

ORSAM Report No:131
THE BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL
Report No: 26, November 2012

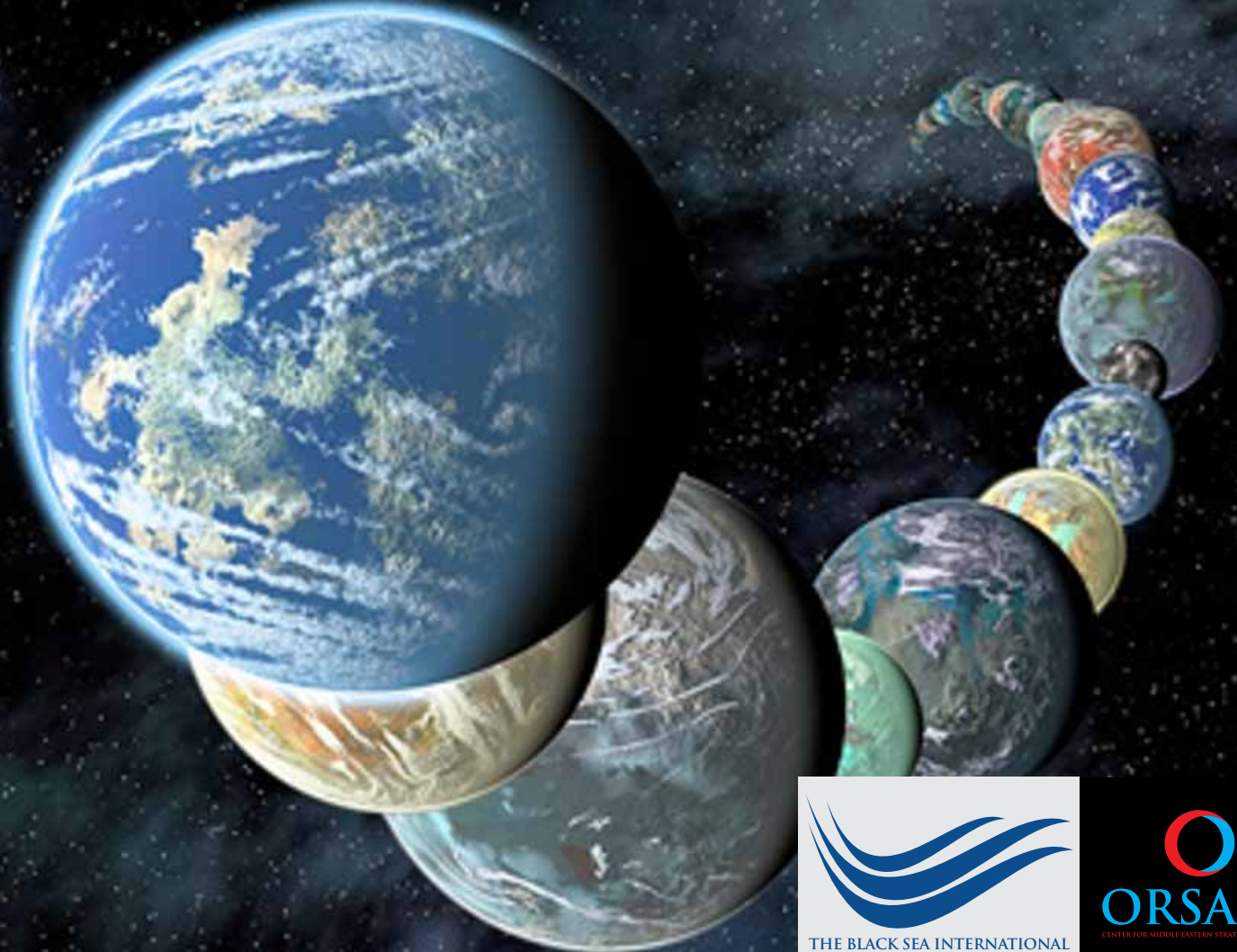
“THE THIRD WAVE”: GEOPOLITICS OF POSTMODERNISM

“ÜÇÜNCÜ DALGA”: POSTMODERNİZMİN
JEOPOLİTİĞİ

ТРЕТЪЯ ВОЛНА: ГЕОПОЛИТИКА
ПОСТМОДЕРНИЗМА

CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STRATEGIC STUDIES
ORTADOĞU STRATEJİK ARAŞTIRMALAR MERKEZİ

THE BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND DIALOGUE



THE BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL



ORSAM
CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STRATEGIC STUDIES

“THE THIRD WAVE”: GEOPOLITICS OF POSTMODERNISM

“ÜÇÜNCÜ DALGA”: POSTMODERNİZMİN JEOPOLİTİĞİ

ТРЕТЪЯ ВОЛНА: ГЕОПОЛИТИКА ПОСТМОДЕРНИЗМА

**ORSAM Report No: 131
The Black Sea International Report No: 26**

November 2012

ISBN: 978-605-4615-28-5

Ankara - TURKEY ORSAM © 2012

Content of this report is copyrighted to ORSAM. Except reasonable and partial quotation and exploitation under the Act No. 5846, Law on Intellectual and Artistic Works, via proper citation, may not be used or re-published without prior permission by ORSAM. Assessments expressed in this report reflect only the opinions of its authors and do not represent the institutional opinion of ORSAM.



STRATEGIC INFORMATION MANAGEMENT AND INDEPENDENT THOUGHT PRODUCTION

CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STRATEGIC STUDIES

History

In Turkey, the shortage of research on the Middle East grew more conspicuous than ever during the early 90's. Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM) was established in January 1, 2009 in order to provide relevant information to the general public and to the foreign policy community. The institute underwent an intensive structuring process, beginning to concentrate exclusively on Middle affairs.

Outlook on the Middle Eastern World

It is certain that the Middle East harbors a variety of interconnected problems. However, neither the Middle East nor its people ought to be stigmatized by images with negative connotations. Given the strength of their populations, Middle Eastern states possess the potential to activate their inner dynamics in order to begin peaceful mobilizations for development. Respect for people's willingness to live together, respect for the sovereign right of states and respect for basic human rights and individual freedoms are the prerequisites for assuring peace and tranquility, both domestically and internationally. In this context, Turkey must continue to make constructive contributions to the establishment of regional stability and prosperity in its vicinity.

ORSAM's Think-Tank Research

ORSAM, provides the general public and decision-making organizations with enlightening information about international politics in order to promote a healthier understanding of international policy issues and to help them to adopt appropriate positions. In order to present effective solutions, ORSAM supports high quality research by intellectuals and researchers that are competent in a variety of disciplines. ORSAM's strong publishing capacity transmits meticulous analyses of regional developments and trends to the interested parties. With its web site, its books, reports, and periodicals, ORSAM supports the development of Middle Eastern literature on a national and international scale. ORSAM supports the development of Middle Eastern literature on a national and international scale. ORSAM facilitates the sharing of knowledge and ideas with the Turkish and international communities by inviting statesmen, bureaucrats, academics, strategists, businessmen, journalists, and NGO representatives to Turkey.

Vladimir Karyakin

Retired Colonel, Doctor of Military Sciences, Specialist in Russian Institute for Strategic Studies. He worked in Strategic Union of Russia, in 27th Central Research Institute in Moscow, and in USSR Military Air Force. He conducted research on the efficiency of nuclear weapon employment in long term. He carries out studies on subjects such as current defense policy, military coups, forms and methods of armed struggle, developments between the Middle and Near East and Central Asia within the framework of interests of the Russian Federation. Approximately thirty studies, including two books entitled *Contemporary Geopolitical Dynamics of the Middle East and Military Policy and Strategy of the U.S. in Current Geopolitical Dynamics*, have been published.

PRESENTATION

The collapse of the USSR has been one of the most important developments of our modern history. After the collapse of the USSR and the Eastern Bloc, the world map was reconstructed, new countries emerged and took place on the aforesaid map, the bipolar world order turned into a unipolar world order, and countries started to face very different threats. Terms such as glasnost, perestroika introduced by the USSR into world terminology lost their meanings; and new terms such as “manageable democracy” and “colorful revolution” started to take place in the dictionary of international terminology. Both in daily newspapers and in scientific studies, we come across the terms such as clash of civilizations, modernism and postmodernism, geopolitical importance, geopolitics of postmodernism more frequently than before.

V. Karyakin, whose articles and reports we already published in ORSAM, deals with all these subjects in this article entitled, The Third Wave: Geopolitics of Postmodernism in detail. V. Karyakin is a prominent specialist of RISI (Russian Institute of Strategic Research) which is one of the most important strategic research centers of Russia in which ORSAM has been in a close relationship. The opinions of Russian researchers regarding the new world order have been quite important for Turkey especially due to the deepening Turkish-Russian relations in the recent period. In this respect, we strive to share the aforesaid opinions with you valuable readers. We hope that this report we published in English will be read with great interest.

Doç. Dr. Hasan Ali Karasar
Black Sea International Coordinator

Hasan Kanbolat
ORSAM Director

Contents

Presentation	4
Introduction	7
Genesis of Geopolitical Concept of “The Third Wave”	8
Research Apparatus of Geopolitical Conception of “The Third Wave”	9
Paradigms of “The Third Wave” Geopolitical Conception	11
Conclusion	13



By: *Vladimir Karyakin*

“THE THIRD WAVE”: GEOPOLITICS OF POSTMODERNISM

Introduction

The world community has entered an epoch of permanent crisis which is represented now as the system crisis of postmodern civilization. The sociopolitical tendencies designated during revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa, a series of “color” revolutions on the post Soviet space and protest actions of Russian opposition, put forward an actual problem of development of a new toolkit for research of processes of political transformation of the modern world. In these conditions the issue of the day is still the problem not only of interstate relations, but also situation inside the states that become closely connected in globalized world. The favorable environment for occurrence of threats to the international and state security is the use of technologies of “controlled chaos”, strategies of “soft power” and “indirect actions” on the background of aggravation of territorial, demographic, religious, ecological, food and water problems in large territories of the Central Asia, Near and Middle East and African continent.

On the background of increasing shaft of the social processes frequently accepting the forms humanitarian and political disasters, it is necessary to ascertain the fact, that political sciences “do not evolve, more likely circle and frequently tremble on the place”. “This “marking time” is distinguished in comparison of obvious progress in other spheres of scientific knowledge: natural, mathematical and engi-

neering sciences. Mathematical and natural disciplines set forth the saved up knowledge demanding mastering and suitable for practical purposes. Social sciences, in particular - political science, adduce points of view and concepts either contradicting or ignoring each other.

As R. Collins noted¹, the saved up knowledge in social sciences are not popular. Knowledge in political and social sciences are subdivided into such categories as: “the specialized accumulation” obtained inside the separate research society and unrecognized outside this scientific community; “the lost accumulation” as a result of disregard by all scientific communities and “unrecognized interdisciplinary integrated accumulation” which is the results received from various areas and having essential similarity which, nevertheless, is not perceived and is not admitted as such. Therefore we come to the conclusion that modern political science and geopolitics as its part are engaged not in getting objective knowledge, but collecting various opinions struggling with each other and frequently destroying each other.

These factors have outlined a necessity to change the base approaches in modern geopolitics and making an “inventory” of the saved up knowledge to overcome stagnation in development of the given scientific area and promote a new geopolitical concept that should give it a full-fledged scientific status.

Genesis of Geopolitical Concept of “The Third Wave”

The solution of mentioned problems lays in the field of the post-nonclassical approach offered by V.S. Stypin in which he suggested refusing linear extrapolation of processes in complex systems with numerous opposite forces and inconsistent factors.¹ In spite of a number of “color” revolutions occurring during last twenty years it’s only now that Mr. Karaganov designated this problem, having noted, that “unprecedented in speed and scale in a history of mankind of change in social, political areas of existence of peoples, expansion of the next round of struggle for resources and transformation of political map of the Middle East and North Africa on a background of disintegration of old system of the international management institutes, ongoing globalization of economy and information environment have increased an “intellectual vacuum” that ended up in inability to understand and analyze the world within the framework of old political theories”²

The post-nonclassical approach opens wide horizons in geopolitics.³ It allows investigating sociopolitical systems as open for external influences, and functioning in the environment of social entropy and chaos, aroused by application of political and information technologies for manipulation of people’s consciousness.⁴ In our opinion, there are no alternatives to the given direction of geopolitical development. Political scientists studying modern geopolitical trends have, at last, realized the limitations of traditional methods for researching of the sociopolitical and international problems based on Laplas-Newtonians determinism and linear extrapolation of public processes.

Complex interlacing of national interests and contradictions between leading actors of the global and regional politics on a background of globalization, politics of transnational corporations, banks, influential funds and non-

governmental organizations, including terrorist networks and drug dealers, force them to rethink fundamental bases of world dynamics to develop new conceptual approaches to research of geopolitical problems.

As to the name of the suggested concept it is necessary to note its affinity with the title of the well-known work of E. Toffler “The Third Wave” considering the correlation of the stages of geopolitics development - classical, neo-classical and post-neoclassical - with Toffler’s waves of mankind development: agrarian, industrial and postindustrial epochs.⁵

The geopolitical conception of “The Third Wave” (further - as “Concept”) is designed to answer such actual questions of the international relations as:

- Ways of preserving state sovereignty under information and political confrontation, the use of “The Soft Power” and “The Indirect Actions” strategies for state disruption;
- Forms and methods of appropriation of leadership and preserving domination of great and regional powers;
- Basic trends and driving forces of modern transformations of international relations and new global order;
- Ways and means of maintenance of national and international safety in conditions of rivalry of various centers of force.

However, despite the given objectives, a range of problems offered for investigation within the framework of the given Concept, remains indistinct. This is because modern political life is characterized by the unpredictable emergence of new social and political realities and factors that produces the need for constant revision of the circle of problems under study within the Concept. Therefore the borders of a Concept object field will inevitably vary depending on set of existing and arising threats and trends in development of a certain region or country.

Research Apparatus of Geopolitical Conception of "The Third Wave"

The research toolkit, underlying the Concept, includes:

1. The system-dynamic approach, allowing investigating international relations in all their complexity and variety, to reveal and analyze development of sociopolitical systems in the time scale.⁶
2. Methods of research of sociopolitical systems evolution in conditions of "controlled chaos" and dynamics of social entropy.
3. Evolution modeling on the basis of genetic algorithms application for realization of "forward control" principle for forehanded prediction of evolution's trends in sociopolitical systems prior to it's beginning and incursion of irreversible development of geopolitical situation. It can be carried out due to inclusion of feedback link in the systems which actualize "preemptive" control of international environments. This loop works on the principle of correcting of deviations in the system at the earliest stages of occurrence of ineligible tendencies in system development.
4. Comparative interstate researches inherited from traditional scientific arsenal which has not lost its importance in post-neoclassical geopolitics. By comparison of set of significant factors for the analysis it is possible to analyze in details the basic parameters of geopolitical potentials of political subjects of the world policy, reflecting the current geopolitical conditions.

Considering **functions** of the Concept, it is necessary to take into account the certain complexity of their allocation that is a common difficulty of analysis of humanitarian studies because their functions in a real life cannot be submitted in the pure aspect.

Nevertheless, it is possible to subdivide these functions on **gnoseologic** which is working with the academic branch of a political science in the general-theoretical plan, **prognostic**, intended for the analysis and forecasting of military-political, economic, demographic and ethno-confessional conditions and **administrative** which has the purpose is development of recommendations for the political leaders on management of sociopolitical processes in conditions of multilateral interaction of actors of world policy.

The main task of the academic branch of the Concept is revealing and studying cause-effect relations between various factors and tendencies of development of geopolitical situation for the certain forecasting horizon. The purpose of such researches is to elicit consistent patterns and reveal steady tendencies in development of an international situation, sources and driving forces of cooperation, aspiration to hegemony and leadership of the separate states, and also the reasons of occurrence of a different sort of contradictions and conflicts.

The prognostic function of the Concept studies the tendencies and character of sociopolitical development of the countries and regions on the basis of quantitative methods of simulation of regional and internal situation in separate countries, allowing to reveal and understand global and regional political tendencies and processes. Incidentally researcher deals with the objective and subjective information, data of official statistics, publications about motives and intentions of political leaders, activity of various subjects of a world and regional politics. The value of the subjective information is great because it reveals the personality of political leaders, allows to estimate the psychological side of geopolitical processes, and besides to estimate a degree of adequacy of reflection of objective tendencies in development of political and social conditions in the mind of the states leadership, leaders of political movements, religious and

the ethnic groups of the population participating in the political processes.

Hereby prognostic function allows to adequately reflect the tendencies of the main geopolitical processes on the base of estimation of geopolitical conditions and actions of political leaders. In this respect the organization of constant monitoring of geopolitical situation acquires special significance.

The administrative function of the Concept follows from the first two. Its designation is to provide necessary information to political leaderships for elaboration of policy decisions.

Generally the main task of geopolitics of “The Third Wave” is researching of evolution of sociopolitical processes in order to reveal trends and dynamics of their development.

The subject fields of the Concept include:

- The nature, forms and methods of modern expansionisms;
- Technologies of statehood destruction and transition of consciousnesses of people and also changing of national, cultural and religious identity of human beings;
- Geopolitical potentials and their influence on the status of the states in the world system of international relations;
- Factors causing formation, expansion and decline of the states, military-political blocks and the unions;
- Factors determining relations of cooperation and rivalry between regional and world centers of force and geopolitical influence.

The **definitions** of the Concept differ from those existing in traditional geopolitics in its logic argumentation, generalization and synergetic approach due to attraction of such areas of scientific knowledge as the theory of chaos, self-organizing systems and post-neo-

classic approach to sociopolitical dynamics. It leads to necessity of ranging the definitions of the Concept on several groups on the basis of sociological, intrinsic and natural-science criteria:

1. Sociological definition of the Concept reflects influence of economic, legal, cultural and religious factors on development of political systems and treats it as rivalry of the certain countries and their coalitions, as well as political and social movements at upholding the interests.

2. Intrinsic definition of the Concept is guided by disclosing of a fundamental principle of geopolitics as the scientific discipline expressed as a set of actions, directed at finding, holding and use of imperious resources. “Imperious” definition of geopolitics reflects its essence as the major quality, supplemented through institutional definitions, describing the geopolitical concept by means of functioning of the international and state structures, embodying and materializing authority in geopolitical influence. From this point of view the Concept considers politics as activity of the states or socio-political groups in resolving conflicts and contradictions. Since the basis of modern international relations is principles of balancing on the edge of conflict.

If we return to the “wave” interpretation of the considering Concept, the first wave of geopolitics corresponds with “the person of geophysical space” which defines the psychology and character of peoples that occupy some territory. The second wave of geopolitics corresponds with “the person of ideology”, living and working in conditions of antagonism of hostile ideological systems. The third wave of geopolitics already corresponds with “the person of information age” living and working in global informational, economical and ecological spaces and having an opportunity to influence on sociopolitical processes the way it was during “The Arabian Spring” and a number of “Color Revolutions”.

3. The group of the natural-science definitions are determined as action making, teleological and system definitions of the Concept. Action making definitions open synergetic character of geopolitical processes, dynamics of sociopolitical systems in conditions of social chaos and entropy, as well as application of modern political and information technologies. They characterize geopolitics as process of monitoring and estimation of geopolitical conditions with use of mathematical methods of simulation of the sociopolitical processes used by the political leaders for elaboration of internal and foreign policy.

The teleological definition of geopolitics considers it as an activity of a political management on finding solutions of geopolitical tasks. Here it is necessary to note the following constructive moment: necessity of a combination of the collective nature of the international and interstate politics expressed in joint conscious and purposeful activity of social groups, political parties, social movements, the states and their associations on achievement of definite purposes. Now the given aspect is especially actual in view of increase of social entropy shown in the form of any kind of "color" revolutions and "popular uprisings", activity of oppositional and separatists movements in which the role and the importance of even one social individual of society grows comes up to nation-wide scale.

Generalizing the above mentioned system of definitions of the Concept, it is possible to formulate its base definition as an area of scientific knowledge, post-nonclassical in its form and synergetic in its content which describes the sociopolitical relations, organization and assimilation of geopolitical spaces and it's resources for establishment of leadership, military-political and economic domination with use of military or economical force, information, psychological and political technologies in conditions of globalization.

Paradigms of "The Third Wave" Geopolitical Conception

A "Paradigm" is one of the major concepts in philosophy and sociology, introduced by T. Kuhn in his book "The Structure of Scientific Revolutions"⁷ in which he defined this term as a set of fundamental scientific installations, representations and notions, perceived by scientific community as a basis of given scientific field.

In geopolitics the concept of paradigm is formulated as follows: the paradigm is designed to provide the valuable and world outlook basics to research existential relations between the states in the modern world in view of all crucial factors which determine dynamics and an evolution of sociopolitical processes. The task of the given scientific category is to generalize the phenomena and tendencies of an observable reality and to select primary factors for further conceptual interpreting of this reality, but without distortion of its essence.

Geopolitical paradigms include national-state, ideological, cultural and religious factors. Now it's time for dynamic approach to the geopolitics phenomena. The modern geopolitics paradigm must to reflect changes in various interpretations of geopolitics' space: institutional, economical, ideological, cultural, religious and informational. Change of paradigms is a change of relations between socio-political objects, which supposes change of scientific methods of analysis.⁹

Full harmony in geopolitics has not been observed yet. "Despite a huge file of works on geopolitics, there is still one principal lack: imprecise classification of paradigms. It leads to various disagreements on what is true geopolitics, what concepts are adequate to the present day and what must be thrown away".¹⁰

Trying to solve the given problem, some researchers go on replacing geopolitics with

global studies formulating new paradigms. So a pioneer's works in this direction were presenting stages of development of geopolitical ideas on the basis of reflecting stages of mankind development:¹¹

– 1-st stage – a paradigm of ground or geographical territory, underlying classical geopolitics and asserting that the politics of the states is determined by their geographical position. In this conception the basic geopolitics' actor is the national state;

– 2-nd stage – revisionist's geopolitics based on the paradigm reflecting the fact that the states ideology belongs to different camps in global opposition of two political systems. In this case the basic actors were military-political blocks;

– 3-rd stage – modernist's geopolitics based on the paradigm of geo-economics as generation of globalization. The basic actors here are transnational corporations, global financial institutions and the nongovernmental political structures working in global information space.

The given classification has correctly reflected not only evolution of geopolitics' ideas, but also essence of the postmodern epoch, expressed in globalization of the economy resulted in formation of uniform geo-economics space that replaced confrontation geopolitics of Great Powers in the epoch of the "Cold War".¹² However the paradigm of geo-economics soon appeared inadequate to realities of the beginning of XXI century. The system crisis of the world economy, which began in 2008, discredited the ideas of liberalism and free market. Discredit attitude of western liberal ideas was aggravated by the book of Zb. Bzhezinsky "The Grand Chessboard"¹³ in which he declared inevitability of the American leadership for the nearest decades. This made the Russian political community get a steady opinion of existence of Atlantist's and Mondealist's plot directed on submission of

Eurasia to the West.¹⁴ Thus, due to efforts of the patriarch of American geopolitics there started a process of revival of old geopolitics' paradigm – "Ground and Idea". Russian national patriots emphasize that the globalization that advances the free market, free moving of people and capitals in the world scale does not solve essential social problems. It only aggravates them that have been exemplified by the recent events of "The Arabian Spring". Globalization carries on the stratification of societies and, as a consequence, it brings poverty and injustice in distribution of the material and collective goods on background of an information transparency of a society and increase of intellectual mobility of its members due to communication in social networks. Globalization makes millions of people unnecessary for the labor-market in the underdevelopment countries, and especially in those that are deprived of natural resources and have been shattered during realization of plans on transformation of political map of the world.

Globalization of economy and creation of planetary information-communication space made national sovereign state appeared to be almost the last shelter for those who want to preserve their cultural and religious identity and to remain to be the owner of national territories and natural resources. The counteraction to globalism has turned the alloy of paradigms of ground and ideology into ideologue which must to resist the so-called "Modernist geopolitics" globalizations.

In this respect the author considers, that in a basis of methodology of the suggested Concept should consist of the system of paradigms including the root paradigm and the number of supplementary paradigms for formation of methodological toolkit of the Concept. It can be presented the formalized way in the table below which includes the author's version of new geopolitical construction.

As a whole, now it is possible to say, that the suggested system of paradigms includes a paradigm of power expansionism, inherited from classical geopolitics, nonclassical paradigms of "Soft Power", "Indirect actions", and also paradigms of post-nonclassical geopolitics including information - network technologies of creation and subsequent management of sociopolitical chaos and entropy in

the states as well as technologies of manipulation of people's consciousness and transformation of national, cultural and religious identity of nations in the struggle of actors of the world policy for establishment of domination (influence) in all modern kinds of geopolitical spaces with the purpose of capturing of natural, human and territorial resources of the states and their subsequent use.

Table 1 Two approaches to construction of geopolitical paradigms Conclusion

Classical version	Author's version	
Stages of geopolitics Paradigms Classical Ground (geographical determinism) Revisionist Ideologies (oppositions of two super states during the "Cold War")	Paradigms Force expansionism Long cycle of geopolitical processes of eminence - blossom - decline of the states and empires Force opposition and ideological expansionism The accelerated acclivity of geopolitical processes under the strategy of "Soft Power" and "Indirect Actions" not excepting application of military force	"Waves" of geopolitics The first wave - "Classical Geopolitics" The second wave - "Nonclassical Geopolitics"
Modernist Geo-economics (globalization of the world under leadership of transnational corporations and the transboundary nongovernmental political organizations)	All kinds of expansionism in all spheres of geopolitical space Application of info-network technologies of social chaos and entropy management in sociopolitical systems of the states	The third wave - "Post-Nonclassical Geopolitics"

Conclusion

In the modern world the vector of geopolitical aspirations of the states is shifting from military-geographical aspect to economic, financial and information spheres and lately to religious-cultural areas in the struggle of the world policy actors for influence and leadership on the international scene. Sociology became an important factor in geopolitics. This is exemplified by the phenomenon of "The Arabian spring" and its consequence – expansion of a radical Islam to the Middle East political space. It occurs on a background of struggle between political actors for leadership and influence with the use of political and information technologies. Nowadays military

strategies give place to strategies of "Indirect Actions" and "Soft Power" hidden from public view with the veil of ideological myths and psychological technologies. Owing to huge potential destructions of modern weapons war became inadmissible luxury. Therefore primary importance in the world policy is assigned to the saving of valuable resources in the seized territories: natural, economic and human, which subsequently could be used by the winner. Globalization has shown that in modern society special value is represented within information, economic and financial spaces, domination in which provides access to resources of all countries by nonmilitary way, without use of force.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Collins R. Socially Unrecognized Cumulating // American Sociologist, 1999.
- 2 V.S. Stepin Scientific Knowledge and Values of Industrial Civilization. Problems of Philosophy, № 10, 1989, p. 3-18; VS Stepin Formation of Norms and Ideals Postnonclassical Science. // Problems of Methodology Postnonclassical Science. Moscow, 1992, p.15.
- 3 S. Karaganov World: Deepening Chaos. Rossiyskaya Gazeta, № 5571 (195), 07.09.2011.
- 4 V. Karjakin Classical and Nonclassical Postnonclassical Geopolitics: The Criteria of Similarity and Distinction. Bulletin of Analysts. № 4 (46), 2001, p.
- 5 S. Mann Chaos Theory and Strategy.
- 6 A. Toffler, The Third Wave. Moscow: AST. 2010. p.784.
- 7 V. Karjakin Contemporary Geopolitical Dynamics of the Middle East. - Moscow: IG Frontier, 2010, 352 p.; Karjakin V. Geopolitical Dynamics as a Tool for Studies of Trends and Scenarios of Global Development // Strategic Stability. № 4 (53), 2010; Karjakin V. The Methodology of the Current Geopolitical Dynamics // Public Service. № 1 (69), January-March 2011, Karjakin V. The Methodology of the Current Geopolitical Dynamics // Regional Studies № 3 (33), 2011.
- 8 T. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Moscow: AST. 2009, p.317
- 9 Mukhaev R.T. Geopolitics. Textbook. 3rd ed. Moscow: UNITY-DANA, 2011, p.28.
- 10 .A. Senshin The Evolution of the Geopolitical Paradigm in Transforming the World. // Proceedings of the Ural State University. 2007. № 48. p.49-62.
- 11 .A. Senshin The Evolution of the Geopolitical Paradigm in Transforming the World.. // Proceedings of the Ural State University. 2007. № 48. p.49-62.
- 12 Gray C. Geopolitics of the Nuclear Era: Heartland, Rimland and the Technological Revolution. N.Y., 1977. p. 5; Geopolitics of Superpower. N.Y. 1990. p. 4
- 13 . Brzezinski, The Grand Chessboard. New York: 1998. p.368
- 14 A. Dugin Foundations of Geopolitics. Geopolitical Future of Russia. New York: 1999. p.171;

ORSAM REPORTS

- ORSAM Report No: 1
March 2009
The Struggle Against Piracy: The Somalia Case and Turkey's Position
(Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 2
April 2009
60 Years of Alliance: NATO and Turkey
(Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 3
May 2009
Iraq's Pivotal Point: Talafar
(Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 4
July 2009
2009 Lübnan Seçimleri: Kazananlar, Kaybedenler ve Türkiye
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 5
August 2009
Turkey-Lebanon Relations: Perceptions of Turkey Among the Religious and Sectarian Factions in Lebanon
(Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 6
November 2009
The Tuzhurmatu Turkmens: A Success Story
(Tr - Eng - Ar)
- ORSAM Report No: 7
November 2009
The Forgotten Turkmen Land: Diyala
(Tr - Eng - Ar)
- ORSAM Report No: 8
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL
Report No: 1
December 2009
Abkhazia for the Integration of the Black Sea
(Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 9
January 2010
The Yemen Issue: A Step Toward Regional War?
(Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 10
January 2010
Civil War in Yemen: The Power Struggle, Regional Influences and Relations With Turkey
(Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 11
February 2010
The Forgotten Turks: Turkmens of Lebanon
(Tr - Eng - Ar)
- ORSAM Report No: 12
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL
Report No: 2
February 2010
Russian Perspective: The Influence of the Factor of Iraq on Turkey's Middle East Policies (1990-2008)
(Tr - Rus)
- ORSAM Report No: 13
February 2010
7 March 2010 Irak Seçimleri Öncesi Şii Kökenli Parti ve Seçmenlerin Politik Davranışlarının Analizi
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 14
February 2010
Seçim Öncesi Irak'ta Siyasal Durum ve Seçime İlişkin Beklentiler
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 15
March 2010
Orsam Heyetinin 7 March 2010 Irak Seçimlerine İlişkin Gözlem Raporu
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 16
April 2010
Sultanate of Oman: An Arab State Between Tradition and Modernity in the Arabian Peninsula
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 17
April 2010
Evaluation of Iraqi Parliamentary Elections of March 7, 2010 and the New Political Equation
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 18
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL
Report No: 3
May 2010
Turkish-Russian Relations: From Neighborhood to Strategic Co-operation
(Tr - Rus)
- ORSAM Report No: 19
September 2010
Turkmens' Migration Towards Turkey and Turkmen Population in Turkey
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 20
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL
Report No: 4
October 2010
Current Situation in Kyrgyzstan, the Reasons of Change in Government and Short Term Foresights
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 21
November 2010
Away From Iraq: Post 2003 Iraqi Migration to Neighboring Countries and to Turkey
(Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 22
January 2011
Turkey-Yemen Relations and the Perception of Turkey in Yemen
(Tr - Eng - Ar)
- ORSAM Report No: 23
January 2011
Is the Qatar-Iraq-Turkey-Europe Natural Gas Pipeline Project Feasible?
(Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 24
January 2011
The State of Kuwait: Relations with Turkey, War and Peace and the Al-Sabah Government in Between
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 25
January 2011
Embargo on Iran by the Security Council in Legal and Political Aspects
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 26
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL
Report No: 5
February 2011
The Recent Developments in Kyrgyzstan: Past, Present and Future
(Tr - Rus)
- ORSAM Report No: 27
February 2011
The Steps of the Egyptian Revolution: Is That the End of an Era?
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 28
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL
Report No: 6
February 2011
The Limits of Power in Distraining on Ships by a Coast State on the International Law of the Sea -Georgia's Distraining on the Ships Navigating Around the Black Sea-
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 29
February 2011
Tunisia, Popular Revolution and Turkey's Experience
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 30
February 2011
Property Disagreements in Kirkuk: A Study Based on the Field Search
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 31
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL
Report No: 7
March 2011
The Developments in Afghanistan and Pakistan and Their Effects on International Security
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 32
March 2011
Shiite Opposition Question in Saudi Arabia and Its Impacts
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 33
March 2011
Turkmen Existence in Iraq
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 34
March 2011
Turkmen Press in Iraq
(Tr - Ar)
- ORSAM Report No: 35
March 2011
Current Situation and Important Political Developments in Iraq
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 36
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 1
March 2011
Eu's Water Framework Directive Implementation in Turkey: The Draft National Implementation Plan
(Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 37
March 2011
Popular Revolt in Tunisia and Its Aftermath
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 38
March 2011
Libyan War, International Intervention and Turkey
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 39
March 2011
From Past to Present Libya
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 40
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 2
March 2011
Climate Change From a Security Perspective and Its Effects on Middle East
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 41
March 2011
Understanding Iraq Through Cartoons - 1
(Tr)

- ORSAM Report No: 42
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 3
April 2011
Hydropolitical History of Nile River Basin and Recent Developments
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 43
April 2011
Social-Political Structure of the Northern Iraq and Kurdish Regional Government's Relations with Turkey
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 44
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 4
April 2011
The Obligation of "International Cooperation" in Meriç (Maritza-Evros) Basin Water Management
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 45
April 2011
Syria Towards Democracy or Civil War?: Social and Political Structure, Prospects For Change and Its Impacts on Turkey
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 46
May 2011
Power Struggle in Syria, Reaction of the International Community and Turkey's Position
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 47
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 5
May 2011
Turkey-Syria Relations: Asi (Orontes) Friendship Dam As An Example Of Cooperation In Transboundary Waters
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 48
May 2011
Orsam Interviews - 1
Iraqi Arabs, Minorities & Academics - 1
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 49
May 2011
Orsam Interviews - 2
Iraqi Turkmens - 1
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 50
May 2011
Orsam Interviews - 3
Iraqi Kurdish Officials, Academics & Journalists - 1
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 51
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 8
May 2011
The 75th Anniversary of Montreux Convention Regarding the Regime of Turkish Straits (In the Framework of the Changing Geopolitics of the Black Sea)
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 52
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 9
May 2011
Afghanistan and Regional Security (Middle East, Central and South Asia, Russian Federation)
(Tr - Rus)
- ORSAM Report No: 53
May 2011
Madagascar: Gains, Missing Opportunities, and Relations with Turkey in the 50th Year of Independence
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 54
May 2011
Iraqi Groups' Approach Towards Main Political Problems and Relations With Turkey: A Study Based On Field Research
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 55
June 2011
Antalya Conference of Syrian Opposition: Results, Outlook on Basic Problems and Expectations from Turkey
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 56
June 2011
Elections and Experience of Justice and Development Party
(Tr - Ar)
- ORSAM Report No: 57
June 2011
Reflections Of 12 June 2011 Turkey Parliamentary Elections in the Middle Eastern Countries
(Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 58
July 2011
Reflections of 12 June 2011 Turkey Parliamentary Elections in the Middle East Through Cartoons
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 59
July 2011
Understanding Iraq Through Cartoons - 2
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 60
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 6
July 2011
Cooperation and Conflict on the Mekong River Waters
(Tr-Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 61
July 2011
The Complete Decipher of the "Chance in Syria Conference", Carried Out in Antalya Between June 1-2 2011
(Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 62
August 2011
Understanding Iraq Through Cartoons - 3
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 63
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 7
August 2011
The Invisible Strategic Resource: Transboundary Ground Waters
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 64
August 2011
Victory of Justice and Development Party in 12 June 2011 Turkey's General Elections
(Tr - Ar)
- ORSAM Report No: 65
August 2011
Arab Spring Through Cartoons - 1
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 66
August 2011
Civil War in Libya and International Intervention Through Cartoons - 1
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 67
August 2011
Somalia: A Nation's Peril and Turkey's Humanitarian Aid
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 68
September 2011
The Operaton Against Osama Bin Laden and Its Reflections in Cartoons
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 69
September 2011
Understanding Iraq Through Cartoons - 4
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 70
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 10
September 2011
Russia's and Turkey's Iran Policies in the XXI. Century
(Tr - Rus)
- ORSAM Report No: 71
September 2011
Gaza Problem: Israel's Blocade, International Law, Palmer Report and Turkey's Approach
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 72
September 2011
Statistics of the Middle Eastern Countries
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 73
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 11
October 2011
Anatolian Sphere of Influence
(Tr-Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 74
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 12
October 2011
Ukraine in Regress: The Tymoshenko Trial
(Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 75
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 13
October 2011
Kazaks and Kazakistanis
(Tr - Rus)
- ORSAM Report No: 76
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 14
October 2011
The Forgotten Turks in Italy: Moena Turks
(Tr - It)
- ORSAM Report No: 77
October 2011
The Regional and Global Effects of the Us Post-Withdrawal Policy Towards Iraq and Its Reflections on Turkey
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 78
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 8
October 2011
Constructed Wetlands and Re-Use of Waste Water for the Irrigation in Turkey and Israel
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 79
October 2011
The Political Balance in Pre-Election Period in Tunisia
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 80
October 2011
Understanding Iraq Through Cartoons - 5
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 81
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 15
October 2011
Great Power Politics on Afghanistan
(Tr-Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 82
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 16
October 2011
Afghanistan in the Perspective of Neighboring Countries
(Tr-Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 83
November 2011
The Community Brought up to Agenda upon the Transition in Syria: The Turkmens of Syria
(Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 84
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 9
November 2011
Somalia's Catastrophic Famine: Political Drought or Natural One?
(Tr-Eng)

- ORSAM Report No: 85
November 2011
Historical Pragmatism in Syrian Political Culture, Syrian Foreign Policy Under Bashar Al-Assad and Turkish-Syrian Relations (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 86
November 2011
From Past to Present: The Iraqi Turkmen Front's Structure and Administration (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 87
November 2011
Turkmen in Iraq and Their Flight: A Demographic Question? (Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 88
November 2011
Bektashism in Iraq (Turkmens – Shabaks – Kakais) (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 89
November 2011
Morocco Monarchy in Transformation Process: Evolution or Revolution? (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 90
November 2011
The Efforts of Democratization in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan Within the Context of Local Actors and Regional Challenges (Tr-Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 91
December 2011
The Arab League's and Turkey's Decisions to Impose Sanction Against Syria, and Possible Consequences (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 92
December 2011
Current Situation of Disputed Areas in Iraq (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 93
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report: 10
December 2011
Turkey and Wfd Harmonization: A Silent, But Significant Process (Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 94
December 2011
The Role of Perception in Turkey-France Crisis: French Perception on Turkey (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 95
December 2012
Arab Spring Through Cartoons – 2 (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 96
December 2011
Understanding Iraq Through Cartoons – 6 (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 97
January 2012
Understanding Iraq Through Cartoons – 7 (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 98
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 17
January 2012
Presidential Election in Kyrgyzstan and Its Effects on Kyrgyzstan-Turkey Relations (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 99
January 2012
Turkish Political Parties' Statements on Syrian Refugees in Hatay, and Approaches of Political Party Representatives and Movements in Hatay Towards Syrian Developments (March-December 2011) (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 100
January 2012
Statistics of Iraq (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 101
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 11
January 2012
Right to Safe Drinking Water and Sanitation (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 102
January 2012
How and Under What Circumstances Could Iraq Be Split Up? Being Ready for the Worst (Tr – Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 103
January 2012
The Struggle for Oil in Iraq: An Analysis in the Light of Multi-National Companies, International Contracts and Constitutional Debates (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 104
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 12
February 2012
An Evaluation on the Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers (Tr – Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 105
February 2012
Political Rights of Minorities in Iraqi Legislation (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 106
February 2012
Social Rights of Minorities in Iraqi Legislation (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 107
February 2012
Human Rights of Minorities in Terms of International Law And Iraqi Constitution (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 108
February 2012
The Future of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) (Tr – Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 109
February 2012
The Missing Letter: The Rise of Turkey and the "Bric" Area (t)
- ORSAM Report No: 110
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 13
March 2012
Water Resources and Management in Iran (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 111
March 2012
A Critical Look at the Syrian Kurdish Opposition (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 112
March 2012
Constitutional System and Political Parties in Islamic Republic of Iran (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 113
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 18
April 2012
Mongolia: A Developing Democracy and a Magnet for Mining (Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 114
April 2012
Understanding the Syrian Problem Through Comics - 8 (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 115
April 2012
Arguments on Safe Havens in Syria: Risks, Opportunities and Scenarios for Turkey (Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 116
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 14
April 2012
The Concept of "Benefit-Sharing", Its Theoretical Background and Practical Reflections (Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 117
April 2012
Invest to Mosul Invest to Future (Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 118
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 19
May 2012
The Analysis of Trade-Economic Relations Between Ukraine and Turkey (Tr - Rus)
- ORSAM Report No: 119
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 20
May 2012
Geopolitical Dynamics as an Instrument of Investigation of Trends and Scenariouse of Regional Development (Tr - Rus)
- ORSAM Report No: 120
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 21
May 2012
Development of Political System in Kazakhstan: 2012 Parliamentary Elections (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 121
May 2012
New Dynamics in Local and Iraqi Politics in Mosul (Field Study) (Tr - Eng - Ger)
- ORSAM Bericht Nr. 121
Mai 2012
Kommunalpolitik in Mosul und Neue Dynamiken in Der Irakischen Politik (Feldarbeit) (Ger)
- ORSAM Report No: 122
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 15
May 2012
Water Resources Management in Iraq (Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 123
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 22
June 2012
Global Migration and Development of Migration Policies of Turkey and European Union (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 124
July 2012
Turkey in Africa: The Implementation of the Action Plan and an Evaluation After Fifteen Years (Tr - Eng - Fr)
- ORSAM Rapport No 124
Juillet 2012
La Turquie en Afrique: Un Bilan de la Mise en Oeuvre du Plan D'action Quinze Ans Apres (Tr - Eng - Fr)
- ORSAM Report No: 125
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 23
July 2012
Middle East Policy of Russia (Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 126
ORSAM Water Research Programme Report No: 16
July 2012
Towards the New Water Framework Directive: Notes on Water Draft Law (Tr)
- ORSAM Report No: 127
August 2012
Kurdish Movements in Syria (Tr - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 128
September 2012
The Development of Belarus - Turkey Economic Cooperation in Modern Conditions (Tr - Eng - Rus)
- ORSAM Report No: 129
BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL Report No: 25
September 2012
Belarus-Turkey: Positive Dynamics of Intergovernmental Cooperation (Tr - Rus - Eng)
- ORSAM Report No: 130
November 2012
Syrian Circassians

ORSAM AKADEMİK STAFF

Hasan Kanbolat	ORSAM Director
Prof. Dr. Meliha Benli Altunışık	METU, Director of Institute of Social Sciences
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hasan Ali Karasar	ORSAM Advisor, ORSAM Eurasian Strategies Coordinator - Bilkent University
Assoc.Prof.Dr. Tarık Oğuzlu	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East - Antalya International University
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Harun Öztürkler	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East Economies - Afyon Kocatepe University, Department of Economics
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Şahin	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East - Gazi University, Department of IR
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Özlem Tür	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East - METU, Department of IR
Habib Hüremzülü	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East
Asst. Prof. Dr. Serhat Erkmen	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East - Ahi Evran University, Department of IR
Asst. Prof. Dr. Canat Mominkulov	ORSAM Researcher, Eurasia, Al Farabi Kazakh National University
Dr. Abdullah Alshamri	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East - ORSAM Riyadh Representative
Dr. Neslihan Kevser Çevik	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East
Elmira Cheremisova	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East - St. Petersburg University
Dr. Didem Daniş	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East - Galatasaray University, Department of Sociology
Dr. Jale Nur Ece	ORSAM Advisor, Maritime Safety and Security
Assoc. Prof. Dr. İlyas Kemaloğlu (Kamalov)	ORSAM Advisor, Eurasia
Dr. Yaşar Sarı	ORSAM Advisor, Eurasia - ORSAM Bishkek Representative, Kyrgyzstan-Turkey Manas University
Dr. Bayram Sinkaya	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East - Yıldırım Beyazıt University Department of International Relations
Dr. Süreyya Yiğit	ORSAM Advisor, Eurasia
Att. Aslihan Erbaş Açıklık	ORSAM Advisor, Energy - Maritime Law
Pınar Arkan	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East - METU Department of International Relations
Fazıl Ahmet Burget	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East - Afghanistan
Volkan Çakır	ORSAM Advisor, Africa - ORSAM Antananarivo (Madagascar) Representative
Bilgay Duman	ORSAM Researcher, Middle East
Noyan Gürel	ORSAM İzmir Representative
Selen Tonkuş Kareem	ORSAM Erbil (Iraq) Representative
Oytun Orhan	ORSAM Researcher, Middle East
Sercan Doğan	ORSAM Research Assistant, Middle East
Nebahat Tanrıverdi	ORSAM Research Assistant, Middle East
Uğur Çil	ORSAM, Middle East
Leyla Melike Koçgündüz	ORSAM, Middle East & Projects
Ufuk Döngel	ORSAM, Ortadoğu
Göknil Erbaş	ORSAM, Black Sea
Aslı Değirmenci	ORSAM, Middle East
Jubjana Vila	ORSAM, Middle East
Mavjuda Akramova	ORSAM, Middle East

ORSAM Water Research Programme

Dr. Tuğba Evrim Maden	ORSAM Water Research Programme Hydropolitics Researcher
Dr. Seyfi Kılıç	ORSAM Water Research Programme Hydropolitics Researcher
Kamil Erdem Güler	ORSAM Water Research Programme
Çağlayan Arslan	ORSAM Water Research Programme

ORSAM ADVISORY BOARD

Dr. İsmet Abdülmecid	Former President of Iraqi Council of State
Prof. Dr. Hayati Aktaş	Karadeniz Technical University, Head of Department of International Relations
Prof. Dr. Ramazan Daurov	Assistant Director, Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies
Dr. Abdullah Alshamri	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East - ORSAM Riyadh Representative
Prof. Dr. Vitaly Naumkin	Director, Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies
Hasan Alsancak	BP & BTC Turkey, Energy Security Director
Prof. Dr. Meliha Benli Altunışık	METU, Director of Institute of Social Sciences
Prof. Dr. Ahat Andican	Former Minister & Istanbul University
Prof. Dorayd A. Noori	Vice-Undersecretary in Iraq's Embassy in Ankara

Prof. Dr. Tayyar Arı	Uludağ University, Head of Department of International Relations
Prof. Dr. Ali Arslan	Istanbul University, Department of History
Dr. Farhan Ahmad Nizami	The Director of Centre for Islamic Studies at Oxford University
Başar Ay	General Secretary, Turkish Textile Employers' Association
Prof. Aftab Kamal Pasha	The Director of The Centre for West Asian Studies in India
Prof. Dr. Mustafa Aydın	President of Kadir Has University
Ambassador Shaban Murati	Albanian Institute for International Studies
Dr. Ersel Aydın	Vice-President of Bilkent University, Fulbright Executive Director
Safarov Sayfullo Sadullaevich	Strategic Research Center Under The President of Tajikistan
Mohamed Noureddine	Specialist in Turkish Affairs, Prof. at Lebanese University - History
Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Bağcı	METU, Head of Department of International Relations
İtir Bağdadı	İzmir Economy University, Department of International Relations and European Union
Prof. Dr. İdris Bal	Member of Parliament in the 24th Legislative Term of Grand National Assembly of Turkey
Assist. Prof. Dr. Ersan Başar	Karadeniz Technical University, Maritime Transportation and Management Engineering
Kemal Beyatlı	Head of Iraqi Turkmen Press Council
Yaşar Yakış	Ambassador, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
Barbaros Binicioğlu	ORSAM Advisor, Middle Eastern Economies
Prof. Dr. Ali Birinci	Polis Akademisi
Patrick Seale	Well-Known Middle East and Syria Specialist
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Budak	Deputy Director General in Prime Ministerial State Archives
Dr. Hasan Canpolat	Deputy Undersecretary of Turkish Ministry of Interior
Ret. (Air) Gen. Ergin Celasin	23rd Commander of Air Forces
Dr. Sami Al Taqi	General Manager of Orient Research Center
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mitat Çelikpala	Kadir Has University, Head of Department of International Relations
Çetiner Çetin	Journalist (Irak)
Prof. Dr. Gökhan Çetinsaya	President of The Council of Higher Education
Dr. Didem Daniş	ORSAM Advisor, Immigration Studies & Iraqi Refugees, Galatasary University, Department of Sociology
Prof. Dr. Volkan Ediger	İzmir Economy University, Department of Economics
Prof. Dr. Cezmi Eraslan	President of Atatürk Research Center, Istanbul University, Department of History
Prof. Dr. Çağrı Erhan	Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science, Department of IR & Director ATAUM
Asst. Prof. Dr. Serhat Erkmen	ORSAM Middle East Advisor, Ahi Evran University, Head of the Department of International Relations
Dr. Amer Hasan Fayyadh	Baghdad University, Dean of Political Sciences Faculty (Iraq)
Att. Aslihan Erbaş Açikel	ORSAM Advisor, Energy - Maritime Law
Cevat Gök	Manager of Iraq El FIRAT TV - Turkey
Mete Göknel	Former Director of Petroleum Pipeline Corporation (BOTAŞ)
Osman Göksel	BTC & NABUCCO Coordinator
Timur Göksel	Beirut American University (Lebanon)
Prof. Muhamad Al Hamdani	Cultural Undersecretary in Iraq's Embassy in Ankara
Numan Hazar	Retired Ambassador
Habib Hürmüzlü	ORSAM Middle East Advisor
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pinar İpek	Bilkent University, Department of International Relations
Dr. Tuğrul İsmail	TOBB University of Economics & Technology, Department of International Relations
Assoc. Prof. Dr. İlyas Kemaloğlu (Kamalov)	ORSAM Advisor, Eurasia
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hasan Ali Karasar	Bilkent University, Department of International Relations
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şenol Kantarcı	Kırıkkale University, Department of International Relations
Selçuk Karaçay	Deputy Director, Vodafone (Turkey)
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nilüfer Karacasulu	Dokuz Eylül University, Department of International Relations
İsmet Karalar	Advisor to Mayor of Edremit/Balıkesir
Prof. Dr. M. Lütfullah Karaman	Fatih University, Head of the Department of International Relations
Asst. Prof. Dr. Şaban Kardaş	TOBB Economy and Technology University, Department of International Relations
Att. Tuncay Kılıç	Mayor of Edremit/Balıkesir
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Elif Hatun Kılıçbeyli	Çukurova University, Head of the Department of International Relations
Prof. Dr. Aleksandr Knyazev	Kyrgyz Slavic University (Bishkek)
Prof. Dr. Erol Kurubaş	Kırıkkale University, Head of the Department of International Relations
Prof. Dr. Talip Küçükcan	Director of Marmara University, Institute of Middle East Studies
Arslan Kaya	KPMG, Sworn-in Certified Financial Accountant
Dr. Hicran Kazancı	Iraqi Turkmen Front Turkey Representative
İzzettin Kerküklü	President of Kirkuk Foundation
Prof. Dr. Mustafa Kibaroğlu	Okan University, Head of Department of International Relations

Prof. Dr. Alexandr Koleşnikov	Diplomat
Dr. Max Georg Meier	Hanns Seidel Foundation, Projects Director (Bishkek)
Prof.Dr. Mosa Aziz Al-Mosawa	President of Baghdad University (Iraq)
Prof. Dr. Mahir Nakip	Erciyas University, Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences
Assoc.Prof.Dr. Tark Oğuzlu	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East-Antalya International University
Prof.Dr. Çınar Özen	Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science, Department of International Relations
Murat Özçelik	Undersecretary of Public Order and Security
Assoc. Prof. Harun Öztürkler	ORSAM Middle East Economics Advisor, Afyon Kocatepe University, Department of Economics
Dr. Bahadır Pehlivan Türk	TOBB Economy and Technology University, Department of International Relations
Prof. Dr. Victor Panin	Pyatigorsk University (Pyatigorsk, Russian Federation)
Assoc.Prof.Dr. Fırat Purtaş	Gazi University Department of International Relations, Deputy Secretary General of TÜRKSOY
Prof. Suphi Saatçı	Secretary - General of Kirkuk Foundation
Dr. Yaşar San	ORSAM Advisor, Eurasia - ORSAM Bishkek Representative, Kyrgyzstan-Turkey Manas University
Ersan Sarkaya	Türkmeneli TV (Kirkuk, Iraq)
Dr. Bayram Sinkaya	ORSAM Middle East Advisor, Atatürk University
Assoc.Prof.Dr. İbrahim Sirkeci	Reader in Demography and Marketing Regent's College, (London, UK)
Dr. Aleksandr Sotnichenko	St. Petersburg University (Russian Federation)
Zaher Sultan	President of Lebanon Turkish Association
Dr. Irina Svistunova	Russia Strategic Research Center, Turkey-Middle East Studies Expert (Russian Federation)
Asst. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Şahin	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East, Gazi University, Department of International Relations
Prof. Dr. Türel Yılmaz Şahin	Gazi University, Department of International Relations
Mehmet Şüküroğlu	Energy Expert
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Oktay Tanrısever	METU, Department of International Relations
Prof. Erol Taymaz	Vice President of the METU North Cyprus Campus (TRNC)
Prof. Sabri Tekir	Dean of İzmir University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences
Dr. Gönül Tol	Director of Middle East Institute Turkish Studies (USA)
Asst. Prof. Dr. Özlem Tür	ORSAM Advisor, Middle East, METU, Department of International Relations
M. Ragıp Vural	General Coordinator of 2023 (Magazine)
Dr. Ermanno Visintainer	Director of Vox Populi (Rome, Italy)
Dr. Umut Uzer	Istanbul Technical University, Humanities and Social Sciences
Prof. Dr. Vatanyar Yagya	St. Petersburg City Council Member, St. Petersburg University (Russian Federation)
Dr. Süreyya Yiğit	ORSAM Eurasia Advisor

EDITORIAL BOARD OF MIDDLE EAST STUDIES

Meliha Altunışık	Middle East Technical University (Turkey)
Bülent Aras	Ministry of Turkish Foreign Affairs, Head of Center for Strategic Strategic Research
Tayyar An	Uludağ University (Turkey)
İlker Aytürk	Bilkent University (Turkey)
Recep Boztemur	Middle East Technical University (Turkey)
Katerina Dalacoura	London School of Economics (UK)
F. Gregory Gause	Vermont University (USA)
Fawaz Gerges	London School of Economics (UK)
Ahmet K. Han	Kadir Has University (Turkey)
Raymond Hinnebusch	St. Andrews University (UK)
Rosemary Holiis	City University (UK)
Bahgat Korany	Durham University (UK)
Peter Mandaville	George Mason University (USA)
Emma Murphy	Durham University (UK)

MIDDLE EAST ANALYSIS EDITORIAL BOARD

Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık	Middle East Technical University , Director of Institute of Social Sciences
Hasan Kanbolat	ORSAM Director
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hasan Ali Karasar	Bilkent University, Department of International Relations
Asst. Prof. Dr. Serhat Erkmen	ORSAM Middle East Advisor, Ahi Evran University, Head of Department of International Relations



THE BLACK SEA INTERNATIONAL



ORTADOĐU STRATEJİK ARAŐTIRMALAR MERKEZİ

MithatpaŐa Caddesi 46/4 Kızılay/Ankara
Tel: 0(312) 430 26 09 Fax: 0 (312) 430 39 48
www.orsam.org.tr, orsam@orsam.org.tr
www.blacksea.org.tr, blacksea@blacksea.org.tr