of the last century, argues in his masterpiece *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, the market economy presupposes the market society. For this reason, the 'global neoliberal transformation' of the last thirty

or forty years has led to a large-scale socio-political and cultural *transmutation*. For the market society is based on an extremely individualized and atomized structure, publicity and social responsibility, and even a sort of ethics in such a fragmented society have been replaced by an unlimited pursuit of self-interest, as this is what is understood from the capitalist activity of 'business'. Thus, the individual interrupted and alienated from the society he lives in ultimately gets lonely. Contemporary continental European societies have become increasingly 'Anglo-Saxon' in this process, while EU institutions, on the other hand, have become insensitive more and more to the needs

and expectations of their own societies, getting to seem only as the representatives of capital and business circles, interest groups, and lobbies. The fact that the Union did not pay much attention to strengthening the democratic mechanisms that would make the European peoples have a voice has played a critical role on this result.

The increasing social and economic inequality in Europe and as a result, the deepening of serious and chronic problems are seen as one of the leading reasons for the extreme right, neo-fascist and populist movements and parties to rise unprecedentedly since the end of the Second World War. What is more

important and maybe shocking is the fact that these movements have a wide and ever-expanding social and political support, and some of them today are even in power, or very close to it. So many questions might come to one's mind consecutively: is democracy once again under a serious threat, as it was in the 1930s? Or one can put it differently and might ask, 'Are all these 'illiberal' but 'democratic' reactions against the inequality symbolized by official institutions in a (neo)liberal but non-democratic Europe and the EU? Since

the problem is not one-dimensional, the number of questions and answers can be increased too, albeit paradoxically; and they all may have some 'truth'. Yet one simple but difficult question that is at the beginning will make some persons in Europe, who are feeling responsible for the future of their peoples, contemplate for a long time and finally make a choice and a decision: whose Union is the European Union: the Capital's or the peoples of Europe? Both the future of Europe and the EU depends on this.





# POPULISM AND RISING RIGHT-WING NATIONALISM IN EUROPE

**BURAK ÇALIŞKAN**

*Nationalism most of the time has been a significant ideology for Europe's politics. However, in recent years, voters's interest in populist leaders and nationalist tendencies has increased much more. In the shortest, nationalism is a political idea in which national integration coincides with a political one. According to Ernest Gellner, this is a feeling rather than a strong analysis that leads to mobilization to recover the lost unity. In addition, nationalism is quite connected to another phenomenon namely populism which affected Western societies in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> Situations such as the economic crises, the migration wave, and the Covid-19 process in recent years have led to a further increase in nationalism and populist leadership in Western societies.*

**T**he electors are bored with the political establishment, however, they also have worry about globalization, immigration, Covid-19, a dilution of national identity, the economic crisis, and the European Union. This concern caused nine far-right parties to form a new bloc in the European Parliament called identity and democracy (ID). Moreover, In many countries, nationalists began to score higher in European Parliament elections and opinion polls.<sup>2</sup> In many theories of nations and nationalism, the question arises of “where” nations are formed, exercised, and located. In this context, social constructionist approaches, theories of performance or theories of affect gain importance. Increasing nationalism in Europe is also highly related to these approaches, with the idea of preserving national land.<sup>3</sup>

There are many reasons for the return to nationalism in Europe. The migration wave, which started with the “Arab Spring”,

especially the “Syrian Civil War”, is one of the most important reasons for the increase in nationalist populism in Europe. The refugee crisis is one of the arguments most used by far-right parties in Europe. Secondly, “Euroscepticism”, which perceives European Union policies as a national sovereignty issue, is also significant. The United Kingdom made Brexit on this thought. One of the most important reasons is that states need to create an other as an enemy. The current enemies in Europe today are Islam (the external one) and anti-patriotic forces (the internal one), trying to undermine national unity.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to these crises, the Covid-19 process has also affected nationalist populism. Actually, there is a casual link between crises and nationalism. The insecurity and uncertainty caused by the crisis bring individuals into strong rapprochement with groups. At this point, while people rely on states in threatening situations, crises



increase the priority of states. This bilateral orientation will lead to the rise of nationalism by emphasizing the relationship between nationhood and statehood. According to scientists, health crises such as Covid-19, like other crises, can create nationalist feelings in individuals and cause more harmony or hostility between states. Especially death anxiety is a critical driving force of people's attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. In times of health crises, heightened concerns about death can create a different psychology and thus complicate the nationalism that results from these crises.<sup>5</sup>

In times of crisis, people can follow group membership and ideological validation to protect themselves against threat and anxiety. Many experts argue that the tendency for individuals to join a group is an evolutionary imperative to reduce uncertainty and the threats posed by the crisis. In other words, individuals tend to have a strong identification with groups that can reduce their anxiety. Therefore, people can demonstrate a strong national identity with their state that takes

great responsibility to protect them during a crisis. This causes nationalism to rise during a crisis.<sup>6</sup> At this point, it seems that the crises experienced affected the votes of the right-wing parties in Europe. According to a study by the BBC in 2019,

nationalist parties in Hungary, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark and Belgium received more than 20% of the vote, especially on the issue of anti-immigration.<sup>7</sup>

The economic impacts of neoliberal policies and globalization, advanced by national governments and the European Union, it created a mass of discontented "left-behind", which become easy targets for nationalist parties. This economic disturbance and the thought of potential job and welfare loss that may occur with the migration wave further aggravate the pressure on the states. In addition, threats to national security and loss of national identity begin to be seen as a problem when immigrants are perceived as potential terrorists and criminals. This situation is exacerbated by the inability of the state to manage the economy and control national borders as a result of the EU integration process and neoliberal globalisation.<sup>8</sup>

The rise of nationalism and populism in Europe had very different effects. In France, Marine Le Pen's 2017 party program blamed the EU and



immigration policy, claiming it undermined the country's national sovereignty, security, identity and economy. Matteo Salvini, the leader of the far-right party in Italy, has argued that the 2019 European parliamentary elections will be "a referendum between the Europe of the peoples against the Europe of the elites, banks, finance, mass immigration and precarity." In Germany and Austria, it was seen that neo-Nazi organizations became stronger and had a serious voting potential.<sup>9</sup> At this point, in 2017, the far-right "Alternative for Germany" (AfD) entered the federal parliament for the first time with 12.6 percent of the vote, becoming Germany's largest opposition party. It broke decades of anti-Nazi taboos as an anti-immigration, anti-Islam and anti-Euro party. Germany has grown in popularity as it allows over a million undocumented immigrants. The AfD's votes did not fall, although Angela Merkel toughened her stance on immigration. It was a shock to the political establishment that this party was ahead of Merkel's party in several states in Germany.<sup>10</sup>

Will nationalist and especially ethnic-nationalist conflicts get stronger? The question also becomes important. Many scholars argue that the possibility of nationalist conflict between the United States and China today is as strong as the nationalist conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. In addition, it is argued that the pandemic period brought nationalist conflicts within the European Union to the fore.<sup>11</sup> In particular, anti-immigration, Islamophobia, neo-Nazi thought increased the votes of right-wing parties and populist leaders in Europe.

Apart from all these views, there is also an attitude claiming that nationalist tendencies and populist leadership are unrealistic and temporary. Nationalism is not a new view and is deeply rooted in most societies around the

world. However, nationalist policies such as stopping the migration wave we are talking about for Europe and closing the borders due to the pandemic may be temporary reactions. In addition, many studies have revealed a different situation regarding nationalism, especially during the Covid-19 period. It was also claimed that the fear of death shook ideologies rather than making people more nationalistic. For this reason, studies have been carried out stating that the voters will withdraw their support from the nationalist parties in the new period.<sup>12</sup>

*In Germany and Austria, it was seen that neo-Nazi organizations became stronger and had a serious voting potential.*

Considering the history of democracy in Europe, multicultural prosperity and the consequences of the Nazi era, it is thought that a new extreme nationalism and populism in Europe cannot go forward. For this reason, many thinkers claim that today's voters' interest in right-wing parties is temporary. In addition, there are those who propose to fight this idea, especially in the case of Germany, based on the Nazi past. Many thinkers and politicians in Germany and Europe advocate the closure of far-right parties and associations and the punishment of populist

leaders. In this way, they argue that they can end a disaster before it begins.<sup>13</sup>

As a result, situations such as economic crises, migration waves, anti-Islamism and the pandemic process strengthen nationalism in Europe and increase the votes of far-right parties. It is argued that if new steps are not taken in European politics, the progress of far-right parties and populism may continue. On the contrary, according to some researchers and experts, nationalist movements and populism in Europe are temporary and unrealistic. In addition, various measures can be taken for this. However, only time will tell which of these views will be more realistic and permanent.



## End Notes

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# BOSNIA AND ITS FATE DETERMINED BY THE ASYSTEMATIC RULES

EMİN EMİN

*Valentin Inzko's decision - in his last days as the High Representative of Bosnia-Herzegovina for the past 12 years - to enact the regulation that criminalizes the denial of the Srebrenica genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the glorification of war criminals, including Ratko Mladic, has caused separatist voices to echo again in the country.*

Serbian member of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Presidential Council Milorad Dodik in particular stated that the country's disintegration is under preparation. He also said that his people would boycott key organs in the Bosnian federation, presidency, parliament, and federal government until the decision of the High Representative's office is revoked. These decisions completely paralyzed the already dysfunctional Bosnia-Herzegovina's political system.

Milorad Dodik interrupted the boycott of state institutions to meet with President Erdogan of Turkey, came to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Defending that the meeting with Erdogan is quite important to be missed, Dodik said, "I did not want to give the Croatian and Bosniak members of the Bosnian presidency, Zeljko Komsic, and Sefik Dzaferovic an opportunity to present only their views to the great leader of a great country." Despite interrupting the

boycott, Dodik did not hesitate to say that they are seeking to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina "peacefully".

The crisis was further exacerbated with the fact that at the UN Security Council (UNSC) on 22 July, China and Russia proposed to strip some powers of the High Representative's office that would lead to its shutdown in 2022. This proposal did not enter into force, as the remaining 13 members of the UNSC did not support it.<sup>1</sup> As a response, Russia and China played their card by declaring that the appointment of Germany's Christian Schmidt as High Representative is illegal since it had not been approved by UNSC member states.

Among the most important reasons for the existence of separatist discourses - as in the bloody war of the 90s - is the Dayton Peace Agreement, which was signed to end the war and designed Bosnia-Herzegovina's so-called-but-highly-flawed political system.



## Political “Structure”

According to the Dayton Agreement, which writes the fate of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the country consists of two entities, the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (FBiH) and Republika Srpska (Bosnian Republika Srpska) and also the Brčko region, which has a separate administration. The most important function of Brčko is to prevent the territorial integrity of the Bosnian Serbs by dividing Republika Srpska's territory into two.

The first of this tripartite structure, FBiH consists of 10 cantons where Bosniaks and Croats live and is governed on the basis of decentralization. The borders of these cantons - each of which has different political and economic structures - are drawn according to their ethnic structures. Within this framework, Bosnians constitute the majority in five cantons and Croats in three cantons. In the rest two cantons, none of the ethnic group is a majority.

The second entity that makes up the country is Republika Srpska. Republika Srpska should not be confused with the Republic of Serbia. While Serbia is an independent country in the Balkan region, Republika Srpska is a structure located within the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The highest political authority in Bosnia-Herzegovina is the Presidential Council. The Council consists of three people representing Serbs, Bosniaks, and Croats, and each member governs the country alternately for eight months. While the Croatian and Bosniak council members are elected from FBiH, the Serbian council member is elected from Republika Srpska. While a Bosniak or Croat living in Republika Srpska can only vote for the Serbian representative, a Serb living in FBiH can vote only for the Bosniak or Croat representative.

The Presidential Council must take its decisions unanimously; that is, any decision taken requires the approval of the Serbian,





Bosnian and Croatian presidents. In cases where there is no unanimity, there is an obligation to abstain. For example, Bosnia-Herzegovina had to abstain from voting for the draft resolution criticizing US President Donald Trump's Jerusalem decision at the UN General Assembly. Similarly, Bosnia-Herzegovina could not recognize the independence of Kosovo as it was vetoed by the Serbian member of the Presidential Council. While all three groups supported the membership to the EU, which is important for the future of the country, NATO membership remained suspended because it was not supported by the Serbs.

One of the biggest oddities of the complex system created by the Dayton Agreement - and the person who is at the center of the discussions today - is the "High Representative" position. The High Representative is a foreign diplomat with broad powers appointed by the UNSC; it has the right to dismiss all other government officials in the country, including members of the Presidential Council, and to amend the law. For example, in 2001, Croatian Presidential Council member Ante Jelavic was dismissed by the then high representative.<sup>2</sup>

Another anomaly in the system is the Council of Ministers, which is the country's executive organ. Chairman of the Council of Ministers, who is the Prime Minister, is nominated by the Presidential Council and approved by the House of Representatives. This name then designates the Council of Ministers, which consists of nine ministers equally divided among the ethnic communities. However, it takes a long time to reach such arrangement. For example, a cabinet was only reached 14 months after the general elections in October 2018. The same process took 16 months in the 2010 elections.

Similar problems are also experienced in the parliamentary structure. Bosnia-Herzegovina Parliament consists of two wings, the House of Representatives and the House of Peoples. Of the 42 delegates in the House of Representatives, 28 are elected by FBIH, 14 by the people in Republika Srpska. A two-thirds

majority is required for any decision passed by the House of Representatives. The People's Assembly, on the other hand, consists of 15 delegates in total, five Bosnians, five Croats and five Serbs. Bosnian and Croat delegates are appointed from FBIH People's Assembly, with only the votes of Bosniaks and Croats, and Serbian delegates are elected and appointed by the National Assembly of the Republika Srpska. The House of Peoples has the power to veto a resolution previously passed by the House of Representatives.

In Republika Srpska, the National Assembly assumes the task of parliament. There is also the People's Council to discuss and finalize the law and decisions taken by the National Assembly on matters concerning the national interests of any of the three founding peoples. In addition to the three presidents on the Presidential Council, both entities have their own presidents and separate cabinets of ministers made up of the three founding peoples.

In addition, the fact that all cantons within the borders of FBIH have their own president, parliament and government, which makes the system even more complex. As a result, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has five presidents, 16 parliaments, 13 governments, over 130 ministers and hundreds of deputies.

## Structural Handicaps

The establishment of this complex system is like a Pandora's box especially designed for the country. First, the fact that the constitution was arranged in a way that can be considered as a preliminary preparation for the disintegration of the country of two entities is a serious threat. For example, while Serbian member of the Presidential Council Milorad Dodik declares the independence of Republika Srpska from Bosnia-Herzegovina and clearly states that he wants to integrate with Serbia in the long run and takes steps in this direction, he does not face any sanctions. Another founding people, the Croats, also want their densely populated areas to be separated

from Bosnia-Herzegovina; however, since they are aware that it is not possible to realize these wishes in the near future, they request a third entity's involvement as a first step towards this goal. Such demands are categorically rejected by the Bosnians and the international community.

On the other hand, although Bosnia-Herzegovina looks like a single state on the surface, its administrative structure is based on two entities, causing the people to feel like citizens of different states. This reinforces the division of the country and complicates its integration. In a system where a Bosnian, Croat and Serb - all have experienced ethnic conflicts with each other - acts as the president periodically, if the ethnic minorities are granted "minority rights" and only Bosnians hold the presidency, a more balanced order in the country would be more manageable. However, any agreement in this direction is still too far from possible.

The complex state structure and the crowded public personnel has caused a significant portion of state revenues and international aids are used for financing the state system rather than areas that could develop the country. In addition, corruption stemming from the system is also rampant. This surely disturbs foreign investors and invokes a serious obstacle to the development of the

country. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the economic situation is bad and unemployment rates are quite high, the youth in particular leave the country en masse.

This system also causes problems in the field of education. For example, the three founding peoples in the country (Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs) use different educational curricula. Therefore, in the same school, students from different nationalities attend separate lessons in different classes. In the "Two Schools Under One Roof" system, courses such as history, literature and language are taught by teachers from the students' own ethnic origins. Instead of reducing the ethnic tension in the country, this system has inherited hatred to later generations.

One of the biggest weaknesses of the system is that it is open to outside intervention. For example, Serbia has influence over Republika Srpska in Bosnia, and Croatia over the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, so they can easily interfere in their internal affairs. The country is also very open to the intervention of international actors. For example, while Russia stands unconditionally behind the Serbs who demand independence, Western powers trying to maintain the current situation are against this demand. Turkey, which is on the side of the Bosnians, also advocates that the increasingly problematic Dayton.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup> Michelle Nichols, "Russia, China fail at U.N. in bid to shut down Bosnia peace envoy", July 22, 2021. <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/russia-china-fail-un-bid-shut-down-bosnia-peace-envoy-2021-07-22/>

<sup>2</sup> Mehmet Ugur Ekinici, Bosna-Hersek Siyasetini Anlama Kılavuzu, SETA Yayınları, 45, 2014, s. 61.



# TURKEY-AFRICA COOPRATION IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

DR. SERHAT ORAKÇI

*The face and fate of Africa is changing fast in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. African demography is expanding and so are the size of African market and middle class, parallel to the continent's demographic rise. In this regard, the global pejorative perception towards Africa has been changing in a more positive way in the recent period. As a neighboring country, Turkey now definitely demands to strengthen its influence in the continent. Expecting to play a more active role in the global stage, Turkey sees important cooperation potential and opportunities in Africa.*

**S**urely nowadays we are witnessing quite dynamic and intense interaction between Turkey and Africa. Turkey is more visible in Africa and Africa takes a unique place in Turkey's multi-dimensional proactive foreign policy. Turkey is seeking to increase its influence in the continent by using the channels of diplomacy, trade, investment, education, health, security-military cooperation along with culture and history.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Africa is now more visible in Turkey, especially in Istanbul where African business people, students, tourists and immigrants from African countries storm Turkey.

## Turkey's Presence in Africa

It is very crucial to underline that Turkey is not a country following its own agenda or imposing its own baggage to African

countries. As a *strategic partner* to the African Union since 2008, Turkey's approach to Africa is framed by mutual declarations accepted in two Turkey-Africa Summits. Therefore, Turkey is advancing in Africa according to Joint Implementation Plans accepted and signed by parties during the summits.

Officially, Turkey's Africa policy can be divided in two stages: in the first stage starting in 2005 Turkey implemented the *Africa Initiative Policies* to introduce itself to the continent. In the second stage, which is after 2014, Turkey aimed to strengthen its institutions and partnership in Africa throughout the *Africa Partnership Policies*.<sup>2</sup>

If we put the Ottoman period away, Turkey's modern engagement with Africa basically started in 2005. Turkey declared 2005 as "the year of Africa". Since that date we have been witnessing Turkey's diplomatic venture in the continent because according to Turkish Foreign Ministry, relations with Africa constitute one of the key FP objectives hence





the ministry has been opening new diplomatic missions to enhance Turkey's relations with the continent. Today, Turkey is represented by 42 active embassies across Africa when it only had 12 two decades ago.

Turkey was accorded observer member to the African Union in 2005 and later it became strategic partner to Africa. In 2008 Turkey for the first time organized the Turkey-Africa Summit in Istanbul. Later the second summit was held in Equatorial Guinea's capital Malabo in 2014. Moreover, Turkish President Erdogan visited more than 30 different African countries during his term, including war-torn Somalia a couple of times. This is obviously a record for a non-African leader.<sup>3</sup> Today, Turkish Airlines is flying 60 destinations across the continent.

Development and humanitarian affairs are essential pillars of Turkey's presence in the continent because there is a big development gap between Africa and the rest of the world.

For example acquiring clean water and electricity is still a big matter for millions of African people. In this regard, Turkey pays special attention to development projects in the continent. Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) has coordination offices in 22 African countries. And Turkish non-governmental civil society organizations are very active as development and humanitarian aid providers.

Turkey's support to African development can be well traced by Somalia case. Turkey's largest military training center and largest embassy compound are located in Somalia's capital Mogadishu. And Turkish companies manage Mogadishu's main sea and airport, generating 80% of Somalia government revenue.<sup>4</sup> Turkish Armed Forces train Somali National Army in Mogadishu and Turkey. Together, the Turkey and Somalia Ministries of Health run the biggest hospital complex at the Horn of Africa, named Erdogan Training and Research Hospital.



Similarly, Turkey and Sudan Ministries of Health run together a regional hospital complex in Sudan's Darfur region which was also constructed by TIKA. Mitiga Military Hospital in Libya's capital Tripoli run by Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) is also another example showing Turkey's health diplomacy in the continent.<sup>5</sup>

Economic cooperation is also taking high priority for Turkey. Turkey has 45 Business Councils in the African continent in order to promote bilateral trades and mutual investment. Total trade volume with the African continent has expanded from 3 billion dollars in 2003 to 26 billion dollars in 2020. And Turkey's Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Africa is closing to 10 billion dollars.

Student affairs have become considerable component of Turkey's support to African youth development. Through the state-run Maarif Foundation, Turkey run many Turkish schools in the continent on top of granting scholarships to African students for higher education, masters and PhDs. According to open sources approximately 15.000 African students obtained scholarship from Turkey since 1992.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, Turkey continues to support Africa by sending fleets of planes carrying medical items to various countries in the continent such as South Africa, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia, Rwanda, Eswatini, Zambia, Angola and South Sudan among others.

At the end of the day, Turkey's presence in Africa seems to be winning hearts and minds because Turkey-Africa interaction is developing reciprocally. Therefore, we cannot think it in one direction. Although Turkey's presence in Africa is becoming more visible, African presence in Turkey is also drawing attention nowadays. For instance, approximately 40 African states have embassies in Ankara and thousands of African students study in Turkey. Africans now prefer Turkey as a new destination for work, education, trade and investment or tourism. Somalian, Sudanese, Egyptian, Tunisian, Senegalese and even Nigerian communities grow day by day within Turkey.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup> Burak Unveren, "Turkey seeks to strengthen Africa relations with 'benevolence'", DW, 04.02.2021, <https://www.dw.com/en/turkey-seeks-to-strengthen-africa-relations-with-benevolence/a-56452857>

<sup>2</sup> MFA, "Turkey-Africa Relations", <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relations.en.mfa>

<sup>3</sup> Asya Akca, "Neo-Ottomanism: Turkey's foreign policy approach to Africa", CSIS, <https://www.csis.org/neo-ottomanism-turkeys-foreign-policy-approach-africa>

<sup>4</sup> Mahad Wasuge, *Turkey's Assistance Model in Somalia: Achieving Much With Little*, The Heritage Institute, 2016, p. 18

<sup>5</sup> Mucahit Aydemir, "Turkish Hospital in Libya serves security forces 7/24", AA, 26.12.2020, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/turkish-hospital-in-libya-serves-security-forces-24-7/2089589>

<sup>6</sup> Hassan Isilow, "Turkey's help combating COVID-19 in Africa", AA, 30.12.2020, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/turkey-s-help-combating-covid-19-in-africa/2092981>



# DIABETES IN AFRICA

Although it is known as the disease of the rich, **rapid urbanization, increased consumption of artificial food and inactivity** are among the main reasons for the rise of **diabetes** in the African continent.

Studies conducted between **1990** and **2019** show diabetes is one of the diseases with the **fastest increase**.



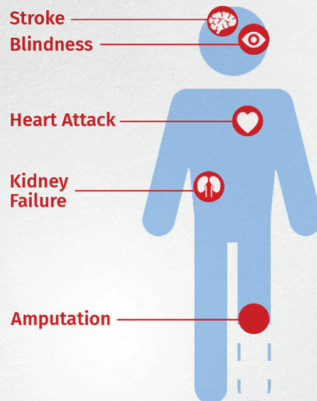
ALTHOUGH **AROUND 20 MILLION** PEOPLE IN **AFRICA** HAVE DIABETES, **60%** OF THESE PEOPLE ARE UNAWARE OF THE DISEASE.



**1 IN 11 PEOPLE** IN THE WORLD **HAS DIABETES!**



Diabetes can cause **com-plications** in many parts of the body and increase the **risk of premature death**.



- In the coming years, diabetes sufferers in the continent are expected to reach up to **45 million**.
- Diabetes is the **5<sup>th</sup>** highest cause of death in Africa.
- People with diabetes who are infected with **Covid-19** constitute the **disadvantaged group** in mortality rate.

## TYPES:



### TYPE 1 DIABETES:

It is characterized by deficient insulin production and requires daily administration of insulin.



### TYPE 2 DIABETES:

The body produces insulin but cannot use it effectively.



### GESTATIONAL DIABETES:

It occurs during pregnancy and increases risk of complications during pregnancy and at delivery.



# MOROCCO DOES NOT NEGOTIATE ABOUT ITS SAHARA

**EL MUSTAPHA AIT SIDI MHAMED**

*The late Moroccan King Hassan II (1929-1999) delivered a historical speech in November 5<sup>th</sup>, 1975 calling all eligible Moroccan men to step out from all regions and to connect the three geographic directions with Southern Morocco. In response to the Royal Speech, every Moroccan family had sent at least one of its members to participate in the peaceful Green March heading to the Sahara region in Morocco. Following the unforgettable sentence "Tomorrow, by God's will, the Green March will start", A huge number of 350.000 Moroccans from all regions gathered in Agadir City to head from a central point to the South. The Green March was a strategic manifestation of all Moroccans to force Spain to hand over the disputed colony of Spanish Sahara. The symbolic meaning of such unprecedented event in the modern era has a lot to do with the strong ties that all Moroccans have toward Sahrawi people, and of course the historical ties between Sahrawi tribes and the Moroccan kings.*

**T**he Western Sahara had been under the Moroccan sovereignty for centuries until it went under Spanish occupation in 1884. Spain kept administering and exploiting the region until serious agreement between Morocco and other friendly countries took place to make an end for the long-lasting occupation at the North African kingdom. The first agreement had included some Sahara-based cities to come up with a solution in order to better off the Sahrawi people. In 1956, Morocco got back the center and north parts of the kingdom, and the international zone of Tangiers as well. Two years later, Spain insolently announced that the Western Sahara is governed as a province of Spain not as a West African region. This annoyed the decision makers in Morocco which pushed

the Special Committee of Decolonization at the United Nations (UN) to include Sahara at its agenda in 1964. In less than one year, the UN General Assembly resolution number 2072 requested Spain as the administering power to take immediate actions to initiate serious negotiations for liberating colonized territories of Sahara.

## Attempt to Liberation

The beginning of 1971 witnessed a good-will move by a group of young Sahrawi/Moroccan university students in Rabat. Their intention was to mobilize their fellow Moroccans to end up Spanish control over the Western Sahara. Gaining back from several states including Morocco and Algeria, these young

students started officially their movement which they named **Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Río de Oro** (POLISARIO). The point of this movement was to liberate two major Sahrawi regions, Saguia el-Hamra and Río de Oro (or Oued Eddahab in Arabic). The movement eventually reallocated in the Western Sahara and started armed rebellions against Spanish army. The Polisario Front was formally established in 1973 by several Sahrawi university students at Rabat besides some other Sahrawi men who served in Spanish army. Their aim was to represent Sahrawi people and to become the legitimate body that speaks on their behalf. Unfortunately, the movement was hacked by Algeria which unconditionally supported the front against Moroccan interests in different means; be it military or logistic. The neighbor country hosted the rebels in Tindouf, refugee camps-based territory on Algerian soil which is not far from Moroccan borders. There are many readings of such support including a

thesis that might seem fiddling. This thesis claims that Algeria wants to have a façade onto Atlantic Ocea, and the optimal way to have that is to form a new state on its western side. This actually is very relevant because why Algeria had hacked the Polisario front? And why it's been hosted in its soil? Why it's has been arming the front for more than four decades? The thing is that Algeria always denies its responsibility as a state member which is directly involved in round-table negotiations at UN level. Contrary, Algeria claims itself as an observer rather than a third party of the artificial dispute on Western Sahara. However, the recent Security Council Resolution (2602/2021) has mentioned for the first time the full responsibility of Algeria as party of this dispute. Another essential thing to know about the attempt of liberating the Sahara is the massive splits at leadership level. This was followed by consecutive withdrawals of the front's founding leaders who returned back to Morocco, their home country. Other



refugees also tried to escape and get out of such inhumane camps; many were killed or tortured, and only mercenaries left in the refugee camps in Tindouf.

In 1975, the UN Security Council called parties to sit for serious negotiations to solve this territorial dispute in a peaceful way on the basis of Article 33 of the UN Charter. One month after this resolution number 377, the Green March took place in November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1975. This march has an important socio-historical significance for all Moroccans and many others who participated from different countries namely from the Middle East. Since then, the monarch delivers a speech to the Moroccan people reminding them not only with historical achievement of ending an occupation in Sahara, but also to share opportunities and challenges that hover this fabricated dispute. Such fabrication started few months later after the 6<sup>th</sup> November speech when a group of individuals from Sahara proclaimed the establishment of so-called Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) in February, 27<sup>th</sup> 1976. Out of 84 UN member states that once recognized SADR as a legitimate state, 43 UN member withdrawn recognition, the number still continued to fall to only 4 states in less than two decades.

## International support to Moroccan plan

There were serious attempts to terminate the ongoing territorial dispute over the Western Sahara region. Had it been never easy for people to move freely in Sahara region just like other regions of Morocco? Was it not for the fact that Morocco always aligns with UN

resolutions? Had it been never intricate for Moroccan army to secure the easy crossing of goods and people to Mauritania and then to other African countries? There is no doubt that Morocco is an important regional and international player which always stands for peace and mutual interests in its diplomatic and economic ties. Morocco has been always

committed to international treaties and agreements by which he receives an international praise.

*In order to end up the artificial dispute over Sahar, Morocco proposed, in 2007, a plan to offer Self-autonomy under Moroccan sovereignty to Sahrawi people.*

In order to end up the artificial dispute over Sahar, Morocco proposed, in 2007, a plan to offer Self-autonomy under Moroccan sovereignty to Sahrawi people. This depicts seriousness and willingness of the North African Kingdom to end up the conflict and let the development locomotive boosters. Advanced Regional Development was also implemented in Sahara regions as another catalyst to push forward economic and socio-cultural achievements. The Moroccan large self-autonomy proposal received an international satisfaction and praise as it is serious, credible, and realistic solution.

A turning point changed the rules of the game concerning the Western Sahara conflict when the US president Donald Trump issued a historic proclamation to recognize sovereignty of Morocco over the Western Sahara on December 10<sup>th</sup> 2020. This is the first time when The White House explicitly displays its support for the Moroccan plan of self-autonomy. Such move appealed many African and Arab countries to enhance diplomatic ties and show unconditional support to Morocco's proposal. In less than half-year, those countries opened General Consulates in Dakhla and Laayoune, the two major populated cities in Western Sahara. Twenty-four countries have so far backed the Moroccan integrity in a palpable and concrete



way. Following Trump's proclamation, The Secretary of State Michael Pompeo stated that "State Department announces that it has begun the process to establish a U.S. consulate in the region" and the US "looks forward to this increased engagement and we will continue to support political negotiations to resolve the issues between Morocco and the POLISARIO within the framework of Morocco's autonomy plan".

From another vein, Morocco and the U.S. run for years military maneuvers and trainings on Western Sahara territories within the framework of Africa Lion that is a multinational military joint gathering U.S. and Moroccan Commands. This is an optimal opportunity to hone military capacities in addition to adopting necessary skills to manage crisis that threaten North Africa and Southern Europe. This reflects again the vital role of Morocco in stabilizing the region counter terrorism and contributing to international security.

## Sahara case is non-negotiable

Morocco has always been an active and responsive member in alignment with UN and Security Council resolutions (1754 (2007), 1783 (2007), 1813 (2008), 1871 (2009), 1920 (2010), 1979 (2011), 2044 (2012), 2099 (2013), 2152 (2014), 2218 (2015), 2285 (2016), 2351 (2017), 2414 (2018), 2440 (2018), 2468 (2019), 2494 (2019), and 2548 (2020)). In many occasions, Morocco showed its readiness and seriousness for negotiations and round-table meetings at international levels. However, this readiness is only valid under what it was proposed in 2007; that is a large self-autonomy initiative that respects Morocco's sovereignty over Sahara and national territorial integrity. Any proposal outside this framework is not negotiable including referendum and self-determination.

In November 2020, a crucial event happened in Guerguerat crossing point that connects international trade between Morocco and West Africa. Few members of Polisario with

their women children penetrated the buffer zone -Guerguerat- which is under the UN missionary observation. Afterwards, they blocked the movement of vehicles and trucks that were carrying goods to Mauritania and other West African countries. In few hours, the Moroccan Royal Armed Forces intervened to hold on any possible attack or bringing harm to civilian drivers. Following such insanity by Polisario militias beside their use of children and women as scapegoats to attract international public opinion, the consequences were not well calculated as nothing had not been changed in the field. In contrast, the world as whole witnessed again who really does break the ceasefire since late 1990s.

Coming back to the Green March, Morocco marked the 46<sup>th</sup> anniversary of this socio-historical event by celebrating intensive developmental efforts to make the Sahara region as advanced as it had never. The Monarch delivered a clear and concise speech stating that the Sahara issue is not-negotiable. Speaking on Saturday, 6<sup>th</sup> November 2021, the king said: "Today as in the past, Moroccan sovereignty over Western Sahara will never be up for negotiation.". The solution of more than four-decade long-lasting dispute should be politic, serious, sustainable, and practical based on compromise. The king said in his televised speech that "If we engage in negotiations, it is essentially in order to reach a peaceful solution to this artificial regional conflict". This speech came amid unprecedented heightened tension between Morocco and Algeria as the later cut diplomatic relations from one side with its western neighbor. The reason behind such decision was that Algeria claimed several allegations that Morocco totally denies. What is interesting here is that Morocco continues to develop the Western Sahara and boost a lot of capitals by calling international investors. In contrast, Algeria after decades of financing and arming Polisario front against Morocco have both failed and lost their credibility. In a recent talk to representatives at the parliament, the Moroccan minister of foreign affairs, Nasir Bourita, said that Morocco is



totally committed to find a solution to the “artificial regional conflict that stems from the opposition of a neighboring state (Algeria) to its legitimate rights to the consummation of its territorial integrity”. He also claimed that Morocco wants to turn page on Western Sahara conflict as soon as possible.

To sum up, Morocco has brought the Sahara issue to an irrevocable point such that there is no room to interpret what Polisario and Algeria wished to attain few decades ago, that is an extensive referendum of Sahrawi people. We may conclude that the Sahara issue has been put down by wise Moroccan diplomacy plus the massive investments implemented in the Sahara region that translate credibility and seriousness of Moroccan plan to end up the artificial dispute on Western Sahara. It

also seems -at least from the recent rhetoric- that Polisario front and its backing country, Algeria; understood that the Sahara issue is terminated and their effortless supports have literally blown up. What is more? The mega-projects that were launched in major Sahrawi cities, namely Dakhla Port which will connect Morocco and other African ports. This alone would change economic hubs in international trade. Further, many other projects will increase economic growth at the region with noticeable figures in several sectors including renewable energies, automotive, agriculture, and tourism. Last but not least, increasing numbers of foreign direct investments to Western Sahara are also astonishing in a way that resonates what Morocco has committed to deliver to bring prosperity to the Sahrawis.

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# GLOBAL **ECONOMIC CRISES** IN THE LAST CENTURY

Since **World War I**, the world has witnessed many **economic crises**.

Some of them continued *for years*, others drove countries into **bankruptcy**.

THE **2008 GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS** CREATED A **DOMINO EFFECT** IN MANY COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY IN **EUROPE**.



## MAJOR CAUSES:



War/Civil War  
and Conflicts



Political  
Instability



Economic  
Manipulations



Problems with The Supply of  
Energy and Basic Food Products



Public  
Distrust

## GREAT ECONOMIC CRISES:

Based on the starting years.

**1929**

**USA**  
The Great  
Depression

**1973**

Oil crisis / Stock  
Market Crash

**1987**

**HONG KONG**  
Black Monday

**1988**

**NORWAY** Banking Crisis

**1991**

**INDIA**  
Economic Crisis

**1992-94**

**YUGOSLAVIA**  
Hyperinflation

**2008**

**IRELAND  
SPAIN  
ICELAND  
BELGIUM  
LATVIA  
ITALY  
UKRAINE  
RUSSIA**  
Economic Crisis

**2008**

Global Financial  
Crisis

**2001**

**TURKEY**  
Economic Crisis

**1998**

**RUSSIA**  
Financial  
Crisis

**1997**

Asian Financial  
Crisis

**1994**

**MEXICO**  
Currency  
Crisis

**2009**

**GREECE**  
Debt Crisis

**2009**

**EUROPE**  
Debt Crisis

**2013**

**VENEZUELA**  
Economic Crisis

**2014**

**RUSSIA  
BRAZIL**  
Economic Crisis

**2016**

**BREXIT**  
Stock Market Crisis

**2019**

**LEBANON**  
Economic Crisis





# THE CHALLENGE OF PROVIDING RELIEF AID THROUGH LOCAL WAQF INSTITUTIONS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

**HUTHAIFAH BUSUULWA**

*The Covid-19 pandemic especially in the developing world has necessitated urgently needed relief for an ever-increasing number of the poor. For instance, on Friday June 18, 2021 Ugandan President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni announced a total lockdown of the country, giving citizens only two hours to prepare before the order would come into force. Shortly afterwards the media began reporting stories of desperate citizens with no food and money. The capitalist-oriented central government is yet to offer any stimulus for the needy people. This commentary will shade a light on the waqf foundations' tradition, which could have helped bridge this gap. This paper explores weaknesses of charitable institutions in sub-Saharan Africa especially the British colonized Africa. Hopefully efforts would be put in place to ameliorate them and promote the culture of waqf and homegrown waqf foundations.*



The waqf (benefaction) foundations could have become some of the most deep-rooted native institutions with the ability to run religious affairs and some of the most important business enterprises in banking, farming and other sectors - like in Turkey and Northern Cyprus - where these institutions provide support and service to the poor, redistribute resources and give scholarships to the young. The foundations perform charitable services and play the role of an instrument of poverty relief in society. For example, we learn from the *Ottoman vakf* heritage how almost all large waqf institutions possessed a public kitchen called imaret which served meals to the needy. These institutions would also pay stipends to the needy such as widows and people with no livelihood. They would eventually aid in shaping the community's economic and social life.

A Waqf is a strategic institution in the social welfare of the community in Islam (Chembea 2021; Henningan 2004; Nasution 2002; van Leeuwen 1994). It is an aspect of charity. It allows the endower to set aside a section of his or her wealth for the socio-economic welfare of family or society or both. According to Islamic practice a waqf could be set up with a *shurut al-waqif* establishing guidelines for the management of the endowed properties. This *shurut al-waqif* could only be varied or nullified with the authority of a *kadhi* (Muslim judge).

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## Why is there a scarcity of homegrown charitable organizations?

In parts of sub-Saharan Africa where Islam was introduced early on such as the East

African coast areas of present-day Kenya and Tanzania, waqfs had been set up and had been administered by the Muslim leadership. However, these were disrupted following colonialism.

The goal of *awqaf* (plural of waqf) is piety and worship as well as resource distribution in the communities (Chembea 2021). The *awqaf* were envisaged as autonomous enterprises with the sole aim of seeking closeness to Allah, making the administration of them a prerogative of the endower or designated custodian. However, with time the state often became involved in the administration of waqf institutions through statutes designed to check on the growing influence of beneficiaries. In Eastern Africa, the British colonial government used the law to engage with native Africans to access resources and labor.

Many of the reforms instituted by the colonial regimes were unfortunately inherited by subsequent postcolonial regimes.

In Kenya for instance before the establishment of the British protectorate in 1897 matters of



the waqf did not elicit much state interest (Chendea 2021). The management of these institutions was in the hands of the ulama (Muslim scholars) and the waqf custodians. Along the coastal regions especially, the kadhi courts had been in existence from around the eighth century when Islam was introduced there. (Wario 2014; Mraja 2011). First among the disruptive reforms was the East African Order in Council (1897) that re-organized the judiciary. It organized the courts into two groups. The first group of courts was presided over by a British judicial officer. The second was presided over by a native authority but lacked appellate powers which were a preserve of a British officer. What this meant was that issues of sharia were to be interpreted and applied as understood by the British rather than the Islamic wisdom (Chandea 2021).

The mandate of kadhi courts was constricted to operation with ideas of foreign judicial conduct. The Muslim personal law was interpreted to mere marriage, divorce and inheritance. Further they set a limit of one thousand Kenya shillings as the value of the subject matter under dispute to be handled by the sharia courts. Revenue-generating awqaf were categorized as real estate dealing whose procedure and law were to follow the British Common law framework that kadhies were not adept in.

The colonial government's self-imposed mandate to 'civilize' native institutions and social order disrupted the system by imposing

capitalist ideas to ostensibly bring economic development. People were encouraged to adopt them in the place of acts of generosity. This action possibly engendered the dependency syndrome in the community (Fair 2001; Hashim 2010). Some undeveloped awqaf lands were allocated to private individuals for supposed development. Other awqaf revenues were invalidated to enable reinvesting of the property in private businesses or national monuments.

Even after their independence, the fortunes of Muslim community in the region did not significantly improve. The main hindrances were the absence of Muslim cultural unity brought upon it by demographic disadvantage, internal schism and historical marginalization.

In recent years efforts have been underway to revive the waqf system with the backing of educated Muslim leaders who possess considerable knowledge of the institution and the management capacity required to administer them. One such effort was spearheaded in Uganda by Dr. Anus Abdunoor Kalisa and fellow sheikhs. The House of Zakat and Waqf Uganda foundation was set up to streamline the collection and distribution of Zakat and preservation of waqf in Uganda. They embarked on collecting and distributing capital to needy persons in various districts in the country (Namungo and Haji-Othman 2020). Sadly Dr. Kalisa passed away in 2020 before the institution would sufficiently inspire a movement.



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# UN PEACE OPERATIONS: RACIST PEACEKEEPING?

**ABDUL WAHEED PARRY**

*Global order is undergoing the historical changes right now. World has moved much beyond the Fukuyama's slogan 'end of history'. History remains there and it is committed to remain while repeating itself again and again. There is a continuous change taking place in the global world order. Power balance is shifting in a dynamic way. The new century is witnessing the rebalancing of power between Global North and Global South. World is no more a bipolar or unipolar, rather it has entered into a real multipolar stage. World politics has active participants from the Global South who are contributing to its functioning in many ways.*

Peace keeping and global policing is not an exception to this changing scenario of world politics. The increasing number of conflicts globally has made the International Community pay more concentration to these types of conflicts and in certain cases take steps with different tools of intervention and conflict management. The United Nations (UN) in specific, whose mission is to keep peace and security globally has employed several Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) in various regions across the world. PKOs include the deployment of, usually, United Nations personnel, known as Peacekeepers, with the consent of the parties involved and with a peace agreement in place, in order to maintain a ceasefire and prevent the resumption of hostilities. The Peacekeepers remain neutral to the conflict and they do not

intervene and only engage in cases of self-defense (David, 2006; ONU, 2008).<sup>1</sup>

United Nations has been on the forefront of peacekeeping missions. But the situation is drastically changing. UN is facing an unparalleled competition in maintaining the world peace and security. UN needs to adapt new ways in its peacekeeping missions to remain relevant. States from the Global South are actively taking part into the peacekeeping and global policing. Among the major troop contributors to peacekeeping missions top ten are from the Global South. Since the late 1990s the traditional peacekeeping has become more dangerous. The West has been unwilling to send their own personnel where the risks are high and their national interests minimal. The West makes exploit hired help from developing countries. David Malone and Ramesh Thakur

have named this Western exploitative attitude as “racism in peacekeeping. (Malone and Thakur, 2000)<sup>2</sup>

Though major Western powers in 1990’s were active in the operations in Cambodia, Somalia, the Balkans, and Latin America, where their interests were at stake. Following the misfortune in Somalia and the withdrawal of US forces after “Blackhawk Down,” the troop contributions of West to UN peace operations diminished. Western states as a part of the explanation to this increasing decrease in peace operations was the raise in number of coalition operations outside the UN, like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or the Kosovo Force (KFOR).

*“Decisions about UN peace operations, however, remained under the authority of the Security Council in which the P-3 were the usual penholders for resolutions. Their contributions totaled 1.6 percent of uniformed personnel but 40.52 percent of the peacekeeping budget, while China*

*totaled, respectively, 2.8 percent and 10.25 percent.” (Weiss and Kuele, 2019)<sup>3</sup>*

Despite the fact that there is a clear mismatch between the policy making and implementation contributions of Global South and North countries, the situation is transforming gradually. Global North is controlling the decision and policy making positions of the process where Global South is merely acting as implementers in the process.

*“The top ten troop and police contributing countries are all from the Global South, with Ethiopia, Bangladesh, India, Rwanda and Pakistan topping the list. Throughout the history of UN peace operations, the role of these states in the field has not been matched by their participation in decision and policy making, with experts calling this division of work between the North and the South “a blue helmet caste system,” (Lynch, 2013) “apartheid,” (Chesterman, 2013), and “imperial multilateralism” (Cunliffe, 2013).” (Peter, 2019)<sup>4</sup>*





The situation is now changing. Contributors from the Global South are not only active participants of this process, but also vocal about the decision and policy making processes in peacekeeping.

Another important dimension of this reemerging structure is the concept of regional organizations as providers of security. This striking feature of the emergence of the Global South has changed the notion that UN peacekeeping is the only viable and legitimate actor managing the conflicts across the globe. Regional peacekeeping forces and the contributors from the Global South are now the trend setters in this field. Many regional organizations in past two decades have become the first responders to such crisis. The most determining factor which makes regional organizations relevant is their ability to deal efficiently with the internal problems of conflicted areas. We may say that it's the relevance of regional organizations which makes them preferable over UN peacekeeping missions in different regions of the world.

*"The host states are often not seeking an impartial actor, but one that can deal with their internal problems efficiently. Responses to contemporary conflicts are increasingly robust and regional organizations are better equipped than the UN to execute them. But more and more it is not just the efficiency but also the legitimacy of the regional organization over the UN that plays the role in determination of an intervening actor."* (Peter, 2019)<sup>5</sup>

The efficient relevance and legitimacy to intervene has become a challenge for UN to evolve among regional organizations and a

changing global pattern. UN needs to adapt the changes in a way to continue its relevance as a key stakeholder in peacekeeping affairs of world. The revolution in information technology combined with widespread awareness about human rights have necessitated that UN must respond with much flexibility to remain relevant in maintaining international peace and security.

*...the emergence of the Global South has changed the notion that UN peacekeeping is the only viable and legitimate actor managing the conflicts across the globe.*

*"Humanitarian interventions occur in response to what now we call 'humanitarian crises', but who is 'human' worthy of protection, and what constitutes a 'crisis' requiring response are both matters of perception."* (Finnemore, 2017)<sup>6</sup>

It is not only the shift in global power, but also the new types of conflicts that demand evolved response from UN. It is evident from many conflicts all over the world that UN peace operations will remain relevant only if UN could successfully respond to the expectations of the people. The successful response and effective partnership and competition with regional organizations will help UN to participate in the international peace and security. The scholars and practitioners of the discipline strongly advocate the changes that UN would need to implement if it wants to remain relevant in responding to contemporary conflicts. Scholars put emphasis on increasing the diversity in approaches UN is employing in responses to international conflicts.

*"In sum, global order is facing four key transformations, collectively presenting unique challenges to UN peace operations: (1) the rebalancing of relations between states of the global North and the global South; (2) the rise of regional organizations as providers of peace; (3) the rise of violent*

*extremism and fundamentalist non-state actors; and (4) increasing demands from non-state actors for greater emphasis on human security.” (Peter, 2019)<sup>7</sup>*

Last but not least is the motivation to contribute troops in peace operations, which vary across the Global South. Most seek to improve their international image, and emerging powers often also have local and regional interests in their neighbors, while others have used

these peace keeping operations to materialize financial benefits. Though some Western states have criticized the inadequate training and equipment of many current peacekeeping forces but these states themselves are unwilling to install their best soldiers to the most dangerous assignments under the UN flag. If UN peacekeeping missions continue to be deployed to dangerous and complex places, the challenges will only become more demanding and politically difficult.

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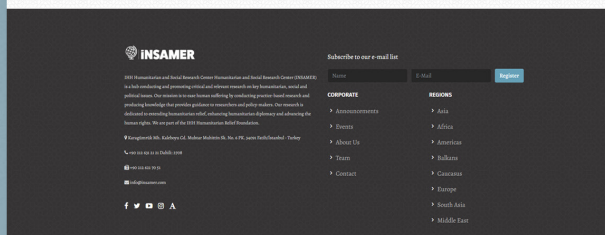
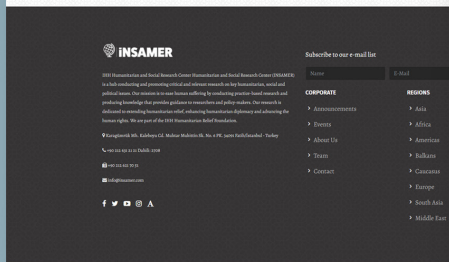
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