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PKK's Regional Franchise of Terror

Dr. Bayram Ali Soner & Dr. Ömer Aslan & Hakan Kıyıcı
Turkish Police Academy

Following Al Qaeda's footsteps, the PKK, an internationally recognized terrorist organization, has reinvented itself as a complex umbrella structure for several regional terror franchises such as PYD, TAK, PJAK, YPG, YPJ. MLKP and DHKP-C, also listed an international terrorist organization, voluntarily added their names to PKK's franchise list after the Syrian revolt. It was the PKK's men, mules, and money that have sustained these terror franchises in Syria, Iran, and Iraq. PKK's alleged change from a Marxist-Leninist program and Stalinist leadership style to 'democratic confederalism' and 'democratic autonomy' has been mere window-dressing. There is indisputable discrepancy between these much-touted ideas, called 'Rojava revolution' and its authoritarian and exclusionary practices on the ground. Not only Öcalan remains a 'prophet-like' authoritarian figure towering above the entire franchise system, the entire organization remains like a cult and its method is monopolistic. In supporting a recognized terrorist organization militarily, economically, and diplomatically in the name of fighting Daesh, the West is in fact boosting and revitalizing Marxist and anarchist currents by allowing them new networks, ideas, fighting experience and techniques that now cross continents.

PKK'nın Bölgesel Terör Franchise Sistemi

Dr. Bayram Ali Soner & Dr. Ömer Aslan & Hakan Kıyıcı
Turkish Police Academy

Uluslararası bir terör örgütü olarak tanınan PKK, El-Kaide'nin günümüzeki yapılanmasına benzer şekilde, organizasyonel bir dönüşüm geçirmiş ve PYD, TAK, PJAK, YPG, YPJ, MLKP ve yine uluslararası terör örgütü olarak kabul edilen DHKP-C gibi franchise'lara hayat vererek bölgesel bir terör ağı kurmuştur. Bu terör franchise'larını bölgede oluşturan, idame ettiren PKK'nın parası, medyası ve militanları olmuştur.

Bu terör örgütlerini Suriye, İran ve Irak'ta destekleyen PKK'nın katırları, adamları ve parası olmuştur. PKK'nın Marksist-Leninist bir programdan ve Stalin-vari liderlik çizgiden 'demokratik konfederasyon' ve 'demokratik otonomi' çizgisine doğru dönüşümü kozmetik bir değişimdir. 'Rojava devrimi' söylemiyle örgütün bölgedeki otoriter ve ayrımcı uygulamaları arasında tartışmasız bir uçurum bulunmaktadır. Öcalan halen bu terör franchise sisteminin en tepesinde Stalin-vari varlığını sürdürürken, tüm örgüt tekçi, tekelci ve kült bir terör yapılanması olarak varlığını sürdürmektedir. Batı, böylesi bir terör örgütünü, DAEŞ'le mücadele adına askerî, malî ve diplomatik açıdan desteklemekle aslında, Marksist ve anarşist akımları desteklemekte, bu tür grupları onlara uzun süredir sahip olmadıkları ölçüde suç gruplarıyla bağlantılar, suça yatkın fikirler, savaş deneyimi ve teknik donanım sağlayarak yeniden hayat vermektedir.

Democratic Culture and the Constraints for a Democratic Change in North African States

Dr. Djebablia Abdelhafid
National School of political Science, Algiers

In the 1990s, Arab states experienced attempts at democratization such as those we are witnessing today, or what has been known as the Arab spring. Democratic and popular uprisings the likes of which happened in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. The Arab Spring and subsequent uprisings are some of the most important issues that are subject to study and to political and social debates in the region and the whole world. This is due to the crucial role it plays on different levels (regional, political, social, balances of power, etc.), and also the importance of the Arab region to the world order in general and the impact of events transpiring there on international politics.

The demand for democracy and reform in the broad sense has widened in all Arab countries. However, in practice, it is not easy to achieve it there, because the environment is not fertile enough. In addition to the obstacles standing in the face of a transition into democracy, the Arab region is experiencing an issue of democratic culture or what can be called as "the crisis of democratic culture in the Arab region". The concept of democratization and democratic change is no longer seen in the traditional sense of democracy, which focuses on the material aspects. Meaning that it is a product of modernization and development. Instead, it is a process of building and establishing democracy based on strategic measures and agreements between the various political parties and elites of the state. An informed choice among the various institutional alternatives and electoral and partisan systems, all of which are built on an existing supporting platform, consisting of an inclusive democratic culture. Therefore, addressing the issue of democracy in North Africa states requires taking into account this phenomenon, and uncovering the main obstacle, especially the internal, related to the Arab individual as well as his culture and way of thinking, seeing as the cornerstone of building a genuine democracy stems from the individual's political or democratic culture. The first objective is to change the nature of the political culture prevailing in Arab society to create an environment that fosters democratic values.

This paper explores the nature of the political culture prevailing in North African states and its relation to the process of democratic transition through its relation to some of the obstacles and problems hindering said transition. As well as its importance and its relation to the current situation in general.

By answering the following questions: What is the prevailing political culture in North African states? What is its relation to the process of democratic change? And is it a contributor to the process of democratic building in the region, or is it a hindrance?

This study is based on two hypotheses:

- There is a harmonious relationship between the level of democratic culture and the level of democratic transition.
- The greater the power of the state exerts over its people and the greater their exclusion is (from participation in the political process), the more violent the act of democratization is, and the more absent democratic culture is. The opposite can be true too, the more freedom given and faith put in the gains of democracy are, the greater the tendency to instill the values of democratic culture and democratization is.

This study uses both the cultural approach: as a framework for the analysis and interpretation of international relations with regards to the related dimensions of the components of culture and civilization in general, values, religion, language, customs, traditions, personality, perception and understanding of things ... and it focuses on the importance of these values and their role in forging political systems and policy-making as a whole. Survival strategies are used to explain the nature of how Arab authoritarian regimes deal with social transformations and demands and their adherence to power.

Keywords: Democratic change, Democratization, Arab Spring, popular uprisings, political process, North Africa

ع ان ال اخلة: ال قافة ال قا ة ومع قات ال ل القا ي في بل ان ش ال إف ق ا
شهدت البلدان العربية في تسعينيات القرن العشرين محاولات للتحول الديمقراطي، كما تشهدها في القرن الحالي ،ما أصبح يعُرف بالحراك (الثورات) الديمقراطية العربية- على غرار ما شهدته كل من تونس وليبيا ومصر ،ويعتبر هذا الحراك من أهم القضايا المطروحة للحوارات والنقاشات السياسية والاجتماعية في المنطقة والعالم أجمع، نظرا لما تكتسبه القضية من أهمية وخصوصيات، وما تحمله من تغييرات جذرية على عديد المستويات (مفاهيمية قيمية، وسياسية، واجتماعية، و موازين قوى ...)، وكذا أهمية المنطقة العربية - بصفة عامة - للمنظومة العالمية الدولية، وأهمية وتأثير كل حدث في المنطقة على السياسة الدولية.
المطالبة بالديمقراطية والإصلاح بمعناه الواسع قد اتسعت رقعته، وارتفع بشكل ملحوظ في البلدان العربية كافة ،لكن نجد أن تحقيق الديمقراطية في الواقع العربي وغرس قيمها فيه ليست بالسهولة، كون هذه البيئة ليست بالخصبة المرجوة، فبالإضافة إلى معوقات عملية الانتقال والتحول الديمقراطي التي تعرفها بلدان شمال إفريقيا فهي تشهد إشكالية الثقافة الديمقراطية أو ما يمكن تسميته بأزمة الثقافة الديمقراطية في المنطقة العربية. إذ لم يعد ينظر إلى مفهوم التحول الديمقراطي والدمقرطة بالمنظور والمفهوم التقليدي للديمقراطية، الذي يركز على الجوانب المادية منه، أي أنه نتاج لعملية التحديث والتطوير، بل هو عملية بناء وإرساء للديمقراطية بناءا على تدابير إستراتيجية واتفاقات بين مختلف القوى والنخب السياسية في الدولة، إلى جانب الخيار الواعي بين مختلف البدائل المؤسسية والأنظمة الانتخابية والحزبية، وكل هذا يتم ويرتكز على أساس وجود قاعدة وأرضية مساندة هي ثقافة ديمقراطية مشاركاتية تعايشية ،وعليه فإن معالجة قضية الديمقراطية في بلدان شمال إفريقيا تتطلب النظر في الظاهرة وكشف الأسباب الجوهرية التي تعمل على عرقلة هذا البناء خاصة الداخلية منها، المتعلقة بالفرد العربي في حد ذاته وكذا المتعلقة بثقافته، ونمط وطريقة تفكيره، كون أن حجر الأساس في بناء ديمقراطية حقيقية ينطلق من ثقافة الفرد السياسية أو ثقافته الديمقراطية. ومنه فالهدف الأول هو كيفية تغيير طبيعة الثقافة السياسية السائدة في المجتمع العربي لتهيئة أرضية غرس قيم الديمقراطية فيه.
ستحاول هذه الورقة البحثية استبصار وتبيان طبيعة الثقافة السياسية السائدة في بلدان شمال إفريقيا وعلاقتها بعملية التحول والانتقال الديمقراطي من خلال علاقتها ببعض معوقاته ومشاكله، وكشف أهمية الثقافة الديمقراطية وعلاقتها بالوضع الراهن بصفة عامة. من خلال الإجابة على التساؤولات التالية: ما هو وضع الثقافة السياسية السائد في بلدان شمال إفريقيا ؟ وما هي علاقتها بعملية التحول الديمقراطي؟ وهل واقعها مساهم أو كابح لعملية البناء الديمقراطي في المنطقة؟
تنطلق الدراسة من الفرضيتين:
هناك علاقة توافقية بين مستوى الثقافة الديمقراطية، ومستوى التحول الديمقراطي.
_ كلما زادت سطوة الدولة على الشعب وإقصائه (من المشاركة والعملية السياسية) توجه الفعل نحو العنف وغياب الثقافة الديمقراطية معا، والعكس، بحيث كلما كانت هناك حرية وإيمان بمكاسب الديمقراطية، زاد التوجه نحو غرس قيم الثقافة الديمقراطية والدمقرطة .
تستخدم الدراسة كل من الاقتراب الثقافي: باعتباره كإطار لتحليل وتفسير العلاقات الدولية على الأبعاد المتصلة والمتعلقة بمكونات الثقافة والحضارة بصفة عامة، من قيم، ودين، ولغة، وعادات وتقاليد، وشخصية، وإدراك وفهم للأشياء... ويركز على أهمية هذه القيم ودورها في صياغة العمليات السياسية وصنع السياسة ككل كما تستخدم منظار استراتيجيات البقاء: survival strategies والذي يفسر طبيعة تعاطي النظم التسلطية العربية مع التحولات والمطالب المجتمعية، وتمسكها بالسلطة
في انتظار قبول نظرتي ومداخلتي للموضوع، تقبلوا مني أسمى عبارات التقدير والاحترام والشكر.

Anti-American Discourses in Iranian Cinema

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Cinema is the most effective and the simplest way to be able to narrate the current rival or other through demonization without the preliminary preparation regarding creation-constructiondiversification of an enemy. The conflict between the US and Iran is not under way just in political and economic fields but under way in cinema too. The crisis that ARGO created internationally is the obvious example of this struggle. The US is of course owner of the role bringing salvation and peace to the world with its hegemony over the film industry. The basic perception regarding Iran in the USmade films are that Iran is a backward country, that Iran adopted an understanding that supports terror and that Iran is a threat to humanity. Conversely, in the Iran cinema the discourse regarding that America is the big Satan that have resonated within the Iran's domestic politics have been dominant. The 1979 Islamic Revolution and the subsequent consolidation of power opened the path for leaders of the Revolution to exploit the cinema as a propaganda tool against the US. This study examines the film from the Iranian cinema like Evil Hand, Evil Day and Butcher Angels from the point of view of political propaganda.

İran Sinemasında Anti-Amerikan Söylem

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Bir düşman yaratma-kurgulama-çeşitlendirme ön hazırlığına ihtiyaç duyulmaksızın hâlihazırdaki rakibi/ötekiyi düşmanlaştırarak anlatabilmenin en kolay ve etkili yolu sinema sanatıdır. ABD ve İran arasındaki çatışma sadece siyasal ve ekonomik alanda değil aynı zamanda sinema alanında da sürmektedir. ARGO filminin uluslararası ölçekte yarattığı kriz bu mücadelenin en yakın örneğidir. Dünyaya barış getiren ve kurtuluş sağlayan ülke rolünün sahibi mevcut film endüstrisindeki hakimiyeti ile elbette ABD'dir. Amerikan yapımı filmlerde İran'a dair oluşturulan temel algı İran'ın geri kalmış bir ülke olduğu, terörü destekleyen bir anlayışı benimsediği ve bütün insanlık için tehdit oluşturduğu yönündedir. Buna karşılık İran sinemasında, İran'ın iç politik gündeminde sıklıkla karşılık bulan Amerikan'ın şeytan olduğu söylemi işlenmektedir. 1979 İran İslam Devrimi sonrasında iktidarının perçinlenmesi için İran yönetimi İran sinemasının var olan yetkinliğini önemli ve etkin bir propaganda aracı olarak kullanmıştır. Bu çalışma İran sinemasından Dest-i Şeytan-(Evil Hand-1981), Ruz-i Şeytan (Evil Day-1994), Firiştigan-ı Kassab (Butcher Angels-2013) filmlerinin siyasal propaganda açısından incelenmesini içermektedir.

The Growing Threat of the Islamic State Organization in Libya and its Implications for Algerian National Security Since 2011.

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The post-Cold War era marked a major transformation and a new shift in international relations, which culminated in the transition from bilateral to unipolar led by the United States of America to the world, and the emergence of the phenomenon of globalization, which made the world a small village affected by the asymmetry threats in the international arena without the possibility of isolating the repercussions from one state to another, as well as the spread and growth of non-state actors, which have become a major influence in world politics.

After recognizing States as the only members of international law for the exclusive enjoyment of the sovereignty of the Westphalian logic, which made the national-state a leader above its territory, it conducted its own internal affairs to ensure that no State will dominate another , and undertakes the task of maintaining its own security, but it was reviewed by the international law experts due to the role Which has been played by non-international actors on the international stage in the maintenance of international peace and security - along with the State - , especially after the emergence of groups that have become a source of threat to international peace and security, which is located at the top of the pyramid of international politics.

The Islamic State Organization is one of the most famous non-international elements currently, the organization that threatened the security and stability of the Middle East where it grew up and spread its danger to the rest of the world, including Libya ; after the crisis of 2011 and the fall of the regime of the late President Muammar Gaddafi in Libya, Libya has known successive crises exacerbated by the emergence of ISIS within its territory, which threatened the stability of Libya and the region, for that , the Libyan file became a source of concern and interest of neighboring countries especialy Algeria, because of the implications for Algerian security as the border country with Libya, in addition to the privileges enjoyed by Algeria in the African continent as the first African country in terms of area, and the geographical potentials and capabilities that abound , Making it a vital area targeted from outside, especially by terrorist armed groups .

عنوان المداخلة: تنامي خطر تنظيم الدولة في ليبيا وتداعياته على الأمن القومي الجزائري منذ 2011

يعد تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية من أبرز التنظيمات الإرهابية على الساحة الدولية اليوم والتي عرفت توسعا وانتشارا في إطار النظام الدولي الجديد الذي تعد العولمة إحدى أبرز سماته، والتي ساعدت على توسيع نطاق نشاطه الارهابي ليمتد أثره إلى ليبيا في الوقت التي كانت تعاني فيه من فراغ سياسي، واضطراب أمني داخلي، إضافة إلى توتر المحيط الإقليمي على الحدود الليبية بفعل الأزمتين التونسية والمصرية.

إن وجود خطر كتنظيم الدولة الإسلامية على الأراضي الليبية يشكل تهديدا على الأمن الجزائري، لما تتمتع به الجزائر دون غيرها من امتيازات في المنطقة فتجعلها عرضة للمخاطر والتهديدات الأمنية؛ ولأن أمن دول الجوار من أمن الجزائر، فإن الجزائر تسعى من أجل الوصول إلى الحلول السلمية من خلال تفعيل دبلوماسيتها في ليبيا لحل الخلاف بين الأطراف المتنازعة، وإنهاء التوتر الداخلي الذي يستفيد منه تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية.

Arab-Turkish Relations at the Turn of 21 st Century -Intersections of Values and Interests-

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The Arabs and Turks have shared a long history. It is undeniable that the Turks are one of the episodes of Islamic history, and that the Arabs were called “the noble nation” by the Turks during the Ottoman Empire.

The Turks and the Arabs lived together for more than four centuries under the Ottoman Empire, and they have common interests in the modern era due to the geographical proximity and factors of culture, religion and history. But the Turkish-Arab relations were plagued by anxiety and doubt since the end of World War One, and the vision each side had towards the other was one of the primary factors that made them unable to know each other.

The Turks believe that the Arabs conspired with the colonial powers in the World War One to dismantle the Ottoman Empire and they eventually found themselves under Western hegemony. In contrast, Arabs, especially in the Arab Mashreq, believe that the Ottoman presence in the Arab world was a colonialism under the banner of religion, and they consider it the door to the European colonialism. Thus, the historical experience of the relations between the two sides is a victim of contradictory historical interpretations.

However, the international and regional variables, created by the end of the Cold War, the Gulf War, and the Arab-Israeli peace process, participated in presenting Turkey as a land that links between Asia and Europe. With these variables, Turkey found itself in the heart of new geopolitical circles, and the possibility to act as a regional hub clearly started.

Turkey, which chose, in the past, to be connected with the West politically and economically and weakened its interests in the Arab and Islamic civilizational circle, has adopted, affected by the contemporary changes, a more effective policy in the Middle East, Central Asia, the Balkans and the Caucasus. It also has played an efficient and vital role in the region. Thus, the ruling establishment in Turkey became convinced that Turkey needs to develop its foreign relations especially with the Islamic and Arab surroundings.

The end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century represented a turning point in Turkey's relations with the Middle East and the West. Turkey realized that its policy towards the Arab region should not be determined by the Western strategy in order to avoid having a subordinate and weak role. In this context, Turkey started a political and economic cooperation with its neighbors. For example, it signed a series of agreements on energy with Iran, and it signed also more than forty political and commercial agreements with each of Iraq and Syria.

Turkey moved, after the Gulf War, to play an influential role in shaping the region's political, security and economic interactions. Turkey's relations with a number of Arab Gulf and Maghreb states, Egypt, and Jordan also witnessed positive developments in trade, transport, industries and economic projects.

Some analysts attribute the dynamics of Turkey's foreign policy to the increasing international relations of Turkey, the growing democratization of Turkey's internal politics, and the economic and social dynamics in Turkey.

Turkey has played an important role in the region over the past years when the Justice Development Party (AKP) became the political power there. The vision, adopted by the party leaders in terms of Turkish foreign policy and Turkish interests, was one of the factors standing behind the Turkish rise in the region.

In this context, the Arab-Turkish relations have continued to grow at different levels since the beginning of 2009. Although the Turkish-Gulf relations are determined by many variables such as economic relations, it was natural that the Turkish-Gulf relations were shaken because of the difference in views regarding the situation in Egypt. Qatar was the exception because it had the same view. The Turkish and Gulf countries believe, despite having different views, that their relation is a “strategic option.”

Turkey, which is the second in the world in terms of economic growth, found a good opportunity to strengthen its relations with many Maghreb countries. The volume of economic transactions between the countries of the region as a whole with Turkey has exceeded 20 billion US dollars.[3]

Before the demonstrations started in Syria, the Turkish-Syrian relations were powerful. At the beginning of the Syrian crisis[4], Turkey encouraged President Bashar al-Assad to lead a reform. But the development of the events and the shift of the Turkish position led to the end of Turkish-Syrian powerful relations. The question maybe here is what is behind changing Turkey's stand towards Syria?

It is clear that Turkey agreed on a rapid change of regime in Syria. But nothing has been achieved. Any attempt to restore Syrian-Turkish relations cannot certainly be based on the previous rules that have collapsed, and there must be new foundations for any future relations.

The continuity of the Turkish role depends on the factors governing it, the pressures, and the solutions. The difficulty Turkey faces is in making balance between achieving its national interests, having a good relation with the West, and playing a vital role in the region.

It became important for Turkey to concentrate on the civilizational and cultural dimension in the Arab-Turkish relations. Teaching Turkish language in Arab educational and university institutions may be one of the most important keys to promote this cultural closeness. It may be also useful to create an Arab media to address the Turkish public, as Turkey did with the Arab public.

[3] - Khalaf Allah, Zubair. The Maghreb-Turkish Relations and the Present Bets. Turkish Press, http://www.turkpress.co/node/20669.

[4] - Basely, Perm. The Syrian Problem: Turkey's Response to the Crisis. Carnegie Middle East Center, Http://carnegie-mec.org/2012/02/10/en-pub-47154

العلاقات العربية التركية في مطلع القرن الحادي والعشرين تقاطعات القيم والمصالح

للعرب مع الأتراك تاريخ طويل، إذ لا يمكن إنكار أن الأتراك حلقة من حلقات التاريخ الإسلامي، كما لا ينكر المعنيون بالعلاقات العربية التركية وصف الأتراك للعرب "بالأمة النبيلة"، تلك التسمية التي كانت تطلق على العرب أيام الدولة العثمانية.
ورغم أن الأتراك والعرب عاشوا معاً مدة تزيد عن أربعة قرون في ظل دولة واحدة هي الدولة العثمانية، ورغم المصالح المشتركة التي تربطهم في العصر الحديث بحكم الجوار الجغرافي وعوامل الثقافة والدين والتاريخ، إلا أن العلاقات التركية -العربية ومنذ نهاية الحرب العالمية الأولى كان يشوبها القلق والسلبية والشك، وكانت الرؤية المتبادلة بين الأتراك والعرب في مقدمة العوامل التي أدت إلى انغلاق كل طرف عن الآخر، إلى حد جهل كل طرف بالآخر.
فالأتراك يعتقدون أن العرب تآمروا في الحرب العالمية الأولى مع القوى الاستعمارية لتفكيك الإمبراطورية العثمانية وأدى ذلك في النهاية إلى وقوع العرب أنفسهم تحت الهيمنة الغربية، في المقابل يعتقد العرب ولا سيما في المشرق العربي أن الوجود العثماني (التركي) في الوطن العربي كان استعماراً تحت شعار الدين، الأمر الذي مهد الطريق حضارياً وتقنياً للاستعمار الأوروبي. أي أن الخبرة التاريخية للعلاقات بين الجانبين مغلفة بالمرارة كما أنها وقعت فريسة تفسيرات تاريخية متناقضة .
غير أن المتغيرات الدولية والإقليمية التي أفرزتها نهاية الحرب الباردة وانهيار الاتحاد السوفياتي وحرب الخليج، وعملية التسوية السلمية العربية - الإسرائيلية التي انطلقت من مدريد، أظهرت هذه المتغيرات مجتمعة، فضاء تركيا في جغرافية تمتد من بحر الأدرياتيكي إلى حدود الصين مروراً بالبلقان والقفقاس غرباً وشمالاً وآسيا الوسطى وإيران شرقاً والمنطقة العربية جنوباً، ومع هذه المتغيرات وجدت تركيا نفسها في قلب دوائر جيوسياسية تتشكل من جديد أمنياً واقتصادياً وسياسياً وثقافياً، وبدا لها في الأفق إمكانية القيام بدور محور إقليمي في هذه المنطقة الممتدة في قارات آسيا وإفريقيا وأوروبا والمفتوحة على انتماءات حضارية وقومية متعددة ومختلفة.
وهكذا تركيا التي حسمت في السابق خيارها الاستراتيجي لصالح الارتباط بالغرب بمؤسساته العسكرية والسياسية والاقتصادية، واستنكفت عن ممارسة نشاط مكثف تجاه الدائرة الحضارية العربية والإسلامية، اتجهت إثر التغيرات الجارية إلى انتهاج سياسة أكثر فعالية في الشرق الأوسط وآسيا الوسطى والبلقان والقفقاس، وأضحت لاعباً أكثر حيوية في العلاقات السياسية بين دول المنطقة. ولذلك باتت المؤسسة الحاكمة في تركيا مقتنعة بضرورة تطوير علاقاتها الخارجية بما يتجاوز التوجه التقليدي نحو الغرب وخصوصًا مع محيطها العربي والإسلامي .
مثلت مرحلة نهاية القرن العشرين وبدايات القرن الحادي والعشرين عهد تحول في علاقات تركيا بالشرق الأوسط والغرب، وفي إدراك تركيا أنها تبتعد أكثر فأكثر عن أوروبا سياسياً مقابل الإحساس بإعادة اكتشاف ذاتها ضمن دائرة تشمل البلقان والقوقاز وآسيا الوسطى وإيران والعالم العربي، وباتت فئات واسعة من النخبة الفكرية والسياسية والعسكرية في المجتمع التركي ترى أن الاتجاه نحو المنطقة العربية لا يجب أن يقتصر على ما تحدده الاستراتيجية الغربية لأن ذلك يضعف الدور التركي ولا يقويه ويجعله دوراً تابعاً وضعيفا.
وقد اتجهت تركيا في هذا الإطار إلى مسار تعاون سياسي واقتصادي، مع جيرانها، فمثلا مع إيران عقدت مجموعة من الاتفاقات في مجال الطاقة، جعلت إيران ثاني مزود لتركيا بالغاز، ومع العراق وسوريا اعتمدت سياسة تبادل اقتصادية وتجارية واسعة، ووقعت مع كل واحد من هذين البلدين ما يفوق الأربعين اتفاقية في هذا الإطار.
وانطلاقاً من مسائل الأمن اتجهت تركيا بعد حرب الخليج إلى القيام بدور مؤثر في رسم تفاعلات المنطقة في المجالات السياسية والأمنية والاقتصادية، وقد شهدت العلاقات التركية مع عدد من الدول العربية الخليجية والمغاربية ومصر والأردن تطورات إيجابية في مجالات التجارة والنقل والرساميل والصناعات والمشاريع الاقتصادية .
ويرجع بعض المحللين عوامل هذه الحركية في السياسة الخارجية التركية، إلى مجموعة من العوامل ليست فقط دبلوماسية، إذ يشيرون إلى ثلاث عوامل كبرى ساهمت في رسم استراتيجيات أنقرة الخارجية:
-تنامي وزيادة الصلات الدولية للدولة التركية بمختلف أشكالها.
-الدمقرطة المتنامية للحياة السياسية الداخلية التركية.
-الديناميكية الاقتصادية والاجتماعية التي يشهدها الداخل التركي.
وقد تبلور لتركيا دور محوري في المنطقة خلال السنوات الماضية مع استلام حزب العدالة والتنمية مقاليد السلطة هناك، وقد وقفت عوامل عدة وراء الصعود التركي في المنطقة يأتي على رأسها الرؤية التي تبناها قادة الحزب فيما يتصل بتوجهات السياسة الخارجية التركية، وما يرتبط بها من دوائر حركة، بالإضافة إلى تحقيق المصالح التركية وفى مقدمتها المصالح الاقتصادية في ظل نمو الاقتصاد التركي فى السنوات الأخيرة.
وفي هذا الإطار واصلت العلاقات العربية التركية منذ مطلع العام 2009 نموها على مختلف الأصعدة وإن حصل تفاوت في العلاقة بين تركيا وكل بلد عربي على حدى. فرغم أن العلاقات التركية الخليجية تحكمها العديد من المتغيرات كالعلاقات الاقتصادية، ومواجهة الدور الإيراني، إلا أنه كان من الطبيعي أن تهتز العلاقات التركية الخليجية على أثر اختلاف وجهات النظر فيما يتعلق بالأوضاع في مصر باستثناء العلاقات مع قطر حيث اتفقت رؤى البلدان في هذا الشأن، لكن الأمر لم يصل إلى حد الأزمة بين الطرفين، وظل التأكيد على أن العلاقات بين الخليج وتركيا هي "خيار استراتيجي".
من جهة أخرى وجدت تركيا الناهضة والتي حققت نجاحات اقتصادية كبيرة صنفت الثانية عالميا من حيث النمو الاقتصادي الفرصة سانحة لتقوية العلاقات مع دول المغرب العربي الثرية بمواردها الطبيعية والطاقات البشرية وموقعها الاستراتيجي على البحر المتوسط وجنوب أوروبا وشمال إفريقيا. وقد فاق حجم التعاملات الاقتصادية بين دول المنطقة ككل مع تركيا قرابة 20 مليار دولار أمريكي تركز أكثر من 10 مليار دولار منها مع ليبيا والباقي موزع على بقية الدول المغاربية.[5]

أما عن علاقات تركيا مع سوريا فقد عرفت مستويات ممتازة إلى غاية ما قبل بدء التظاهرات في سوريا، إذ تعاونت الدولتان منذ العام 1998 في برامج وخطط عديدة في مجالات السياسة والتجارة والأمن. وفي هذا الإطار، أنشأ البلدان في العام 2004 سوقاً اقتصادية مندمجة، ومكتباً مشتركاً للتجارة الثنائية في العام 2007، ما أدىّ تدريجياً إلى انتعاش اقتصادي في هذا الإقليم الفرعي. وقد ألغى البلدان متطلبّات تأشيرات السفر فيما بينهما، وأجريا تدريبات عسكرية مشتركة، كما وقعّا اتفاقات في مجال

[5] - زبير خلف الله ،العلاقات المغاربية التركية ورهانات الحاضر، موقع ترك برس، على الرابط الالكتروني:
http://www.turkpress.co/node/20669
التعاون الفني العسكري. ومثل هذه العلاقات الحارة لم يكن لها مثيل بالنسبة إلى تركيا، نظراً إلى أن أنقرة كانت تقليدياً على علاقة وثيقة فقط مع إسرائيل في المنطقة. (6)
وقد حرصت تركيا في بداية الأزمة السورية على إصلاح يقوده الرئيس بشار الأسد نفسه، لكن تطور الأحداث وتحول الموقف التركي أدى إلى نقطة اللاعودة في العلاقات التركية – السورية، وربما السؤال الذي يطرح هنا هو كيف يمكن لتركيا أن تعرض علاقاتها الاستراتيجية مع سوريا للخطر؟ وأية حسابات حكمت الموقف التركي من سوريا؟
ومع غياب إجابة حاسمة عن هذا التساؤل، فمن الواضح أن تركيا راهنت على تغيير سريع للنظام في سوريا على غرار ما حصل في مصر وتونس، الأمر الذي لم يتحقق. والأكيد أن أية محاولة لترميم العلاقات السورية التركية، لا يمكن أن ترتكز على القواعد السابقة التي انهارت، ولا بد من أسس جديدة لأية علاقات مستقبلية أساسها المصالح التي تحكم العلاقات بين الدولتين.
مما سبق يتضح بجلاء أن استمرارية الدور التركي وتطوره في المستقبل مرهون بالعوامل الحاكمة له والضغوط التي تواجهه وكيفية معالجتها له، ولاسيما مع صعوبة الحفاظ على الصيغ التوافقية التي تطرحها حكومة العدالة والتنمية بين سعيها لتحقيق مصالحها الوطنية من جهة، ودورها كحليف للولايات المتحدة والغرب من جهة ثانية، والترويج لدورها كفاعل إقليمي يسعى إلى تحقيق الاستقرار ومصالح المنطقة ككل من جهة ثالثة، مع تأكيد عدم التعارض بين هذه الأبعاد وتكاملها مع بعضها البعض .
وهنا تبرز ضرورة الاهتمام بالبعد الحضاري والثقافي في العلاقات العربية التركية، خصوصا وأن الطرفين ينتميان إلى فضاء حضاري فيه الكثير من القواسم المشتركة، وقد يكون الانفتاح على اللغة التركية على مستوى المؤسسات التعليمية والجامعية العربية أحد أهم مفاتيح تعزيز هذا التقارب الثقافي.
هذا من جهة، ومن جهة أخرى قد يكون من المفيد إرساء قواعد العمل للتأسيس لإعلام عربي يخاطب الجمهور التركي، على غرار ما فعلت تركيا مع الجمهور العربي.

[6] - بيرم باسلي ،المعضلة السورية: ردّ تركيا على الأزمة، مركز كارنيجي للشرق الأوسط، على الرابط الالكتروني:
http://carnegie-mec.org/2012/02/10/ar-pub-47154

Mediation and its Role in the Stability of Regional Systems A Study on the Possibility of the Algerian Role to Resolve Saudi-Iranian Conflict

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The successive crises in the Middle East have led to changes in the power balances level, and major factors within the regional system, These changes Resulting from interactions and activities among the States of the system itself, and Interactions between the regional system and the international system,
As that The territorial roles exercised by States, Related with several variables Most notably the Variable of power And the types of alliances available for influence the interactions of the regional system, As can be there an other actors Looking to dominate on the regional system, And control its interactions or Search a regional position At the expense of traditional power, Leading to the emergence of new types of conflicts and alliances, Increase its severity When using external forces Rather than working to establish and install cooperative patterns To support stability And internal crisis management.
Here should enrich the debate About the struggles for leadership within the regional system, and How can change this pattern from (competitive type of regional relations) to (collaborative or cooperative work), could lead to the building of regional institutions In the future, Such as the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC),Which has achieved great success, Despite the deep political conflicts between India and Pakistan.
The researcher tries through this intervention Detect the nature of the Arab-Iranian relations within its regional framework, and the current political crises and ways to solve them, by focusing on the possibility of the Algerian role to resolve the Arab-Iranian disputes, and can Algerian mediation between Iran and Arab countries help to achieve a settlement, and Finding outputs for some crises and working to reduce conflict and competition, and Convergence of views Between competitors, and encourage cooperative action in various fields, With a focus on the economic sector, Here we are talking about the role played by Algeria and Turkey, Algeria acts as a mediator between Iran and the Gulf states, With a focus on Saudi Arabia, and Turkey is working to develop regional cooperation for building an economic association, Given its geopolitical location and rising economic power.
The problematic research: How can Algeria play the role of mediation between Iran and the Arab countries to support the stability of the regional system in the Middle East ?

الوساطة ودورها في استقرار النظم الاقليمية دراسة في إمكانية الدور الجزائري لحل الخلافات السعودية الإيرانية شهدت منطقة الشرق الأوسط منذ عقود طويلة مجموعة من الأزمات بدءاً بالصراع العربي الإسرائيلي والحرب الباردة واستقطاباتها، مرورا بحرب الخليج الأولى والثانية وما نتج عنه من تغير في ميزان القوى داخل النظام الشرق أوسطى ،وانعكاسات أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر والتدخل العسكري الأمريكي في كل من أفغانستان والعراق، وصولا إلى أحداث الربيع العربي وتداعياتها على أمن واستقرار المنطقة. هذه الأحداث وغيرها ساهمت في إيجاد حالة من الضياع والتشتت والتخلف في الشرق الأوسط، فعلى الرغم من توفر قواسم مشتركة بين معظم شعوب ودول المنطقة كالدين والتاريخ واللغة والقيم وغيرها، وامتلاك هذه الأخيرة لقدرات كبيرة على مختلف الأصعدة ماديا وبشريا، إلا أنها مازالت تعاني من أزمات بنيوية يصعب فهمها في الكثير من الأحيان. هذه الأزمات مهدت لبروز تغيرات على مستوى موازين القوى والفواعل الرئيسية داخل النظام الاقليمي، فقد ظهرت قوى إقليمية جديدة نظير تراجع أو انتكاس قوى تقليدية كانت تلعب أدوار رئيسية في وقت سابق، هذه التغيرات التي يشهدها النظام الاقليمي ناتجة عن التفاعلات وأنشطة بين دول النظام ذاته، والتفاعلات التي تتم بين النظام الاقليمي من جهة والنظام الدولي وعناصره من جهة أخرى.

كما أن الأدوار الاقليمية للدول تتصل بمتغيرات عديدة أبرزها متغير القوة وأنماط التحالفات المتاحة أو المحتملة لدولة ما للتأثير في تفاعلات النظام الإقليمي، وقد تكون هناك أطراف وفواعل أخرى تسعى أو تتطلع للهيمنة والسيطرة على النظام الاقليمي والتحكم في تفاعلاته والبحث عن مكانة إقليمية وممارسة أدوار سواء بأدوات مماثلة أو مغايرة على حساب القوى التقليدية وبالتالي خلق تنافس على فرض النفوذ، مما يؤدي إلى بروز أنماط صراعية وتحالفية جديدة تزيد حدتها عند الاستعانة بأطراف خارجية بدل وجود أو العمل على تثبيت الأنماط التعاونية التكاملية داخل النظام الاقليمي لدعم إستقراره ومعالجة أزماته داخليا.

هنا يجب أن يثرى النقاش حول الخلفيات الحقيقية للتنافس أو الصراع على الزعامة أو المكانة داخل النظام الاقليمي لفترات طويلة إمتدت منذ الحرب الباردة إلى يومنا هذا، فقد ظهر أزمات وحروب بين عدد من الفواعل الاقليمية، وكيف يمكن تحول هذا النمط الصراعي التنافسي للعلاقات الاقليمية الدولية في الشرق الاوسط إلى نمط تعاوني تشاركي قد يصل إلى بناء مؤسسات إقليمية على غرار اتحاد جنوب أسيا للتعاون الاقليمي الذي حقق نجاحا كبيرا، على الرغم من الخلافات السياسية العميقة بين الهند وباكستان

يحاول الباحث من خلال هذه المداخلة الكشف طبيعة النظام الاقليمي للشرق الأوسط وأزماته البنيوية والعلاقات بين

مكوناته ودور القوى الفاعلة فيه مع التركيز على إمكاينة قيام دور جزائري يمكن من خلاله ممارسة وساطة بين إيران والدول العربية قد تؤدي إلى نتائج إيجابية أو أن تكون عاملا للتحقيق الاستقرار أو للوصول إلى حلول توافقية وإيجاد مخرجات لبعض أزمات النظام الاقليمي والعمل على التقليل من حدة الصراع والتنافس بين وحداته والدفع نحو تقريب وجهات النظر بين المتنافسين وتشجيع العمل التعاوني في مختلف المجالات مع التركيز على المجال الاقتصادي، هنا

نتحدث عن دور تؤديه كل من الجزائر و تركيا، تعمل فيه الجزائر دور الوسيط بين إيران ودول الخليج العربي، وتعمل تركيا على الدفع بالتعاون في المجال الاقتصادي نظرا لموقعها الجيوسياسي وقوتها الاقتصادية الصاعدة.

The Moroccan Political System Change Within the Shadow of Continuity in the Arab Spring

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The analysis of the Moroccan political system under the Arab Spring and changes which has subjected the countries of North Africa and the Middle East asks us to analyze this system attentively, where Morocco was able to adapt itself to the demands of the Moroccan street expressed by the movement of 20 February.

And also invite us to determine mechanisms politicsand constitutional which use the Moroccan political system to absorb the explosion of the street and answer his demands.
But the State Moroccan through a range of changes constitutional and politics has manages to exceed this spring, said Arabic.
The date of February 20 th, 2011 is a date memorized by Morocco; tens and thousand Moroccans in various cities went out in streets to require from the freedom, the democracy, the dignity and the social justice in a way without the previous one in the history of Morocco
The movement of February 20th did not exceed the slogan: " stop the corruption and the tyranny " and Morocco did not know a revolution, the balances of the strengths did not change only the Moroccan political system has to exceed to cross successfully the Arab Spring as it represents one of the rare countries in the region of North Africa and the Middle East lived deep changes.

النظام الساسي المغربي - التغيير في ظل الاستمرارية في ظل الربيع العربي

إن تحليل النظام السياسي المغربي في ظل الربيع العـــــــــربي و التحولات التي شهدتها دول شمال افريقيا و الشرق الأوسط يستوقفنا عند خصوصية هذا النظام ، حيث استطاع المغرب التكيف مـــــع مطالب الشارع المغربي التي عبرت عنها حركة 20 فبراير الشبابية سنـــة 2011 ، و يدعونا كذلك للوقوف على الآلياتو الميكانيزمات السياسية و القانونية التي استعملها النظام لاحتواء فورة الشارع و الاستجابة لمطالبه ، و كيف استطاعت الدولة المغربية أن تحـــــــافظ علـــى استمراريتها و توازناتها عبر مجوعة من التغييرات التي أدخـــــــــلتها على بـــنيتها الدستورية و السياسية ، و لكن مع احتفاظ المؤسسة الملكية بمكانة الصدارة ، حيث يسود الملك و يحكم ، و هذا ما سنقاربه من خلال تحليل آليات اشتغال النظام الساسي المغربي التي أكسبته نوعا من الاستمرارية في ظل التغيير.

فبتاريخ 20 فبراير2011 نزل عشرات الآلاف من المغاربة في مختلف المدن للمطالبة بالحرية والديمقراطية والكرامة والعدالة الاجتماعية بطريقة غير مسبوقة في التاريخ المغربي.

لقد مثلت الديناميكية الاحتجاجية لـحركة 20 فبراير تحولا نوعيا في ظاهرة الاحتجاج في المغرب وساهمت في انطلاق مرحلة جديدة عنوانها :

»التغيير في ظل الاستمرارية« و ما حصل من تحولات سياسية بدءا بالدستور الجديد لسنة 2011، ومرورا بنتائج الانتخابات، وانتهاء بوصول حزب العدالة والتنمية إلى رئاسة الحكومة، و هي مؤشرات ترمز إلى مظاهر التغيير في المرحلة الجديدة، لكن في ظل استمرارية النظام السياسي الذي يقوده الملك، وما يمنحه من صلاحيات، وما يرمز إليه من استمرارية.

فمطالب الشارع المغربي لم تتجاوز شعار: " محاربة الفساد و الاستبداد " و المغرب لم يعرف ثورة، وموازين القوى لم تتغير فيه إلا بشكل نسبي، و عليه فقد استطاع النظام السياسي المغربي أن يجتاز بنجاح

Socio-Economic Determinants of Outbound Tourism Demand in Iran: An Empirical Analyses

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Recently, tourism has become one of the fastest growing sectors in the world. Especially, for the underdeveloped and developing countries, it creates increasing effects on economic growth and also has an effect to increase the foreign exchange reserves. Especially in the developing and emerging economies, the increase in prosperity creates a significant increase in tourism activities. At this point, it becomes important what the determinants of outbound tourism demand are. The abolition of political and economic embargoes over Iran has made the country a center of attraction in many respects. Many factors, such as Iranian oil revenues, young population, economic and social structure that are closed to the outside, are also creating serious potentials in terms of countries that earn income from tourism.
This study aims to reveal what are the determinants of outbound tourism demand in Iran. The study will determine the parameters (income, exchange rate, inflation, religion, socio-cultural factors, political stability, etc.) that are effective in Iran's outbound tourism demand through the data set between 2002 and 2015. Findings by the use of time series analysis are important in terms of policy makers both in the private sector and in the public sector.
Keywords: Outbound Tourism Demand, Iran Tourism Demand, Iran Tourism Sector, Determinant of Iranian Tourism

İran Dış Turizm Talebinin Sosyo-ekonomik Belirleyicileri: Ampirik Bir Analiz

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Turizm son zamanlarda dünyada en hızlı gelişen sektörlerden biri haline gelmiştir. Özellikle az gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkeler için ekonomik büyümeyi artırıcı etkiler yaratmasının yanında, döviz rezervlerini artırıcı etkiler yaratmaktadır. Özellikle gelişmekte olan ve yükselen ekonomilerde ortaya çıkan refah artışı turizm faaliyetlerinde ciddi bir artış yaratmaktadır. Bu noktada, dış turizm talebinin belirleyicilerinin neler olduğu önemli hale gelmektedir. İran üzerindeki siyasi ve ekonomik ambargoların kaldırılması birçok açıdan ülkeyi cazibe merkezi haline getirmektedir. İran petrol gelirleri, genç nüfusu, dışa kapalı olan ekonomik ve sosyal yapısı gibi birçok faktör turizmden gelir elde eden ülkeler açısından da ciddi potansiyeller yaratmaktadır.

Bu çalışma İran'ın dış turizm talebinin belirleyicilerinin neler olduğunu ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmada 2002-2015 yılları arasında ki veri seti aracılığıyla İran'ın dış turizm talebinde etkili olan parametrelerin (gelir, döviz kuru, enflasyon, din, sosyo-kültürel faktörler ve politik istikrar vb.) neler olduğu belirlenecektir. Çalışmada zaman serisi analizleri kullanılacaktır. Elde edilen bulgular hem özel sektör hem de kamudaki politika yapıcılar açısından önem ifade etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dış Turizm Talebi, İran Turizm Talebi, İran Turizm Sektörü, İran Turizminin Belirleyicileri

The Impact of Corruption on Government Spending and Economic Growth -Evidence from MENA Countries-

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This study aims to investigate the impact of corruption on government spending, and to explain the interaction effects of these two components on the growth rate of per capita GDP in MENA countries. In the first order, the study was based on a set of literature reviews that assumed the existence of a negative relationship between corruption, government spending and economic growth. Most of these studies have yielded results confirming the hypothesis of the negative relationship between corruption and economic growth. But it has recorded a shift in this effect towards positive, especialy in highincome economies, which gives importance to control of corruption in societies. The descriptive analysis methodology examined the state of 19 countries from the MENA region during the period 1996-2015. A range of variables have been used, such as control of corruption index, government spending, investment and economic growth rate, with a focus at the same time on analyzing the case of Algeria through the banchmarking process. The results showed a positive impact of the control of corruption index on government spending, investment and economic growth in the case of MENA high-income economies. While, the negative effect was recorded in the case of MENA low-income economies. One of the main findings is that countries that are interested to control various types of corruption achieve high levels of income. Reverse to the rest of the MENA countries, especialy the North African countries, which have a poor performance in terms of growth. The reasons for this are the spread of corruption in various economic fields, absence of rationalization of government spending and the weakness of tax structure, high level of government debt and the increasing of the size of the informal sector. The study recommended the need to create transparent legislative controls, within the framework of political reforms and the adoption of democratic systems, rationalize and activate the effeciency of public spending by setting a ceiling for government spending, adopting structural policies that increase public revenues of the state by raising the effeciency of government institutions.
Keywords: Corruption, Government Spending, Investment, Economic Growth, MENA Countries.

أثـــــــر الفساد علـــــــى الإنفاق الحكومي والنمـــــو الاقتصـــــــادي
-دلائل من دول شمال إفريقيا والشرق الأوسط-

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التحقيق في أثر الفساد على الإنفاق الحكومي، وتفسير الآثار التفاعلية لهذين الأخيرين على نمو نصيب الفرد من الناتج الداخلي الخام في دول الشرق الأوسط وشمال إفريقيا "دول المينا". اعتمدت الدراسة بالدرجة الأولى، على مجموعة من الدراسات السابقة، افترضت وجود علاقة سلبية تربط بين كل من الفساد والإنفاق الحكومي والنمو الاقتصادي. في إطار تحليلها لهذه العلاقة ،توصلت أغلب هذه الدراسات لنتائج تؤكد الفرضية المطروحة أي العلاقة السلبية بين الفساد والنمو الاقتصادي إلا أنها سجلت تحولا في هذا التأثير نحو الإيجاب خاصة في الدول ذات الدخل العالي والتي تعطي أهمية لمكافحة الفساد في اقتصادياتها. اتفقت منهجية الوصف والتحليل الاقتصادي المتبعة من
طرفنا مع طرق التقييم والتحليل التي جاءت بها الدراسات السابقة، وهذا بدراسة وضعية 19 دولة من شمال إفريقيا والشرق الأوسط خلال الفترة 1996-2015 من حيث مؤشرات مكافحة الفساد، الإنفاق الحكومي، الاستثمار والنمو الاقتصادي، مركزين في ذات الوقت على تحليل وضعية الجزائر عبر المقارنة المعيارية. أظهرت نتائج الدراسة وجود تأثير ايجابي لمؤشر مكافحة الفساد على كل من الإنفاق الحكومي، الاستثمار والنمو الاقتصادي في حالة دول المينا ذات الدخل العالي، بينما التأثير السلبي سجل في حالة دول المينا ذات الدخل المتوسط بما فيها الجزائر. من أهم ما تم استنتاجه، أن الدول التي تحرص على مكافحة شتى أنواع الفساد تحقق مستويات عالية من حيث أداء النمو، عكس بقية دول المينا وعلى الخصوص دول شمال إفريقيا التي تحقق أداء ضعيفا، والسبب في ذلك تفشي الفساد في شتى المجالات الاقتصادية، غياب ترشيد الإنفاق الحكومي وضعف الهيكل الضريبي وارتفاع مستوى الدين الحكومي سواء كان محليا أو أجنبيا، وكذا كبر حجم القطاع غير الرسمي مما يضعف الأداء الضريبي، كل هذا يحول دون دعم الاستثمار المحلي وتشجيع جذب الاستثمار الأجنبي. وعليه أوصت الدراسة بضرورة خلق ضوابط تشريعية ورقابية تمتاز بالشفافية في إطار الإصلاح السياسي وتبني النظم الديمقراطية ،ترشيد وتفعيل كفاءة الإنفاق العام عن طريق تحديد سقف للإنفاق الحكومي، تبني سياسات هيكلية من شأنها زيادة الإيرادات العامة للدولة عن طريق رفع كفاءة المؤسسات الحكومية.
الكلمات المفتاحية: الفساد، الإنفاق الحكومي، الاستثمار، النمو الاقتصادي، دول المينا.

The Maghrebine States and the Vanishing Loyalty

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Undoubtedly, the most important requirement of a civil state is loyalty, the state as an entity regardless of who governs it. If this is obvious in a politically independent state, it is still debatable in poor and torn states which have not yet achieved real citizenship because of the multiplicity of loyalty and conflict among its members.

The Maghrebine states are no exception in this sense. This has been concretely confirmed by the revolutionary movements, which have shown a clear weakness in the inner harmony and the opposing loyalties due to different atomistic identities threatening the state and intersecting with programs aiming at dividing the people of the Maghreb.

That is why, overcoming the problem of multiple loyalty is one of the most important challenges facing the realization of a civil state and the sense of citizenship. Therefore, priority should be given to loyalty to the nation over loyalty to any political party.

In fact, the weakness of people's loyalty to the nation reflects the weakness of the state and its inability to fuse its ethnic and tribal differences. It also reflects the resort of the state to compulsion and repression in solving its political problems and not to dialogue.

In this context, this paper discusses the problem of vanishing political loyalty that threatens the Maghrebine states and their unity. This reflects on the other hand the dominance of fear and lack of confidence that incite a search for alternatives in the circle of atomistic identities in exchange for a presumed protection.

On that basis, the paper deals with the reality of multiple loyalty in the Maghrebine states, by showing the most important difficulties facing these states. The paper also suggests a range of requirements that may enforce loyalty to the nation. This can be done through a discussion of the following issues:

1. The Maghrebine states in the face of multiple loyalties,
2. The reasons behind vanishing political loyalty to the Maghrebine state,
3. Fundamentals of enforcing the political loyalty.

الدول المغاربية وتحدي تلاشي الولاء السياسي

مما لا شك فيه أن أهم مقتضيات الدولة المدنية هو الولاء للدولة، الدولة ككيان بغض النظر عن من يحكمها ،وإذا كان هذا الأمر مفروغا منه وبديهي في الدول التي حققت قدرا كافيا من الوحدة الوطنية والسياسية والاندماج في المصير الوطني، فإنه لايزال يشكل موضع جدال واختلاف في البلدان الضعيفة والممزقة التي لم ترق بعد إلى تكريس وتجسيد مفهوم المواطنة الحقة بسبب تعدد الانتماءات والولاءات وتناقضها بين أفرادها.

والدول المغاربية لا تشكل استثناء على هذا المستوى وهو ما تأكد بشكل ملموس بعد مرحلة الحراك الثوري الذي عرفته هذه البلدان، والذي أظهر هشاشة واضحة على مستوى الانسجام الداخلي ،وتعدد الانتماءات والولاءات، بسبب تعاظم التعبيرات الهوياتية الجزئية، مما أضحى ينذر بخطر الانشطار الهوياتي، وتلاشي الولاء السياسي، بل وبخطر تفكيك الدولة القطرية ذاتها، ذلك إن ديناميات الهويات وصراعاتها أضحت تهدد مصالح وبنى من صميم الدولة الوطنية القائمة، وقد تتقاطع مع أطماع وبرامج تهدف إلى تفتيت الدول والشعوب المغاربية والمشرقية على حد سواء.

لذلك نعتقد أن تجاوز إشكالية تعدد الانتماءات والولاءات وتناقضها بين الأفراد يشكل أحد أهم التحديات أمام تحقيق الدولة المدنية ومجتمع المواطنة، من ثم ضرورة تغليب الانتماء إلى الوطن، أي إلى الجماعة الوطنية ودولتها الوطنية على أي انتماء سياسي آخر، من منطلق أن المواطنة الحقة تتنافى وتقديم الولاء السياسي لأي سلطة جزئية في الدولة على الولاء السياسي لسلطة الدولة نفسها.

والواقع أن ضعف ولاء الأفراد للدولة، بل وتلاشي هذا الولاء، بعد التحولات التي عرفتها البلدان العربية يعكس في جانب منه، فشل هذه الدول في تحقيق الاندماج المطلوب بين مختلف مكوناتها المجتمعية وصهر تبايناها واختلافاتها الإثنية والعرقية والقبلية، وفي جانب أخر منه، يعكس الحقيقة التي مفادها أن الولاء والخضوع في السابق كان يقوم على أساس تعبئة وتجنيد مختلف وسائل الإكراه والقهر ،والحال أن الولاء المراد التأسيس له ينبغي أن يقوم على أساس تعبئة وسائل الإقناع والحوار.

من هذا المنطلق تستحضر هذه الورقة هاجس تلاشي الولاء السياسي الذي أصبح يهدد الدول المغاربية في كياناتها الوحدوية ولحمتها المجتمعية، هذا الهاجس تعكسه حدة تعدد الانتماءات والولاءات وتناقضها، الأمر الذي يعكس من جهة أخرى سيادة حالة من الخوف وانعدام الثقة بين مختلف مكونات المجتمع/ البلد الواحد، الأمر الذي يفضي إلى البحث عن بدائل في الدوائر الهوياتية الجزئية ومنحها الولاء السياسي مقابل حماية مفترضة.

وعلى هذا الأساس تروم هذه الورقة ملامسة واقع تعدد الانتماءات والولاءات في الدول المغاربية، وإبراز أهم التحديات والصعوبات الجديدة التي أضحت تواجهها هذه البلدان على هذا المستوى ،والبحث في أهم أسباب تلاشي الولاء السياسي للدولة القطرية المغاربية والذي بات يهدد كياناتها الوحدوية ولحمتها المجتمعية، في أفق إبراز أهم مقومات وأسس تعميق وترسيخ الولاء السياسي للدول المغاربية ،ومن ثم العمل على اقتراح جملة من الأسس والمتطلبات التي من شأنها تعزيز الولاء السياسي لسلطة الدولة على حساب الولاء السياسي للسلط الجزئية.

وذلك عبر المحاور الآتية:

أولا: الدول المغاربية في مواجهة تعدد الانتماءات والولاءات

ثانيا: أسباب تلاشي الولاء السياسي للدولة القطرية المغاربية ثالثا: أسس ومقوما تعزيز الولاء السياس للدول المغاربية

Turkish Foreign Policy toward Algeria During the Rule of the Justice and Development Party Between Continuity and Change

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The study address the status represented by Algeria in the foreign policy of Turkey with the escalation of the Turkish role in the Arab region and the African continent. And because of the site which occupied by Algeria as a gateway to Africa, and also the largest country in the Arab world and the African continent, as well as to all the resources, as well as considered a promising market Turkish products and what it represents for the Turkish economy, in addition to the cultural dimension of linking Algeria before the decolonization of the Ottoman State.

Relations have witnessed the Algerian Turkish many changes through the history, from the relations in the period of the Ottoman sultanate, which characterized as the relations of cooperation and assistance, and had contributed to that period in the face of the many challenges military security and cultural imposed by international blocs at that time,Through the establishment of the Turkish Republic Of 1923 Known as Turkey-oriented toward the west, which led to the interruption of relations between Algeria and Turkey, to start the stage of tension in relations, Especially in the years 50, with the launch of the Algerian issue in the United Nations, resulting from the Turkish official toward the issue, as well as what is left of this position of deposits in the Algerian memory.

Then came the stage 80 years that witnessed giving precedence to the parties in the common interest, began economic relations, but it did not reflect the last aspirations. Access to the arrival of the Justice and Development Party to power in Turkey in 2002, where played international transformations, regional role in directing the course of these relations, providing Turkey foreign policy different with the arrival of the Government of the Justice and Development to the rule of Turkey on 18 November 2002. Increasing interest in the Arab and African Continent, within the framework of its foreign policy and multidimensional, and these dimensions of the African dimension, which the former Turkish prime minister and the President of the republic "Recep Tayyip Erdogan," Rasim foreign policy and a former foreign minister and head of the current prime minister".Ahmet Davutoğlu" And to achieve Turkey active presence in Africa based on its foreign policy on the diplomatic dimension of economic, religious and cultural.

All this led to expect the position and role of Turkey in the region and strong competition for various international forces in the region. However, this presence facing several obstacles, in the forefront of the French presence in Algeria and Algeria considered the most important area of traditional influence in Africa, and his refusal to waive, and any other presence, As Algeria is a part of the two circles and due to the Turkish decision maker's understanding of Algeria's geostrategic importance, as well as the great international competition over the two circles, the latter received its share of the attention of the external decision-maker in Turkey. We witnessed the signing of the Friendship Initiative in 2006, And to enhance cooperation in the fields of construction, tourism, especially energy.

Which is considered one of the most important challenges facing the Turkish foreign policy in Algeria, as well as the different views on some of the issues of the Arab region, including the Syrian issue. Raising the Turkish Challenge for the building and to find the common ground that allows continued its policy in Algeria, and the strengthening of the presence to be allowed to compete with other powers in the region and maintain economic interests.

السياسة الخارجية التركية اتجاه الجزائر في فترة حكم حزب العدالة والتنمية بين الاستمرارية والتغيير

تتناول الدراسة المكانة التي أصبحت تمثلها الجزائر في السياسة الخارجية التركية في ظل تصاعد الدور التركي في المنطقة العربية والقارة الإفريقية. و ذلك بسب الموقع الجيوستراتيجي التي تحتله الجزائر باعتبارها بوابة إفريقيا، و كذا اكبر دولة في الدائرة العربية و الإفريقية ، بالإضافة إلى كل ما تتمتع به من موارد، وكذا اعتبارها سوق واعدة للمنتجات التركية وما يمثله ذلك بالنسبة للاقتصاد التركي، بالإضافة إلى البعد الحضاري الذي يربط جزائر ما قبل الاستعمار بالإمبراطورية العثمانية.

حيث شهدت العلاقات التركية الجزائرية تغييرات عديدة عبر التاريخ، انطلاقا من العلاقات في فترة السلطنة العثمانية ، والتي تميزت بكونها علاقات تعاون ومد يد المساعدة، وقد ساهمت في تلك الفترة في مواجهة الكثير من التحديات الأمنية العسكرية والحضارية التي فرضتها التكتلات الدولية في ذلك الوقت، مرورا بتأسيس الجمهورية التركية سنة 1923 م والتي عرفت توجها تركيا نحو الغرب، مما أدى إلى انقطاع العلاقات بين الجزائر وتركيا، لتبدأ مرحلة التوتر في العلاقات، خاصة في الخمسينيات، مع طرح القضية الجزائرية في الأمم المتحدة، وما نتج عن الموقف التركي الرسمي تجاه القضية، وكذلك ما تركه هذا الموقف من ترسبات في الذاكرة الجزائرية.

لتأتي مرحلة الثمانينيات التي شهدت تغليب الطرفين للمصلحة المشتركة، فبرزت العلاقات الاقتصادية، غير أنها لم تكن بمستوى التطلعات، وصولا إلى تولي حزب العدالة و التنمية الحكم في تركيا في 2002 م. حيث لعبت التحولات الدولية والإقليمية دورا في توجيه مسار هذه العلاقات، فقدمت تركيا سياسة خارجية مختلفة مع وصول حكومة العدالة والتنمية إلى حكم تركيا في 18 تشرين الثاني/نوفمبر2002م، فزاد الاهتمام بالدائرة العربية و بالقارة الإفريقية، في إطار سياستها الخارجية المتعددة الأبعاد، ومن هذه الأبعاد البعد الإفريقي، التي انتهجها رئيس الوزراء التركي السابق ورئيس الجمهورية الحالي "رجب طيب أردوغان"، ومنظر سياسته الخارجية وزير الخارجية السابق ورئيس وزرائه الحالي "أحمد داود أوغلو". ولتحقق تركيا حضورها الفاعل في إفريقيا استندت سياستها الخارجية على البعد الدبلوماسي الاقتصادي، الديني و الثقافي.

وباعتبار الجزائر جزء من الدائرتين، و نظرا لإدراك صانع القرار التركي للأهمية الجيوستراتجية التي تتمتع بها الجزائر، وكذلك التنافس الدولي الكبير على الدائرتين، نالت الأخيرة نصيبها من اهتمام صانع القرار الخارجي في تركيا، فشهدنا توقيع لمبادرة الصداقة في 2006م، و إنزال تركي اقتصادي على الجزائر، وتعزيز التعاون في مجالات البناء، السياحة، وخاصة مجال الطاقة، وكذلك محاولة تركيا الاستثمار في الإرث التاريخي العثماني.

كل ذلك أدى بالباحثين و الدراسات تتوقع مكانة و دور أكبر لتركيا في المنطقة، ومنافسة قوية لمختلف القوى الدولية الموجودة في المنطقة. غير أن هذا التواجد تواجهه العديد من المعوقات، في مقدمتها التواجد الفرنسي في الجزائر، وتغلله واعتباره الجزائر أهم منطقة نفوذ تقليدي له في إفريقيا، و رفضه التنازل عليها، ومواجهة أي تواجد أخر فيها، يعتبر من أهم التحديات التي تواجه السياسة الخارجية التركية في الجزائر، بالإضافة إلى اختلاف وجهات النظر في خصوص بعض قضايا المنطقة العربية ومنها القضية السورية. مما يرفع التحدي التركي لإيجاد أرضية مشتركة تسمح لها باستمرار سياستها في الجزائر وتعزيز التواجد الذي يسمح لها بمنافسة القوى الأخرى في المنطقة، والحفاظ على المصالح الاقتصادية

Turkish-Iranian relations

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Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, Turkey has witnessed a prominent political, regional and diplomatic presence towards re-positioning itself in its strategic role and in its relations with its historical surroundings, especially with regard to Iran.

Turkey had to reorient its relations and foreign policy within the framework of the new Ottoman vision, the strategic depth of the country, the model state and the soft politics through problems. However, these principles have been abandoned only when the Syrian crisis has appeared in the regional horizon and the balance of the political equation in the region has been reversed, notably Turkish-Iranian relations.

The Turkish-Iranian relations have been characterized by a permanent fluctuation in positions and various international issues between the two variables of competition and cooperation in particular. The relations between the two countries are doubly important because they are not normal countries in the geographical proximity of the Arab countries.

The importance of Turkey-Iran relations for a certain period is underlined by the strategic triangle (Turkey-Iran-Egypt), which is considered an important center of the historical and geopolitical weight of the balance of power that surrounds the Middle East. Closely related to the geo-cultural line that forms from the Turkish-Arabic and Persian regions, which reflects the stable ethnic-cultural balance of the region.

With the arrival of the Justice and Development Party to power, relations between the two countries have become closer and the Turkish and Iranian vision has become based on competition in the context of cooperation in terms of their reality as two gates for the East and the West, although Turkey acts very cautiously and firmly because of sectarian and sectarian disunity. The outbreak of the Syrian crisis and Iran's attempts to penetrate political Islam in the region.

Turkey has always maintained the need to use diplomatic means to negotiate a resolution of the Iranian nuclear dossier against the Arab world and rejected threats and military pressure to deal with this crisis. Turkey has also refrained from any attempts to coordinate or cooperate with the United States to launch a military strike against Iran.

However, the differences between the two forces have clearly emerged through contradictory positions on resolving the Syrian dilemma. Whatever the differences between the two countries, the common interest and cooperation remain the most likely approach in determining the course of relations between the two countries.

العلاقات التركية -الايرانية

شهدت تركيا منذ بدايات القرن الحادي والعشرين حضورا سياسيا واقليميا وديبلوماسيا بارزا باتجاه اعادة التموضع في دورها الاستراتيجي وفي علاقاتها بمحيطها التاريخي خاصة ازاء ايران .
وهنا تعين على تركيا اعادة توجيه علاقاتها وسياستها الخارجية في اطار التصور العثماني الجديد والتنظير للعمق الاستراتيجي والدولة النموذج والسياسة الناعمة من خلال تصفير المشكلات . و مع ذلك اندثرت هذه المبادىء مجرد ان ظهر في الافق الاقليمي الازمة السورية و انقلبت موازين المعادلة السياسية في المنطقة و من ابرزها العلاقات التركية الايرانية.
وعرفت العلاقات التركية الايرانية حالة من التأرجح الدائم في المواقف و مختلف القضايا الدولية بين متغيري التنافس و التعاون خاصة و ان العلاقات بين البلدين تكتسب اهمية مضاعفة لانهما ليستا دولتين عاديتين في الجوار الجغرافي للدول العربية بل قوتان اقليميتان في الشرق الاوسط يتجاوز حضورهما الاقليمي الحدود السياسية للبلدين .
و تبرز اهمية العلاقات التركية الايرانية لفترة معينة من خلال المثلث الاستراتيجي (تركيا - ايران -مصر) و الذي اعتبر مركزا اساسيا للثقل التاريخي و الجيوسياسي لتوازنات القوى التي تطوق منطقة الشرق الاوسط مما جعلها ذو اهمية خاصة ومن جهة اخرى يستند الى مراكز القوى الجيو سياسية
المرتبطة بشكل وثيق بالخط الجيوثقافي التي تتشكل من الاقاليم التركية-العربية و الفارسية و الذي يعكس التوازن الاثني - الثقافي المستقر و الاساسي في المنطقة .
و مع وصول حزب العدالة و التنمية الى السلطة توثقت العلاقات بين البلدين و اصبحت الرؤية التركية و الايرانية تقوم على اساس التنافس في ظل التعاون من منطلق واقعهما كبوابتين للشرق و الغرب رغم ان تركيا تتصرف بحذر شديد و حزم بسبب التنافر المذهبي و الطائفي الذي لم يظهرالا بعد اندلاع الازمة السورية و محاولات ايران اختراق الاسلام السياسي في المنطقة.
فلطالما حافظت تركيا على ضرورة استخدام الوسائل الدبلوماسية في التفاوض لحل ازمة الملف النووي الايراني ازاء العالم العربي و رفضت التهديدات و الضغوطات العسكرية للتعامل مع هذه الازمة و
امتنعت كذلك تركيا للخضوع لاي محاولات تنسيق او تعاون مع الولايات المتحدة لتوجيه ضربة عسكرية لايران .
ومع ذلك ظهر بشكل واضح الخلاف فيما بين القوتين من خلال المواقف المتناقضة ازاء حل المعضلة السورية . و مهما كانت الخلافات بين البلدين الا ان المصلحة المشتركة و التعاون تبقى المقاربة الاكثر ترجيحا في تحديد مسيرة العلاقات بين البلدين.

The Future of the Algerian-Iranian Relations Vis-A-Vis the Fight Against Shiism in Algeria

Bilal Grib
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The future of Algerian-Iranian relations in light of the fight against Shiism in Algeria The issue of Shiism in Algeria is an important part of the policy of the state and follows a path to fight it with the various means available (religious institutions, intelligence agencies, civil society organizations and others). The state of Algeria considers that the spread of the Shiite sect in Algeria will cause cracks and cracks at the level of the social structure of the state. To the extent that Iraq, Syria and the rest of the Middle East, where sectarian and sectarian strife caused the rupture of most of the countries of that region, but the irony is that Algeria has relations in all areas with the Persian Persian state and the adoption of this Shiite doctrine, And perhaps the most dangerous at the cultural level, which Iran aims at the hidden level to spread Shiism, which ensures Algeria's success as a strong strategic ally in North Africa, and through all this the question that arises here revolves around: How will the future of bilateral relations between Algeria and Iran under Algeria's policy to fight Shiism?

مستقبل العلاقات الجزائرية الإيرانية في ظل محاربة التشيع في الجزائر

يأخذ موضوع التشيع في الجزائر حيزا مهما من سياسة الدولة والتي تنتهج مسارا لمحاربته بمختلف الوسائل المتاحة (مؤسسات دينية، جهات مخابراتية، منظمات المجتمع المدني وغيرهم)، حيث تعتبر دولة الجزائر ان انتشار المذهب الشيعي بالجزائر سيحدث تشققات وتصدعات على مستوى البنية الاجتماعية للدولة وقد تؤول الأوضاع الى ما الت اليه كل من العراق سوريا وباقي دول الشرق الأوسط، حيث تسببت الفتن المذهبية والطائفية الى تمزق جل دول تلك المنطقة، الا ان المفارقة هي ان الجزائر تربطها علاقات في جميع المجالات بدولة ايران الفارسية و المتبنية لهذا المذهب الشيعي، بل وهناك زيارات متبادلة وربما اخطرها على المستوى الثقافي والذي تهدف منه ايران على المستوى الخفي الى نشر التشيع والذي من خلاله تضمن كسب الجزائر كحليف استراتيجي قوي لها على مستوى شمال افريقيا، ومن خلال كل هذ فالسؤال الذي يطرح نفسه هنا يتمحور حول: كيف سيكون مستقبل العلاقات الثنائية بين الجزائر وإيران

في ظل سياسة الجزائر لمحاربة التشيع؟ وللإجابة على هاته الإشكالية سنقسم الدراسة الى ثلاث محاور: المحور الأول: واقع العلاقات الثنائية بين الجزائر وإيران. المحور الثاني: سياسة محاربة التشيع في الجزائر. المحور الثالث: مستقبل العلاقات الجزائرية الإيرانية (السناريوهات المحتملة)

The Role of Syrian Kurds in US New Middle East Policy

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Although Obama administration's Middle East foreign policy is full of uncertainties, its only certain politics has been his military support to the Kurds. As it is known, its support to the PYD, which is known as the Syrian arm of the PKK, has been announced by the official authorities of the United States. The continuation of such support shows a significant breakdown of US policy towards the region. The existence of states such as Iran and Iraq, which have opposed a Kurdish states or federation-like structures from the very beginning, have been questioned in spite of all the tight military co-operation of the future of the US-PYD/YPG relationship. In this way, firstly, USA a less costly method has preferred without direct intervention in the Middle East. Secondly, on the axis of rising radicalism, Western public opinion has become sceptical of Middle Eastern and Islamic origin. This social perception has provided its cooperation with the PYD as a secular non-state actor.

In this context, the study aims to explain the US-PYD relationship by two closely related factors. The first factor that makes the US-PYD relationship possible is due to the military capacity of the PYD. The fact that the PKK, which has been conducting the armed struggle in the region for more than thirty years, is an arm of the PYD and has the experience of fighting the region, makes the PYP a useful actor for the USA. The second factor is PYD’s ideological background. The PYD's ability to define itself in secular bases by abandoning the ideology of "antiWestern" “real socialism” with high Marxist tone in 1999, and adopting the values accepted by the West, made the Kurds differentiate themselves from other Islamist groups in the eyes of the Western public opinion. The adoption of the PYD in this way in the western public has enabled the western states, especially the USA, to move more comfortably about giving military support to the Kurds.

ABD'nin Yeni Ortadoğu Politikasında Suriye Kürtlerin Rolü

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Obama yönetiminin ABD dış politikasını yeniden şekillendirmeye başlamasından itibaren yeni ABD politikasında Asya'nın Ortadoğu'nun yerini alacağı ve ABD askerlerinin Başkan Obama tarafından zaman içinde Ortadoğu'dan çekileceği konuşuluyordu. Özellikle Irak'ta konuşlu asker sayısının azalması ve Tunus'ta başlayan Arap İsyanları'na uzun süre müdahale etmemesi ABD'nin yeni Ortadoğu politikasının bir yansımaları olarak görüldü. Ancak ABD'nin sahada askeri olarak etkili olmayacağı fikri Suriye'de rejim karşıtı gösterilerin bir iç savaşa dönüşmesi ile birlikte gerçekten ne anlam taşıdığı ortaya çıktı. Bu sürecin en önemli özelliği çatışmaların komşu ülkelerin istikrarını da etkileme riskini taşımasıydı. Özellikle Irak'ın bir türlü istikrara kavuşmayan yapısı ve IŞİD'in ortaya çıkışı ile birlikte uzun zamandır ABD'nin güvenlik şemsiyesi altında varlığını devam ettiren devletlerin kırılganlığı ortaya çıktı.

Obama yönetimi altında ABD'nin yürüttüğü Ortadoğu dış politikası her ne kadar belirsizliklerle dolu olsa da bölgeye yönelik en kararlı ve hakkında kesin hükümler verilebilecek siyaseti, Kürtlere yönelik askeri desteği olmuştur. Bilindiği üzere ABD'nin Suriye'nin kuzeyinde hâkim konumda bulunan ve PKK'nın Suriye kolu olarak da bilinen PYD'ye desteği IŞİD'in Kobani saldırısı ile başlamış ve günümüzde de devam ettiği ABD'li resmi makamlarca da açıklanmıştır. Söz konusu desteğin Türkiye gibi hem tarihsel olarak ABD müttefiki hem de NATO üyesi bir ülkenin şiddetli itirazlarına rağmen sürmesi, ABD'nin bölgeye yönelik siyasetinde önemli bir kırılmayı göstermektedir. Türkiye gibi Kürtlerin devlet veya federasyon benzeri yapılanmalarına en başından beri karşı çıkan İran ve Irak gibi devletlerin varlığı ABD-PYD/YPG ilişkisinin geleceğinin her türlü sıkı askeri iş birliğine rağmen sorgulanır hale getirmiştir. Yine de ABD'nin askeri müdahale seçeneklerini devre dışı bıraktığı bir dış politika anlayışında PYD ile kurduğu ilişki ABD'ye pek çok açıdan faydalı olmuştur. Bu şekilde birinci olarak Ortadoğu'ya doğrudan müdahale etmeden daha az maliyetli bir yöntem tercih edilmiştir. İkinci olarak ise yükselen radikalizm ekseninde Batı kamuoyu Ortadoğu ve İslam kökenli şüpheyle yaklaşır hale gelmiştir. Yakın zamanda Batı'da yükselen İslam karşıtı söylemlerin bir sonucu olarak da görebileceğimiz her türlü İslami tonun radikal İslam ile aynı değeri görmesine neden olmuştur ve bu toplumsal algı Ortadoğu'ya müdahalede devlet dışı aktörlerle iş birliğini sınırlı hale getirmiştir.

Bu bağlamda çalışma, ABD-PYD ilişkisini birbirine sıkı sıkıya bağlı iki etmenle açıklamayı hedeflemektedir. ABD-PYD ilişkisini mümkün kılan birinci etmen PYD'nin askeri kapasitesinden kaynaklanmaktadır. PYD'nin otuz yılı aşkın zamandır bölgede silahlı mücadele yürüten PKK'nın bir kolu olması ve bu bağlamda bölgede savaşma tecrübesine sahip olması PYD'yi ABD açısından kullanışlı bir aktör haline getirmektedir. Benzer şekilde PYD'nin sahip olduğu ideolojinin tabanını bir arada tutmasını sağlamada işlevsel olurken bu aynı zamanda ABD destekli bir aktörün sahada askeri olarak kapasitesini de artırmaktadır. İkinci faktör ise yine PYD'nin ideolojik arka planında yatmaktadır. PYD'nin Marksist tonu yüksek ABD karşıtı "reel sosyalizm" ideolojisini 1999'da terk ederek kendini seküler temellerde tanımlaması ve Batı tarafından da kabul gören değerleri benimsemesi Batı kamuoyu gözünde Kürtlerin kendini diğer İslamcı gruplardan farklılaştırmasını sağlamıştır. PYD'nin bu şekilde Batı kamuoyunda kabul görmesi başta ABD olmak üzere Batılı devletlerin Kürtlere silahlı destek vermeleri konusunda daha rahat hareket etmelerini sağlamıştır.

Green Economic Tansformation Between Thought and Practice in Algeria and Morocco

Dr. Fatima Bakdi

The world is moving towards a new economic vision based on clean energy under the name of the "green economy". Several states have taken the initiative, waiting to spread the experience to the rest of the world. Preparedness for the post-fossil energy horizon 2040, as a reaction to the devastating effects of the development model based on absolute freedom and over-exploitation of resources.
The most important effects of the fossil economic system have been the crises in the prices of energy and food, climate change, depletion of natural resources, social marginalization, the spread of poverty and others, which has threatened the stability of some countries.
Algeria is a country whose stability depends on oil revenues. The drop-in prices from $ 147 a barrel to $ 27 a barrel has caused a critical financial situation. Accordingly, the decision was taken to build a new economic vision in which to diversify its economy. Based on the production of clean energy and energy efficiency. Which has become a good model to follow.
Our paper is subdivided as following:
The first axis: The theoretical framework of the green economy
The second axis: the reality of green economic change in Algeria
-The need for green change in energy and waste
-The impact of the transition to a green economy

التغيير الإقتصادي الأخضر بين الفكر والتنزيل العملي

دراسة حالة كل من : الجزائر والمغرب تعاني عدة اقتصاد ت في العالم من مشكلات كبرى على غرار مشكلات الأمن والبطالة والتنمية والبيئة وغيرها , ولأن النظام الإقتصادي اللبرالي السائد أفرز هذه المشكلات ووسع من حد ا من منطلق دعه يعمل مايريد ويسوق ما يريد. المهم أن يحقق ويعظم الربح ولو على حساب الطرف الأخر. وتلك هي قاعدة راسمالية خاطئة لأ ا تعطي الحرية الكاملة لتحصيل الربح لبعض الدول على حساب تدمير وتجويع اقتصاد ت دول أخرى.

المشكلات السابقة الذكر كانت بمثابة مفتاح لزعزعة الإستقرار الإجتماعي والإقتصادي والسياسي في عدة دول خاصة في شمال افريقيا والشرق الأوسط.فإن المخاوف ازدادت اتجاه آ ر هذه المشكلات على بعض الدول خاصة تلك الدول التي تعرف اقتصاد ا درجات انكشاف عالية لتجار ا الخارجية وهشاشة التنمية المحلية, واليوم يتم التفكير في حلول أكثر أخلاقية واستمرارية, تتمثل في محاولات محتشمة للتوجه نحو الإقتصاد الأخضر كنهج تنموي عالمي لدى بعض الدول . ويعد الإقتصاد الأخضر أحد آليات التنويع الإقتصادي و ج جديد لحل المشكلات الكبرى. وأن تبني هذا المفهوم من قبل الدول يحتاج إلى قرار شجاع يدعمه الوعي ا تمعي والإستثماري والرغبة في التغيير لأجل مستقبل أفضل في ظل حكومات واعية وأكثر تمثيلا لشعو ا.

ولتدعيم البحث بحالات دراسية لمدى التنزيل العملي لمفهوم الإقتصاد الأخضر , اتخذ من الجزائر وتونس والمغرب نماذجا متباينة لتطبيقات الإقتصاد الأخضر.

و دف من وراء إجراء هذا البحث إلى إثراء مفهوم الإقتصاد الأخضر, الذي جاء نتيجة التراجع السريع في الموارد الطبيعية, وتسارع التدهور البيئي وغياب الأخلاق أثناء اتخاذ قرارات الإستثمار.كما أن موضوع الإقتصاد الأخضر يثير نقاشا عالميا كبديل لتثمين الموارد والحد من تدهورها وتحقيق التنمية المستدامة.

أولا : التغيير الأخضر في الجزائر:

على إثر تراجع أسعار النفط من عتبة 147 دولار إلى حد جاور 27 دولار, تراجعت إيرادات الجزائر تباعا لذلك بشكل محسوس, وهو ما جعل السلطات المحلية تسعى للبحث عن نموذج جديد لتمويل الخطة الوطنية للتحول الطاقوي, وتنفيذ البرامج البالغة قيمته 120 مليار دولار, والهادف للوصول إلى ضمان 27 لمائة من الطاقة من مصادر متجددة بحلول 2030.

الطاقة المتجددة :

تركز الجزائر في مسعاها على الإعتماد على الطاقة الشمسية وطاقة الر ح والطاقة الحيوية , علما أ ا تنتج حاليا 90 لمائة من الكهر ء الموجودة على الشبكة الوطنية من محطات كهر ء تعمل لغاز الطبيعي .تشير المعطيات الأولية إلى إمكانية نضوب حقول الغاز والكهر ء في الجزائر بحلول العام 2050. في ظل الوتيرة الحالية للإستغلال .وهو ما حتم ضرورة تبني خيار النجاعة الطاقوية.

النجاعة الطاقوية : على اثر البحبوحة المالية التي عاشتها الجزائر, تحسنت القدرة الشرائية, وتحسنت الأوضاع الإجتماعية لغالبية ا تمع الجزائري, فتعززت البيوت والمحلات التجارية وغيرها بتجهيزات كهر ئية , إلا أ ا اتصفت بعدم المطابقة.

تدرج السلطات العمومية في مسعاها تحقيق اقتصاد 42 مليار دولار بحلول 3030 مع خفض استهلاك الطاقة ب9 لمائة, وهي تعول في ذلك على بر مج تطوير النجاعة الطاقوية , البر مج الذي يركز على مشاريع العزل الحراري للمحلات والمساكن, والسيارات(الغاز الطبيعي المميع), والتركيز على الأجهزة الكهر ئية التي لا تتجاوز الفعالية الكهر ئية.

فقد تم فرض رسوم على المنتجات الكهر ئية التي تتجاوز الفعالية الكهر ئية, تراوحت بين 5 و60 لمائة. حيث تم فرض نسبة 5 لمائة على المنتجات ذات المستوى أ . ذات الإستهلاك الطاقوي الضعيف, و60 لمائة على المنتجات ذات الإستهلاك الطاقوي القوي.

خلق مناصب العمل :

تشير الدراسات إلى أن حوالي 600000 شخص, يعملون في نشاطات تتعلق لإقتصاد الأخضر, على غرار رسكلة النفا ت والطاقات المتجددة .14574 امرأة تنشط في المهن الخضراء,أي 7 لمائة من العدد الإجمالي للنساء المسجلات في السجل التجاري بينهم 938.1 مسيرة. وبلغ عدد المؤسسات التي تمارس هذا النوع من النشاطات سنة 2010, ما لا يقل عن 273202 وحدة, منها 3407 مؤسسة تنشط في مجال رسكلة النفا ت و 1470 في تسيير المياه و168648 في البناء الأخضر و68631 في تسيير المساحات الخضراء و30085 وحدة في خدمات تتعلق لبيئة على غرار تدقيق الحسا ت والدراسات والتكوين.

نيا : التغيير الأخضر في المغرب :

خلق مناصب الشغل : يراهن المغرب على الإقتصاد الأخضر, كميدان لإحداث فرص الشغل والتنمية والحد من التبعية الطاقوية ,حيث يتوقع إحداث 23 ألف منصب شغل في قطاع الطاقة المتجددة وإحداث

15000منصب شغل في مجال تدبير النفا ت المنزلية والمماثلة بحلول 2020.

إنفاق 100مليار دولار في تحويل 20 لمائة فقط من المباني الحالية إلى مباني خضراء في البلدان العربية. يتوقع أن يخلق نحو 4 مليون وظيفة.

حسب الدراسة التي أجراها ا لس الإقتصادي والإجتماعي والبيئي عام 2012, تشير إلى أن الإستثمارات المتوقعة في أربعة إقتصادية أساسية في الإقتصاد الأخضر(الطاقات المتجددة, النجاعة الطاقوية, تدبير النفا ت الصلبة, تطهير النفا ت السائلة)بمبلغ 20 مليار اورو , يمكن أن تسهم في توفير أكثر من 90000منصب شغل جديد بحلول 2020.

النجاعة الطاقوية : حددت الإستراتيجية الوطنية للنجاعة الطاقية كهدف خفض استهلاك الطاقة ب25 لمائة في أفق 2030. وترمي إلى:

-التقليل من التبعية الطاقوية.

-التحكم في كلفة الطاقة من أجل تنافسية المنتوج الوطني.

-تحسين منحنى التحمل الكهر ئي.

-الحفاظ على البيئة: الحد من إنبعا ت الغازات الدفيئة المسببة للإرتفاع الحراري.

تشير تقديرات المنتدى العالمي إلى الحاجة على الصعيد العالمي, إلى الإستثمار في البنية التحتية بما يقدر ب 6 ترليون دولار امريكي سنو حتى عام 2030 لتقديم اقتصاد منخفض الكربون.
الطاقة الشمسية : خصص ظرف مالي قدره 9مليار دولار , لإنتاج 14 لمائة من احتياجات البلاد من الطاقة الكهر ئية, وخفض استراد الطاقة بما مقداره 1مليون طن من المكافئ النفطي.
في إطار التزام المغرب بخفض انبعا ته من غازات الدفيئة بنسبة 13 لمائة بحلول 2020. فإنه تم إطلاق مشروع ضخم لإنتاج الطاقة الشمسية (نور- ورزازات)هو الأكبر في العالم . بتكلفة قدرت ب 6.2 مليار يورو

The Saudi-Iranian Tension and the US Role in Fueling It

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For Iran, the Gulf is one of the most important pillars of its security policy, which is an integral part of the nature of the Iranian state. The Khomeinist revolution of 1979 and the outbreak of the first Gulf War between Iraq and Iran were an inevitable result of the contradictions between two poles representing two completely different types of regimes, including regional and border conflicts and a long history of interventions, each in the other's minority affairs. All this justifies how other regional differences were seen as a secondary factor in these bloody and costly wars. The memories of these conflicts have been overshadowed by other regional and ideological issues. Which has led to ideological rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia since the Islamic Republic of Iran. The term "tension" summarizes the Saudi-Iranian relations and their future, so that things can not calm down until they return to what they were before. Differences between them are based on differences in religious and intellectual doctrine as well as political interests and external influences.

Based on this, we raise the following problem:

Why do Iran-Gulf states relations in many of their developments take the form of tension and rivalry?

Hypotheses:

Whenever the relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia related to the political and ideological aspects, it was difficult to agree on them.

The success of the Iranian revolution in 1979 put an end to the strategic balance and the restoration of security arrangements in the Gulf region.

Topics of study:

Dimensions of Saudi - Iran tension and the western role in fueling it.

A vision in the historical roots of Saudi-Iran tension and its factors.

Saudi-Iranian rivalry in the Arab region (Sanaa, Beirut, Baghdad and Damascus).

The future of Saudi-Iranian relations.

We can say that, Saudi-Iranian relations will not be right only to seek to establish two bases for this relationship, according to the Egyptian Islamic thinker Fahmi Huwaidi:

1. A full Iranian understanding of the peculiarities of the Arab reality in all its complexities and respect for its various national, religious and social components.
2. Real Arab cognizance of the strategic and cultural dimension of the relationship with Iran and the great power provided by an Arab-Iranian understanding at all levels political, economic, security, social and cultural.

3. التوتر السعودي –الإيراني والدور الأمريكي في تأجيجه

يمثل الخليج بالنسبة لإيران واحدا من أهم ثوابت سياستها الأمنية ، التي هي جزء لا يتجزأ من طبيعة الدولة الإيرانية . لقد كانت الثورة الخمينية عام 1979 ،واندلاع حرب الخليج الأولى-بين العراق وإيران - نتيجة حتمية للتناقضات القائمة بين قطبين يمثلان نوعين مختلفين تماما من أنظمة الحكم، وبينهما صراعات إقليمية وحدودية، وتاريخا حافلا بتدخلات كل منهما في شؤون الأقليات لدى الطرف الآخر. كل ذلك يبرر كيف اعتبرت الخلافات الإقليمية الأخرى مجرد عامل ثانوي في هذه الحروب الدامية والمكلفة.

وقد طغت ذكريات هذه الصراعات على القضايا الإقليمية والإيديولوجية الأخرى القابلة للانفجار، والتي أدت إلى التنافس الإيديولوجي بين إيران والسعودية منذ قيام الجمهورية الإسلامية في إيران . يلخص مصطلح "التوتر" العلاقات السعودية- الإيرانية ومستقبلها ، فلا تكاد تهدأ الأمور بينهم حتى تعود إلى ما كانت عليه من قبل ، الخلافات بينهم قائمة على الاختلاف في المذهب الديني والفكري ، بالإضافة إلى المصلحة السياسية والتأثيرات الخارجية. انطلاقا من ذلك نطرح الإشكالية التالية:

-لماذا تتخذ العلاقات الإيرانية -الخليجية في كثير من تطوراتها طابع التوتر والتنافس ؟

فرضيات الدراسة:

-كلما تعلقت العلاقات الإيرانية -السعودية بالنواحي السياسية والإيديولوجية زادت صعوبة الاتفاق بشأنها وحدث اختلاف عليها.

-نجاح الثورة الإيرانية عام 1979 وضع نهاية للتوازن الاستراتيجي وإعادة ترتيبات الأمن في منطقة الخليج العربي.

أهمية الدراسة-:

تسعى إيران للعب دور إقليمي محوري في منطقه الخليج وبوسائل مختلفة ولذلك فإن أهمية هذه الدراسة تأتى في إطار الدراسات المهتمة بالعلاقات الدولية والإقليمية بشكل عام والدراسات الخليجية بشكل خاص والعلاقات بين إيران والسعودية على وجه الدقة.

هناك العديد من التعقيدات تحيط بمستقبل إيران ودول الخليج العربي بشكل عام وإيران والسعودية على خاصة ، والتي تؤثر على الأمن القومي و البيئة الأمنية في منطقه الخليج . فهذه الدراسة هي محاوله للكشف عن طبيعة وحجم العلاقات الدولية والإقليمية حيث تعتبر كل من إيران والسعودية دولتين إقليميتين لهما وزن كبير في منطقة الخليج ،وإحدى ركائز التوازن الاستراتيجي والأمني في المنطقة . وعليه فإننا سنسعى من خلال هذه الدراسة إلى تتبع العلاقات السعودية الإيرانية بكل أطوارها منذ نجاح الثورة الإسلامية في إيران إلى اليوم وما مستقبل التوتر –شبه الدائم - بين القطبين.

محاور الدراسة:

1. أبعاد التوتر السعودي – الإيراني والدور الغربي في تأجيجها
2. رؤية في الجذور التاريخية للتوتر السعودي- الإيراني وعوامله
3. التنافس السعودي– الإيراني في المنطقة العربية (صنعاء، بيروت، بغداد ودمشق)
4. رؤى غربية لمسار التوتر السعودي –الإيراني
5. مستقبل العلاقات السعودية- الإيرانية

أهم الاستنتاجات:

ما يمكن استخلاصه من هذه الدراسة ، أنه بقدر ما تشكل الطبيعة التنافسية في العلاقات بين البلدين مصدراً للتوتر في العلاقات السعودية الإيرانية، وإضافة إلى العامل الأيديولوجي/ الطائفي فإن العامل الخارجي يلعب دور المسعرّ للخلاف بين البلدين ، كما بين إيران والمملكة العربية السعودية. في حقبة الشاه ، كانت الولايات المتحدة تلعب دور الناظم للعلاقات بين البلدين، أما في الحقبة التي تلته فقد لعبت دور المسمّم في العلاقات والمحرض على التوتر، والسبب يعود إلى تغييرات في رؤية الجانبين السعودي والإيراني :

في الجانب الإيراني ،لا تبدو هنالك مشكلة، في قيام ترتيب أمني خليجي، تشارك فيه كل دول الخليج ، أو السعودية ممثلاً لها ، إضافة إلى إيران والعراق . وحتى في عهد صدام حسين ، كان الإيرانيون ، ومن منظور استراتيجي يرون أنه لا يمكن توفير مظلةً أمنيةً بدون مشاركة العراق وهو أمرٌ يتفق على ضرورته الخبراء الإستراتيجيون ، ولطالما دعا الإيرانيون الى إقامة ترتيبات لتوفير المظلة الأمنية المطلوبة ، والتي باعتقادهم ستجعل مبررات الوجود الأميركي في الخليج معدومة. ولا يخفى أن إيران ترى في الوجود الأميركي المكثف في الخليج خطراً عليها .

أما العربية السعودية ، فلها وجهة نظر مختلفة . فهي في الأساس لا ترى الوجود الأميركي في الخليج خطرا عليها، بل قد يكون باعثاًً لطمأنينتها، مع أنها شعرت في السنوات الماضية ببعض الضيق من الوجود الأميركي كونه (يحتمل) إعادة استخدامه ضد السعودية نفسها. ثم إن السعودية تعتبر نفسها جزءً من منظومة إستراتيجية غربية تقترب من التحالف السياسي والأمني، والترتيبات الأمنية التي تطلبها إيران وتدعو إليها تفترض أن السعودية تتمتع بـهامش لا بأس به من الحرية في إعادة صياغة أمنها الخاص كما رؤيتها للأمن الإقليمي. والحقيقة هي أن السعودية لا تمتلك ذلك الهامش الكبير الذي يمكنها من الذهاب منفردة في ترتيبات أمنيةً إقليمية مع إيران ،ما لم تحصل من جهة على ضوء أخضر من الولايات المتحدة نفسها، وهو ضوء متعذر طالما أن العلاقات الإيرانية-الأميركية تراوح مكانها منذ ثلاثة عقود ، ومن جهة ثانية ما لم تتوفر ضمانات دولية لتلك الترتيبات الأمنية .

إن سياسة أميركا لعزل إيران لم تفسح إلا مجالا ضيقاًً لتطوير العلاقات السعودية- الإيرانية، لأن واشنطن ترى أن تطوير تلك العلاقات عملا عدائيا موجهاًًً ضدها. وهنا يأتي القول بأن دول الخليج في حقيقة الأمر لم تتحرر إرادتها السياسية ،لتفكر في علاقاتها بدافع المصلحة الوطنية المحض وليس المصلحة الأمنية المرتبطة بواشنطن . وبقدر ما يتسع الهامش ، يمكن أن يقترب الطرفان أكثر لتطبيع العلاقات وحل المشاكل. ولكن يبدو أن بعض السياسيين الإيرانيين يريدون القفز على هذا العامل ، من خلال حث دول الخليج

على إقامة ترتيبات أمنية واقتصادية بينها وبين إيران دون النظر إلى العامل الخارجي، وهذه نظرة تفترض أن الإرادة السياسية لتلك الدول حرة بالكامل، أو هي كبيرة أيضاً. والحقيقة قد تكون غير ذلك.

وفي الأخير فإن العلاقات السعودية -الإيرانية لن تستقيم إلا بالسعي لإرساء قاعدتين لهذه العلاقة وهما حسب المفكر الإسلامي المصري فهمي هويدي:

1. فهم إيراني كامل لخصوصيات

الواقع العربي بكل تعقيداته واحترام مكوناته القومية والدينية والاجتماعية المتعددة.

2. إدراك عربي صادق للبعد

الاستراتيجي والحضاري للعلاقة مع إيران والقوة الكبيرة التي يوفرها تفاهم عربي –إيراني على كل المستويات السياسية ، الاقتصادية ، الأمنية ، الاجتماعية والثقافية.

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Civil-military relations in Egypt: The Limits of Reality and Future Prospects

Dr. Badr El Shafei

تكتسب العلاقات المدنية العسكرية اهتماما كبيرا في حقل العلوم السياسية في ظل صعوبة الفصل بين الجانبين من ناحية ، ولتأثير العسكر المباشر أو غير المباشر على النظام السياسي بصورة أو بأخرى ، بحيث بات من الصعب نفي وجود هذا الدور ، أو الحديث فقط عما وصفه صمويل هانجتون في كتابة الجندي والدولة"1957" باحترافية الجيش من ناحية وخضوعه لهيمنة السلطة المدنية من ناحية ثانية،وإنما أصبح الحديث عن حدود الدور السياسي للمؤسسة العسكرية، والذي يؤشر لطبيعة العلاقة بين الجيش" المؤسسة العسكرية" ، والسلطة السياسية "المؤسسة التنفيذية . "

هذه العلاقات المدنية العسكرية تحكمها ثلاث قوى رئيسية ، هي المؤسسة العسكرية ، والسلطة السياسية ، وبينهما قوى المجتمع المدني بمفهومها الشامل بداية من الأحزاب السياسية ، ومؤسسات المجتمع المدني لاسيما تلك المتعلقة بقضايا الحريات وحقوق الإنسان والمواطنة وغيرها ، وصولا إلى المؤسسات المجتمعية التي تلعب أدوارا سياسية مثل جماعات الضغط والنقابات المهنية .وبحسب كثير من الباحثين كلما كان هناك مجتمع سياسي قوي " أحزاب وقوى سياسية ، ومؤسسات مدنية ، مجتمع مدني" كلما ساهم ذلك في تقليص الدور السياسي للمؤسسة العسكرية كما حدث في الفلبين والمكسيك وكوريا الجنوبية وشيلي . والعكس صحيح أيضا فكلما شعر الجيش بضعف هذه المؤسسات كلما رفض الانسحاب من الحياة السياسية" حالات بنجلاديش وتايلاند وباكستان"

وإذا كان هذا هو الوضع العام في دول العالم ، فإنه يكون أكثر وضوحا في دول منطقة الشرق الأوسط ، لا سيما تلك التي يحكم فيها الجيش سواء بصورة مباشرة أو غير مباشرة. وتعد مصر إحدى هذه النماذج التي حكمها العسكر منذ نشأة الجمهورية نتيجة انقلاب عسكري عام 1952 ، وحتى الآن ، وربما كان الاستثناء الوحيد فترة الرئيس محمد مرسي الذي كان أول رئيس مدني يحكم البلاد ، لذا سعى العسكر للانقلاب عليه بعد عام واحد من توليه مقاليد الحكم . ففي مصر هناك تزاوج بين المؤسسة العسكرية والسلطة التنفيذية بعيدا عن المعارضة السياسية وقوى المجتمع المدني ، التي ربما يتم استخدامها من أجل إطاحة فريق داخل العسكر بفريق آخر داخل السلطة التنفيذية ، تماما كما حدث في ثورة يناير 2011 واستغلال العسكر لها من أجل الإطاحة بمبارك والقضاء على فكرة التوريث.

وبالتالي يبقى السؤال حول كيفية تحقيق التوازن في العلاقات المدنية العسكرية في ظل تمكن الانقلاب في مصر الآن من كل مفاصل الدولة ، وإقصائه لأبرز خصومه السياسيين وقمعهم بصورة لا مثيل لها وفي مقدمة هؤلاء الإخوان المسلمون ، فضلا عن ضعف قوى المعارضة الأخرى. ويرتبط بذلك سؤال آخر حول إمكانية قيام العسكر بعملية تحول ديمقراطي حقيقي في البلاد.

لقد أثبتت تجارب الإنقلابات العسكرية في العالم بأن قيام النظم العسكرية بعملية تحول ديمقراطي يتوقف على عدة عوامل منها طبيعة النظام المنقلب عليه هل هو نظام ديمقراطي أم استبدادي أو حتى

عسكري.فإذا كان النظام ديمقراطيا ، فإن احتمال حدوث قمع له ولأنصاره يكون مرتفعا واحتمال حدوث تحول ديمقراطي يكون منخفضا " فمن بين 217 انقلابا بين 1945-2008 ، فإن 14 منها فقط شرع في عملية تحول ديمقراطي .وفي أفريقيا من بين 88 انقلابا ناجحا في ذات الفترة فإن 4 منها هي التي قامت بعملية تحول ديمقراطي رغم أنها كانت ضد نظم عسكرية وصلت للحكم بانقلاب.وربما تكون هذه إحدى الإشكاليات التي تواجه عملية التحول الديمقراطي في مصر مستقبلا ، لاسيما في ظل حالة الانقسام التي يشهدها أقوى خصم للعسكر ويقصد به جماعة الإخوان.

وفي هذا الإطار انطلق البحث من الخبرة التاريخية لدور الجيش في السياسة المصرية منذ انقلاب يوليو وصولا لوضع الانقلاب الراهن ، في محاولة لاستشراف مستقبل عملية التحول الديمقراطي والنظام السياسي في مصر . والحديث عن سيناريوهات المستقبل.

وكان التساؤل الأساسي هو . هل يمكن أن يكون الجيش أداة للتحول الديمقراطي في مصر . كما أن الفرضية الرئيسية التي يسعى هذا البحث لمناقشتها هي وجود علاقة عكسية بين تدخل الجيش في السياسة وقيام دولة ديمقراطية حقيقية في مصر

واعتمد البحث على منهج دراسة الحالة ، فضلا عن المنهج التاريخي المقارن لدور الجيش في المراحل الثلاث ، على أن يكون المدى الزمني بداية من انقلاب 1952

وقد تقسيم البحث لثلاثة مباحث ، الأول عن العلاقات المدنية العسكرية في مصر منذ 1952 وحتى ثورة يناير ويتضمن ثلاثة مطالب "مراحل" رئيسية هي مرحلة عبد الناصر

، مرورا بمرحلة السادات، ووصولا لمرحلة مبارك

أما المبحث الثاني فتضمن العلاقات المدنية العسكرية منذ ثورة يناير وحتى انقلاب 2013 وتم تقسيمه أيضا لثلاثة مطالب رئيسية هي مرحلة حكم المجلس العسكري

ومرحلة حكم الرئيس مرسي، ثم مرحلة انقلاب السيسي 2013

أما المبحث الثالث والأخير فتحدث عن مستقبل العلاقات المدنية العسكرية في مصر وتم تقسيمه لمطلبين أساسيين ، الأول تحدث عن نقاط القوى والضعف للمؤسسة العسكرية وقوى المعارضة للانقلاب، والثاني عن سيناريوهات مستقبل عملية التحول الديمقراطي في مصر وهي ثلاثة أساسية الأول سيناريو الدولة الديمقراطية المدنية ، وهو مستبعد، والثاني سيناريو الدولة الاستبدادية" الواقع ويحتمل أن يستمر على الأقل في الأمد المنظور، والثالث سيناريو الدولة الهجين ، وربما يكون هذا متاحا في الأمد المتوسط ، أو مع انتهاء ولاية السيسي الثانية 2022.

Relations Between Turkey and North African Countries

Abdullah Abdulaziz Abker

The relations between Africa and Turkey are of a deep historical depth, with the roots of the connection between the two parties dating back to the Ottoman Empire during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Ottoman Empire existed within the sub-Saharan African regions. The two parties, but it has gone through several stages, ranging from the boom times and recede at other times, have been sentenced so many different considerations relating to the circumstances and conditions associated with both parties, and dating African relations - Turkish contemporary since the end of the cold war with yle In the 1990s, especially with Turkey's adoption of the "Opening to Africa" Plan of Action in 1998. It was based on a number of key components, including the political and diplomatic components, which serve as the cornerstone of contemporary African-Turkish political relations , where he saw this dimension of relations gradually marked improvement, particularly since the middle of the first decade of the new millennium, specifically with Turkey's announcement of the "year of Africa" in 2005, and held two summits of cooperation between Turkey and Africa in 2008 and 2014 respectively, reveals It is about the existence of a common desire for the development of God The political dimension of the African-Turkish relations serves as the general framework for the establishment of all types of cooperation between the two parties. In spite of the political dimension of the African-Turkish relations, The priority and the likelihood of the economic dimension within the framework of the system of inter-party interactions, but it can not be established and stabilized without the existence of established diplomatic and political relations and interactions, governed by a system of political objectives and interests that each party maintains in the face of the other, Fall Turkey is betting on the relative weight of African countries as a voting bloc in international frameworks and forums, especially the United Nations, in order to pass the Turkish political interests at the international level, while the African side is betting on the political weight of Turkey at the international and regional levels in order to obtain Support and support by Turkey on African issues and problems within the framework of international forums, which is one of the major regional powers prominent in the Middle East, especially since the arrival of the Justice and Development Party to power in 2002, as well as the desire and look forward to find Political alternative European nourish Union, which is reluctant to accept its membership since 1997. In light of what Already Turkish relations can be dealt with the countries of North Africa through a number of key themes addressed, The following:

First - the determinants of African - Turkish political relations.

II. Issues of African-Turkish political relations.

III. Diplomatic dimension of African-Turkish relations.

IV - present and future vision for the course of Turkish relations, the countries of North Africa

العلاقات بين تركيا ودول شمال افريقيا

تعد العلاقات الأفريقية – التركية علاقات ذات عمق تاريخي ممتد، حيث تعود جذور الارتباط بين كلا الطرفين إلى عهد الإمبراطورية العثمانية وذلك في غضون القرنين الخامس والسادس عشر،فالإمبراطورية العثمانية كان لها وجود في إطار أقاليم أفريقيا شمال الصحراء، وعلى الرغم من تاريخية هذه العلاقات المتبادلة بين الطرفين، غير أنها مرت بمراحل عديدة تراوحت بين الازدهار تارة والانحسار تارة أخرى، وقد حكم ذلك العديد من الاعتبارات المختلفة المتعلقة بالظروف والأوضاع المرتبطة بكلا الطرفين، ويؤرخ للعلاقات الأفريقية – التركية المعاصرة منذ انتهاء الحرب الباردة مع مطلع التسعينات من القرن العشرين، ولا سيما مع تبني تركيا لخطة عمل " الانفتاح على أفريقيا " في عام 1998م. والتي ارتكزت بدورها على مجموعة من المكونات الرئيسية، ولعل من بينها المكونين السياسي والدبلوماسي، واللذين يعدان بمثابة حجر الأساس للعلاقات السياسية الأفريقية – التركية المعاصرة، حيث شهد هذا البعد من العلاقات تحسناً تدريجياً ملحوظاً ولا سيما منذ منتصف العقد الأول من الألفية الجديدة، وتحديداً مع إعلان تركيا عن" عام أفريقيا "في عام 5002 م، وعقد قمتين للتعاون بين تركيا وأفريقيا في 2008م و 4102 م على التوالي، ويكشف ذلك عن وجود رغبة حقيقة مشتركة لتطويرالعلاقات البينية في شقها السياسي، فضلاً عن وجود ثمة نوعاً من المدركات الإيجابية المتبادلة بين الطرفين، وهو ما ينعكس على طبيعة التفاعلات السياسية المتبادلة بأنماطها المختلفة. ويعد البعد السياسي للعلاقات الأفريقية – التركية بمثابة الإطار العام الممهد لإقامة كافة أنماط التعاون بين الطرفين ، وعلى الرغم من أولوية وأرجحية البعد الاقتصادي في إطار منظومة التفاعلات البينية للطرفين، غير أنه لا يمكن أن ينشأ ويستقر بدون وجود علاقات وتفاعلات دبلوماسية وسياسية راسخة،والتي تحكمها منظومة من الأهداف والمصالح السياسية التي يحتفظ بها كل طرف في مواجهة الآخر،فالجانب التركي يراهن على الوزن النسبي الكبير للدول الأفريقية ككتلة تصويتية في الأطر والمحافل الدولية، وعلى رأسها الأمم المتحدة، وذلك من أجل تمرير المصالح السياسية التركية على المستوى الدولي، في حين يراهن الجانب الأفريقي على الوزن السياسي لتركيا على المستويين الدولي والإقليمي،من أجل الحصول على الدعم والمساندة من قبل تركيا حيال القضايا والمشكلات الأفريقية في إطارالمحافل الدولية، حيث تعد أحد القوى الإقليمية الرئيسية البارزة في إطار منطقة الشرق الأوسط ولاسيما منذ وصول حزب العدالة والتنمية لسدة الحكم في عام 2002م، فضلاً عن رغبتها وتطلعها لإيجاد علاقات سياسية بديلة للاتحاد الأوروبي الذي يتلكأ في قبول عضويتها منذ عام 7991 م .وفي ضوء ما سبق يمكن تناول العلاقات التركية بدول شمال افريقيا من خلال التطرق لعدد من المحاور الرئيسية، والمتمثلة فيما يلي:

أولاً – محددات العلاقات السياسية الأفريقية – التركية.

ثانياً – قضايا العلاقات السياسية الأفريقية – التركية.

ثالثاً – البعد الدبلوماسي للعلاقات الأفريقية – التركية.

رابعاً رؤية حاضرة ومستقبلية لمسار العلاقات التركية بدول شما

Algerian Gas and European Market of Energy: Between the Stakes of the Competition and the Challenges of the Energy Transition

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Gas is the most important strategic resource for Algeria as a vital material with significant geoeconomic weight. Algeria has expanded its energy policy from the export of gas to post-independence France to generalize it to most of the countries of the southern bank of the European Union, To be strengthened after the signing of the partnership agreement between the two parties in December 2001, especially since the energy dimension is the most important axis in the relations between the parties, both in terms of financial returns for Algeria or for economic and industrial considerations for the European Union.

The problem of the study addresses the challenges and stakes faced by Algerian gas in the face of international competition over the European market gain in gas supply as well as the repercussions of the European Union efforts to achieve energy conversion.

The study aims to analyze the interactions in the relations between the two parties in terms of security of demand and supply security on the one side, as well as in terms of the nature of these relations and rolling between dependency and interdependence on the other side, in addition to the strategies adopted by other energy countries inside and outside the Union, In addition to the future of Algerian gas in the light of the European efforts to achieve a shift in energy based on more investment in alternative energies clean and renewable, and respect for international protocols to protect the environment.

Keywords: Algerian gas, European energy policy, international strategies, energy security, energy transformation, environmental security.

الغاز الجزائري والسوق الطاقوية الأوروبية: بين رهانات المنافسة الدولة وتحديات التحول الطاقوي يعد الغاز أم مورد است ارتيجي لمج ازئر باعتباره مادة حيوية ذات ثقل جيو-اقتصادي بام.
تو س عت الج ازئر في سياستيا الطاقوية من تصديربا الغاز نحو فرنسا فترة ما بعد الإستقلال إلى تعميم ذلك عمى معظم دول الضفة الجنوبية للإتحاد الأوروبي ،ليتع زز بعد توقيع اتفاق الش راكة بين الطرفين في ديسمبر 1002م، خصوصا وأ ن البعد الطاقوي يع د أم المحاور في علاقات الط رفين، سواء من حيث العوائد المالية بالنسبة لمج ازئر أو لإعتبا ارت اقتصادية وصناعية بالنسبة للإتحاد الأوروبي.
إشكالية الد ارسة تتطرق إلى الت حديات والرىانات التي ت واجو الغاز الج ازئري في ظل التنافس ال دولي حول كسب السوق الأوروبية في مجال إمدادات الغاز وكذا تداعيات جيود الإتحاد الأوروبي لتحقيق التح ول الطاقوي.
تيدف الد ارسة إلى تحميل الت جاذبات في علاقات الطرفين من حيث أمن الطمب وأمن الإمداد من جية، وكذا من حيث طبيعة باتو العلاقات وتدحرجيا بين التبعية والاعتماد المتبادل من جية أخرى، بالإضافة إلى الإست ارتيجيات التي تتبنابا الدول الطاقوية الأخرى داخل الإتحاد وخارجو، زيادة عن مستقبل الغاز الج ازئري في ظل المساعي الأوروبية في تحقيق تح ول طاقوي يقوم عمى الإستثمار أكثر في الطاقات البديمة النظيفة والمتجددة، واحت ارم البروتكولات الدولية بحماية البيئة.
الكممات المفتاحية: الغاز الج ازئري، السياسة الطاقوية الأوروبية ،الإست ارتيجيات الدولية ،الأمن الطاقوي ،التحول الطاقوي ،الأمن البيئي.

The Impact of the Libyan Crisis on Illegal Migration to Algeria

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North Africa is the link between sub-Saharan Africa and the northern side of the Mediterranean, for clandestine immigrants, fleeing climate change and civil wars to Europe, in search of a better life. The number of clandestine immigrants has increased since the crisis in Libya. The current situation is expected to continue due to deteriorate security and climate.

Libya, which was a transit area for clandestine immigrants from Mali, Niger and Central Africa to Europe, became an unsafe route for them; because of the deteriorating security situation and the control of armed groups, particularly the Islamic State in Irak And Syria "Da'ash", which carried out executions against civilians.The large numbers of clandestine immigrants, and the heightened security reinforcements to prevent their movement to Europe, have turned Algeria into a place of residence, where they work like other citizens, particularly in the field of construction.

The fact is that clandestine immigration has become a threat to the national security of countries, with challenges such as organized crime. The facts indicate that a number of those immigrants of various African nationalities are involved in terrorist operations, some of which have been carried out, Before it occurs.

In this paper we will focus on the impact of the Libyan crisis on the increase in the number of African clandestine immigrants to Algeria, which has been transformed from a country of transit into a country of residence, and Algeria's strategy to limit the phenomenon.

The hypothesis of the study is: the continued deterioration of the security situation in the neighborhood is causing an increase in the number of illegal immigrants residing in Algeria, and have security implications.

تأثير الأزمة الليبية على الهجرة السرية نحو الجزائر

تعتبر منطقة شمال أفريقيا همزة الوصل بين أفريقيا جنوب الصحراء والضفة الشمالية للبحر المتوسط ،بالنسبة للمهاجرين السريين، واللاجئين الفارين من التغيرات المناخية والحروب الأهلية إلى أوروبا، بحثا عن عيش أفضل. قد شهدت أعداد والمهاجرين السريين تزايدا منذ الأزمة في ليبيا. ويتوقع أن يستمر الوضع القائم باستمرار التدهور الأمني، والمناخي .

ليبيا التي كانت منطقة عبور لمهاجرين سريين من مالي والنيجر وأفريقيا الوسطى نحو أوروبا، أصبحت ممرا غير آمن بالنسبة لهم، بسبب تدهور الأوضاع الأمنية وسيطرة جماعات مسلحة خاصة تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية في العراق وسوريا "داعش"، التي نفذت إعدامات في حق المدنيين، دفعت بالمهاجرين السريين إلى تغيير الوجهة إلى الجزائر. لم تعد الجزائر مجرد منطقة عبور، فالأعداد الكبيرة للمهاجرين السريين، تقابلها تعزيزات أمنية مشددة لمنع تنقلهم إلى أوروبا، حولت الجزائر إلى موطن إقامة، حيث يزاول هؤلاء المهاجرون أعمالا على غرار باقي المواطنين، تحديدا في مجال البناء .

وتأتي أهمية الموضوع من كون الهجرة السرية، أضحت تهديدا للأمن الوطني للدول، بما تطرحه منتحديات على غرار نشاطات الجريمة المنظمة، إذ تشير الوقائع أن عددا من المهاجرين السريين، من جنسيات أفريقية مختلفة، ضلعت في عمليات إرهابية، بعضها نفذت، وبعضها تم الكشف عنه قبل وقوعه .

سنركز في هذه الورقة البحثية على تأثير الأزمة الليبية في تزايد عدد المهاجرين السريين الأفارقة إلى الجزائر، التي تحولت من بلد عبور إلى بلد إقامة، وإستراتيجية الجزائر في الحد من الظاهرة.

فرضية الدراسة هي: استمرار تدهور الأوضاع الأمنية في الجوار يسبب ارتفاع عدد المهاجرين السريين المقيمين في الجزائر، وتكون له تداعيات أمنية.

The Strategy of "Create a Safe Zone in Syria" A Mechanism for the Protection of Turkish National Security in the Face of Terrorist Organizations -Model Daesh-

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Islamic State represents as a terrorist organization that was established in the country of Iraq and the Levant, which became famous in the media on behalf of al Daesh, a threat to international and regional security alike, where this organization emerged in Iraq, the beginning and then spread to the rest of the region, especially Syria as cancerous cells, a threat is increasingly state basic (Iraq), and the countries that carried them were active and which, in addition to neighboring countries.

Turkey remained as a neighboring country of the region, which Daesh began his activity, is facing a growing threat to security on many levels, in the years 2014-2016 was about 159 Turkish people their lives, because of these attacks by terrorist elements, perhaps the most famous of October 10 bombings in Ankara, the July 20 explosion, which left 102 and 33 cases and rolls in a row, which highlighted the growing terrorist threat in Turkey.

As a result, we find that the Turkish foreign policy in recent times, focused on emerging issues in the regional environment, which is now threatening its national security directly, and in the forefront of these issues extends Daesh along its border with Syria, so Turkey has worked in coordination with its allies to develop a new strategy toxicity "creating safe area" in order to expel Daesh from northern Syria, what would ease the regulatory threats and attacks in Turkey, and ease the burden of the refugee influx.

Therefore, this paper will seek to answer the following problem: Did Turkey was able to mitigate terrorist attacks directed against it identified through the creation of a safe zone strategy?

Keywords: Safe Area / Organization Daesh / Terrorism / National Security

استراتيجية"خلق منطقة آمنة في سوريا"كآلية لحماية الأمن القومي التركي في مواجهة التنظيمات الإرهابية - داعش نموذجا-

تشكل الدولة الإسلامية باعتبارها تنظيم إرهابي تأسس في بلاد العراق والشام،والذي اشتهر إعلاميا باسم تنظيم داعش،تهديدا للأمن الدولي والإقليمي على حد سواء،حيث ظهر هذا التنظيم في العراق بداية ثم امتد إلى باقي دول المنطقة خاصة سوريا كخلايا سرطانية،تهدد بشكل متزايد دولتهم الأساسية(العراق)،والدول التي نفذوا إليها ونشطوا فيها،بالإضافة إلى الدول المجاورة.

ظلت تركيا باعتبارها دولة مجاورة للمنطقة التي انطلق منها داعش،تواجه خطرا متزايدا يهدد أمنها على العديد من المستويات،ففي عامي 2014-2016 فقد حوالي 159 شخص تركي حياتهم،بسبب هذه الهجمات التي تنفذها عناصر إرهابية،لعل أشهرها تفجيرات 10 أكتوبر في أنقرة،وانفجار 20 جويلية،والذي خلف 102 و33 حالة وفات على التوالي،الأمر الذي سلط الضوء على التهديدات الإرهابية المتزايدة في تركيا.

كنتيجة ل ذلك نجد ب أن ال سياسة الخارجية التركي ة ف ي الآونة الأخيرة،ركزت عل ى القضايا الناش ئة ف ي محيطها الإقليمي،والتي باتت تهدد أمنها القومي بصفة مباشرة،وفي مقدمة هذه القضايا تمدد داعش على طول حدودها مع سوريا،لذلك عملت تركيا وبالتنسيق مع حلفائها على وضع استراتيجية جديدة سمية "خلق المنطقة الآمنة" بهدف طرد داعش من شمال سوريا،ما من شأنه تخفيف تهديدات التنظيم وهجماته في تركيا،وتخفيف عبئ تدفق اللاجئين إليها.

لذلك فإن هذه الورقة ستسعى للإجابة على الإشكالية التالية:إلى أي مدى استطاعت تركيا ومن خلال تبنيها استراتيجية خلق المنطقة الآمنة من تخفيف حدة الهجمات الإرهابية الموجهة ضدها؟

الكلمات المفتاحية:المنطقة الآمنة/تنظيم داعش/الإرهاب/الأمن القومي

Turkish-Iranian Relations Between Yesterday and Today's Challenges

Dr. Asma Abdi
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In the last decade, the world has witnessed important political and security transformations: the emergence of the waves of democratic transformation and the emergence of regional and international forces in strategic depth, such as the Middle East. The main forces in this conflict were Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Iran as a regional side. America and Russia in its international framework, along with alliances and international groups and human rights intervened in solving the internal conflicts and the so-called Arab Spring. Depending on it we ask the following question:

What is the reality of Turkish-Iranian relations before 2011 and the challenges of dynamic reality in a globalized world?
To answer this problematic, we propose the following axes:
1.The Iranian-Turkish relationship before 2011
The conflict over strategic status in the Middle East
The future of relations in the context of political and security convergence.

العلاقات التركية الايرانية بين الأمس وتحديات الوقت الراهن

شهد العالم في العقد الأخير تحولات سياسية و أمنية مهمة تمثلت في ظهور موجات التحول الديمقراطي وبروز صراع قوى إقليمية ودولية على العمق الاستراتيجي كمنطقة الشرق الأوسط وقد كانت القوى الأساسية في هذا الصراع هي قطر , السعودية , تركيا , إيران كجانب إقليمي . و أمريكا وروسيا في إطاره الدولي إلى جانب تحالفات وتجمعات دولية وحقوقية تدخلت في حل ومسار النزاعات الداخلية ودول

ما يسمى بالربيع العربي .وعليه, ماهو واقع العلاقات التركية الإيرانية قبل سنة2011 و بين تحديات الواقع الديناميكي في عالم معولم ؟

للاجابة على هذه الإشكالية نقترح المحاور التالية :

1 - العلاقة الإيرانية التركية قبل 2011

2- الصراع على المكانة الإستراتيجية في الشرق الأوسط

3- مستقبل العلاقات في ظل التقارب السياسي و الأمني.

The Phenomenon of Religious Extremism in Arab Societies: The Causes and Mechanisms of Treatment

Dr. Antara Ben Merzouk

We will try through this intervention study the phenomenon of religious extremism in Arabic societies, to answer some questions raised by this topic.
What are the reasons for the prevalence of religious extremism in Arabic societies? What are their effects? And how it can be prevented and combated?
The answer will be through addressing these points:

- Religious extremism: search in terms of concept.
- Reasons for the prevalence of religious extremism in Arabic societies.
- Fallout spread phenomenon of religious extremism in Arabic societies.
- Combating religious extremism in Arabic societies between therapeutic and preventive mechanisms.

ظاهرة التطرف الديني في المجتمعات العربية: الأسباب وآليات العلاج

سنحاول من خلال هذه المداخلة دراسة ظاهرة التطرف الديني في المجتمعات العربية، وذلك من أجل الإجابة عن بعض الأسئلة التي يثيرها هذا الموضوع.

ماهي الأسباب التي أدت إلى انتشار ظاهرة التطرف الديني في المجتمعات العربية؟ ماهي آثارها؟ وكيف يمكن الوقاية منها ومكافحتها؟

الإجابة ستكون من خلال تناولنا لهذه النقاط:

-التطرف الديني: بحث في دلالة المفهوم.

-أسباب انتشار ظاهرة التطرف الديني في المجتمعات العربية.

-تداعيات انتشار ظاهر التطرف الديني في المجتمعات العربية.

-مكافحة التطرف الديني في المجتمعات العربية بين الآليات الوقائية والسبل العلاجية.

Political Islam in the Arab Spring Countries: Between Political Action and Characterization Terrorist: The Cases of Tunisia and Egypt

Dr. Amrani Kerboussa

One of the most important repercussions of the Arab Spring revolutions is the rise of political Islam to the scene of events and prominent in the decision-making in several countries, after he was absent for decades. His arrival in several Arab countries like Egypt after the revolution of January 25, 2011 and Tunisia following the January 14 revolution in 2011 was a major challenge for the ruling elites, while the arrival of the Muslim Brotherhood was considered a setback by the military establishment. On 30 June 2013 under the pretext of protecting the state from the "obsession of brotherhood". While this was not the case in the political Islam experiment in Tunisia, when the Islamic Renaissance movement led by Rashid Ghannouchi managed to lead the political scene in the country in partnership with a different political ideology, despite winning a majority in the legislative elections in the first free electoral experiment after the revolution. Therefore, we are trying to dismantle the reality of political Islam in light of the revolutions of the Arab Spring by comparing the cases of Tunisia and Egypt.

الإسلام السياسي في دول الربيع العربي: بين الفعل السياسي والتوصيف الإرهابي بالإشارة إلى حالتي تونس ومصر

من أهم التداعيات التي أفرزتها ثورات الربيع العربي هي صعود الإسلام السياسي إلى مشهد الأحداث بشكل بارز بل وتقلده زمام صناعة القرار في عدة دول، بعدما كان غائبا أو مغيبا لعقود من الزمن. وقد شكل وصوله في عدة بلدان عربية كمصر بعد ثورة 25 يناير 2011 وتونس عقب ثورة 14 يناير 2011 تحد كبير للنخب الحاكمة، فبينما اعتبر وصول جماعة الإخوان المسلمين إلى السلطة نكسة انتهت بالانقلاب عليهم من طرف المؤسسة العسكرية. في 30 جوان 2013 بحجة حماية الدولة من" هاجس الاخونة". في حين لم يكن الأمر كذلك في تجربة الإسلام السياسي في تونس، حين تمكنت حركة النهضة الإسلامية بقيادة راشد الغنوشي من قيادة المشهد السياسي في البلاد بالشراكة مع فواعل سياسية مختلفة عنها إيديولوجيا، وهذا رغم فوز بأغلبية الأصوات في الانتخابات التشريعية في أول تجربة انتخابية حرة بعد الثورة. وعليه فورقتنا البحثية هذه؛ تحاول تفكيك واقع الإسلام السياسي في ظل ثورات الربيع العربي من خلال المقارنة بين حالتي تونس ومصر .

The Role of Soft Power and Social Networks on Recent Developments in the Middle East, Case Study: Al Jazeera

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Today we live in an age that almost all facets of media and social communication have pervaded our lives. No topic or issue, such as political, economic, cultural, military, etc. can be thought that the media do not plays a role in that. Studying the wars that took place in the past, especially in the last century, shows that most of them started by psychological and media war and then continued and completed with it. Media always is known as an important player for improving foreign policy in all countries and the most important role of it can be defined as a communicational bridge that Informing and helping policy makers and society to understand each other's opinions and political events. In addition to duty of intermediation relationship, media can perform wider roles and functions at political connections such as impact on general thoughts and then foreign policy design process. TV is one of this media that broadcast satellite system increased its impacts. Satellite using cause wide range of foreign programs enter to societies and impact on different dimension of individual and social life. These media can interfere in the process of identification with media broadcast globalization and benefiting ethnic groups from world communication instruments and also decrease importance of time and place, and they can challenge with the role of governments at control on informing sources. Image and sound broadcast technology and utilizes it as a means, enable technocrats to be as news domination over the rest of the world that was common in half of the eighties. From the half of eighties decade, first of all, CNN, then STAR and BBC, have concocted a plan for people from the five continents and then gave small parts of their using right to the smaller networks. Arab countries in the Persian Gulf were entered into this field by buying and renting a satellite network that called "Arabsat" because they thought that the satellite broadcasting is very important for their development.

In this regard, one of the most important measures that the State of Qatar created and developed was Al Jazeera TV network that there is a range of regional and international. Al Jazeera is the main focus in Arabic media. This network will affect the performance of other Arabic media and public opinion in the Arab world and with a critical approach, especially toward the Arabic states, has been increased tolerance and criticism in the Arab world. Al Jazeera create different plans and design themes and issues at different times, that even has imposed political costs a lot to the Qatari government; however, the Qatar government maintains the status of the network in the Arab world and even the world as specific and independent network by tolerance and acceptance of the costs. From the beginning of 2011, Middle East witness basic and serious changes. Governments in Arab world that generally were came from traditional states and was stable, faced with protests widespread popular protests. National, regional and international activists, affected by these developments and tried to adopt policies and measures to less harm and greater achievement. The media were at the forefront of diplomatic interaction. The speed of development in recent years and the Islamic uprisings against authoritarian regimes in the region, caused the king of Qatar play the multilateral role and yet different, in the Middle East and North Africa. Qatar tried to show in media advertising that is along with the war against the despotic in the region. Accordingly, Al-Jazeera has become a brand for Qatar and its globalization. This network played a role in notification, extend and comply with the revolution of 2011 in the Arabic countries and even was an undeniable role to accomplish these revolutions.

نقش قدرت نرم و شبکه های اجتماعی در تحولات اخیر منطقه خاورمیانه، مطالعه موردی: شبکه الجزیره

امروزه در عصری زندگی میکنیم که رسانهها و وسایل ارتباط جمعی تقریباً بر تمام شئون زندگی ما سایه افکندهاند . هیچ موضوع یا مسئلهای را اعم از سیاسی، اقتصادی، فرهنگی، نظامی و غیره نمی توان تصور کرد که رسانهها در آن نقش نداشته باشند. مرور و مطالعه جنگهای به وقوع پیوسته به ویژه در یک قرن اخیر نشان میدهد که بیشتر جنگ ها با جنگ روانی و رسانهای آغاز شده و با آن ادامه یافته و پایان گرفتهاند. رسانه ها همواره نقشی مهم در پیشبرد سیاست خارجی کشورها دارند ،مهم ترین نقشی که رسانهها در فرآیندی سیاسی ایفا میکنند، پل ارتباطی برای اطلاع رسانی و آگاه سازی سیاستگذاران و جامعه نسبت به دیدگاه های یکدیگر و اتفاقات و رویدادهای سیاسی است. تجربه نشان داده است که رسانه ها پیش از وظیفه واسطهگری ارتباط، نقشها و کارکردهای وسیعتری را در ارتباطات سیاسی به اجرا در میآورند، که از آن جمله تأثیر بر افکار عمومی و سپس تأثیر بر فرآیند تصمیم گیری سیاست خارجی است. تلویزیون یکی از این رسانه هاست. آنچه در حال حاضر تأثیرات تلویزیون را افزایش میدهد، بهره گیري از سیستم پخش ماهوارهاي است. استفاده از ماهواره باعث شده حجم وسيعي از برنامه هاي برون مرزي و فرا سنتي به فضاي فكري جوامع وارد شود و بر ابعاد مختلف زندگي فردي و جمعي تأثير بگذارد .با جهاني شدن پخش رسانهاي و بهرهگيري گروههاي قومي از ابزارهاي ارتباطي جهاني و همچنين كاهش اهميت زمان و مكان، اين رسانهها ميتوانند در فرايند هويت سازي دخالت داشته باشند و نقش انحصاري دولتها را در كنترل بر منابع اطلاع رساني با چالش مواجه كنند. فناوری پخش تصویر و صدا و بهرهگیری از آن در جایگاه ابزاری، سلطه خبری فن سالاران را بر بقیه دنیا امکان پذیر میسازد که از حدود نیمه دهه هشتاد میلادی معمول شد. از نیمه اول دهه هشتاد میلادی ، نخست شبکه جهانی CNN و سپس STAR و بعد BBC انگلستان از دور دست برای مردم پنج قاره برنامه تدارک دیدند و سپس حق استفاده جزیی از قرارداد اصلی خود را به شبکه های کوچکتر واگذاشتند. اعراب حاشیه خلیج فارس، ازجمله با این تصور که پخش ماهواره ای به آنان حیثیت »توسعه مندی« می دهد با خرید و اجاره ماهواره ای شبکه »عرب ست« وارد این میدان شدند.

در این راستا یکی از اقدامات مهم دولت قطر ایجاد و توسعه شبکه تلویزیونی الجزیره است که برد منطقه اي و بينالمللي دارد. شبکه الجزیره محور اصلی رسانههای عربی به شمار میرود. این شبکه باعث تأثیرگذاری بر عملکرد سایر رسانههای عربی و افکار عمومی جهان عرب شده و با رویکرد انتقادی، به خصوص در قبال حاکمیتهای عربی، باعث افزایش تساهل و تحمل نقد در جهان عرب شده است. شبکه الجزیره با برنامههای مختلف و طرح موضوعات و مسایل مختلف در زمانهای متفاوت ،حتی هزینههای سیاسي زيادي را به دولت قطر تحميل كرده است؛ با اين حال حاكمان قطر با تحمل و پذيرش اين هزينهها، باعث حفظ جايگاه اين شبكه در جهان عرب و حتی جهان به عنوان شبکهای خاص و متمایز شدهاند. از آغاز سال 2011 ، خاورميانه شاهد تحولات اساسی و آبستن تغييرات جدي بوده است. دولت هاي جهان عرب كه عموماً از دولتهاي سنتی و نسبتاً باثبات به شمار می آمدند، با اعتراضات گسترده مردمی روبرو شدند. كنشگران ملی، منطقهاي و بين المللی، هر كدام به نوعی از

این تحولات متأثر شده و کوشیدند با اتخاذ سیاستها و انجام اقداماتی، بر روند تحولات تأثیر بگذارند و آن ها را به سمت و سویی سوق دهند که آسيب كمتري ببينند و دستاورد فزون تري داشته باشند. در این میان، رسانهها در خط مقدم کنش و واکنشهای دیپلماتیک قرار داشتند. سرعت تحولات در چند سال اخیر و خیزشهای اسلامی علیه نظامهای مستبد منطقه ، حاکم قطر را بر آن داشت نقش چند جانبه و در عین حال متفاوتی ، در تحولات خاورمیانه و شمال آفریقا ایفا کند. قطر تلاش کرد تا در تبلیغات رسانه ای، خود را همراه با جبهه مورد حمایت افکار عمومی منطقه علیه نظامهای مستبد نشان دهد. بر این اساس، شبکه الجزیره به نشانهاي (brand) برای کشور کوچک قطر و جهانی شدن آن تبدیل شده است. این شبکه در اطلاع رسانی،گسترش و متابعت انقلاب هاي سال 2011 در كشورهاي عربی و به سرانجام رسیدن این انقلاب ها نقش غیر قابل انکاري دارد.

Social Problems of the Muslim Minority in India and Possible Solutions

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The fanatic Hindus are moving around like free birds and camels, they say whatever they want, and they do what they think. They reached to the extreme point of hatred against Islam and Muslims, and they are compelling minority Muslims to convert into Hindu religion, and they name this conversion 'gharwapsi'. As for example their thinking is that to become Murtad from Islam, and to come back to the religion of their ancestors is the real religion. Now they say that triple talaq is domestic violence in the Muslim family and injustice to them.

It's not the problem what they are saying, rather the problem is the silence of the present government and its lack of seriousness even in such hot issues.

In this research, I described the problems of Indian Muslim minorities with proper solutions. As for example; compelling the minority muslim family to convert to Hinduism under the current government, the triple talaq in the eyes of the fanatics, and the future of the Indian Muslims. The article is divided into an introduction, three parts, and a conclusion Important results:

1. The purpose of fanatics is to convert Muslims from Islam to Murtad, or to get them out from India.
2. The triple talaq is not domestic violence.
3. There is no place of domestic violence in Islam, rather whoever commit this are regarded as sinful.

Keywords: Murtad, Compelling, Gharwapsi, Triple Talaq, Domestic Violence

المشاكل الاجتماعية للأقلية المسلمة في الهند وحلولها الممكنة

إن المتعصبين من الهندوس يعيشون كالدجاجة المخلاة، والإبل الشوارد، ويقولون ماشاؤوا، ويفعلون ما أرادوا، وقد بلغ بهم الحقد على الإسلام والمسلمين. ويجبرون على اعتناق الهندوسية أسرة أقلية مسلمة ،ويسمون هذا التحويل "gharwapasi"أي: العودة إلى المنزل الأصلي ؛كما تزعم هذه الجماعات المتشددة أن المرتدين عن الإسلام قد رجعوا إلى أصل دينهم و دين آبائهم. وفي هذه الأيام يقولون: إن الطلاق الثلاث هو عنف أسري في العائلة المسلمة، وظلم في حقها. فليست المشكلة ما يقوله المتعصبون من الهندوس؛ وإنما كل المشكلة هي سكوت الحكومة الحالية، وعدم جديتها حتى في مثل هذه القضايا الساخنة المصيرية .
فيتناول البحث مشاكل المسلمين الأقليين الهنود مع حلولها المناسبة، ومن جملة المشاكل: اجبار الأسرة الأقلية المسلمة على اعتناق الهندوسية عهد الحكومة الحالية، والطلاق الثلاث في نظر المتعصبين ،ومستقبل المسلمين الهنود. فاقتضت طبيعة البحث جعله في مقدمة وثلاثة مباحث، وخاتمة.
من نتائج البحث :

1. إنماهدف المتعصبين ارتداد المسلمين عن الإسلام، أو إخراجهم من الهند .
2. الطلاق الثلاث ليس بعنف أسري.
3. لن يقُبل العنف الأسري في الشريعة الإسلامية، ومرتكبه يكون آثما.

الكلمات المفتاحية : الارتداد، الإجبار،العودة، الطلاق الثلاث، العنف الأسري.

İran Diş Ticaretinin Sektörel Analizi

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İran'ın nükleer silah üretme kapasitesinin önüne geçmek amacıyla ABD ve AB ülkeleri tarafından 2012 yılından itibaren İran'a yönelik ekonomik ve finansal yaptırımlar uygulanmıştır. İran'a yönelik bu yaptırımlara destek veren ülkeler olduğu gibi Rusya ve Çin gibi ülkeler de yaptırımları tanımadıklarını ilan etmişlerdir. Buna rağmen İran'a yönelik uygulanan yaptırımlar ekonomiyi oldukça fazla etkilemiştir. Bu etkilerin ilk hissedildiği alan ise dış ticaret sektörü olmuştur. İran dış ticaretinde petrolün payı çok büyük olması nedeniyle yaptırımlar kolay bir şekilde uygulanıp etkileri de hızlıca ortaya çıkmıştır. Yaptırımlar haricinde bu dönemde petrol fiyatları da önemli ölçüde düşmüştür. Bu noktada hem ihraç mallarının fiyatları hem de hacmi düşmüştür. Dolayısıyla bu süreçte petrol gelirleri hızlı bir şekilde düşerek, yabancı sermaye tedariki noktasında İran'ı zor durumda bırakmıştır.

Dolayısıyla incelenecek olan dönem gerek siyasi gerekse konjonktür açısından oldukça önemlidir. Bunun İran ekonomisine yansımalarının incelenmesi önemlidir.

Bu çalışma Ekonomik ve finansal yaptırımların İran dış ticaretinde meydana getirdiği değişim ve hatta dönüşümler sektörel olarak analiz edilmeye çalışılacaktır. Bu çerçevede ambargo sonrasında İran dış ticaretinin hangi ülke ve/veya ülke gruplarına doğru değiştiği incelenecektir.

Post-Islamism and the Rouhani Era

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The Iranian Revolution was a watershed that heralded coming of happy days in its flowering days. When looked from these days, the scene we are observing is not replete with happiness and more importantly a decent life for most of the Iranians. Although, from time time, the Iranians have experienced a modicum of satisfaction from the Islamic revolution, they in general have not been content with the coming of the Revolution. This is the backdrop against which Islamism in Iran transformed into post-Islamism. The candidacy and victory of Hasan Ruhani relying on the reformist camp in Iran have had some implications fort he future of the post-Islamism in Iran. The NoSeferem/New Voyager video clip immediately following the victory of Hasan Ruhani gave some clues regarding the attitude the president would take towards the post-Islamist masses. This study concentrates on the messages given in this clip and examine their implications fort he post-Islamism in Iran.

Keywords: Hassan Rouhani, New Voyager, Post-Islamism, the Presidential Elections

Post-İslamizm ve Ruhani Dönemi: No-Soferem Üzerine bir Değerlendirme

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Devrimin ilk günlerinde İran İslam Devrimi, İranlıların çoğunluğu için güzel günlerin geleceğine dair ümitlerin yeşermesi demekti. 2014'ten geriye doğru bakıldığında gördüğümüz manzara, bu ümitlerin sönmüş olduğu bir tür - Suzanna Maloney'in doğru bir şekilde ifade ettiği gibi- ümit veren bir şeyler ve arkasından gelen "amalar" manzarası . Geçen otuz küsür yılda pozitif yönde gerçekleşen birçok gelişmeyi "amalı" negatif gelişmeler takip etmiştir. Özellikle Humeyni'nin ölümünü takip eden süreçte beklentilerin karşılanamaması, islamcılığın post-islamcılığa evrilmesi sonucunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Post-islamcılığın yükseldiği toplumsal tabana baktığımızda, "İslamcı" bir rejimin halkın devrim taleplerini karşılayamaması ve bunun halkta oluşturduğu hayal kırıklığının yerleşmiş olduğu zemin görüyoruz. Bu zeminin siyasi arenadaki görünürlülüğünün yükselişe geçtiği sekiz yıllık Hatemi (19972005) ve Yeşil Hareketi'inin etkili olduğu 2009 cumhurbaşkanlığı seçim arefesi dönemleri, bu hareketin talep ettiği siyasi kazanımları gerçekleştirememesi ile sonuçlanmıştır. "Reformist" olarak tanımlayabileceğimiz bir cumhurbaşkanı olan Hasan Ruhani'nin seçiminden sonra, halktaki karşılığı gittikçe aratan bu hareketin rejim düzeyindeki etkisinin ne olacağı meselesi, geçmişteki sonuç vermeyen etkilerden sonra, merak edilen bir soru. Daha doğru bir ifade ile dünyaya İran'ın "yeni yüzü" olarak "takdim edilen" Ruhani'nin cumhurbaşkanlığı, İran'da post-islamcılığın geleceğine dair söyleyeceği sorusu üzerinde durulması gereken bir mevzu gibi duruyor. Biz de bu bağlamda, bu perspektif çalışmamızda, İran'ın yeni cumhurbaşkanının "No-Seferem" adlı video çalışmasının, postislamcılığın geleceğine dair verdiği ipuçları üzerinden bunun nasıl bir gelecek olabileceğine bakacağız. Buna bakmadan önce post-islamcılığın ne olduğuna ve bunun İran'da yeşermesine kısaca bir göz atmak gerekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hasan Ruhani, No-Seferem, Post-Islamcılık, Cumhurbaşkanlığı Seçimler

Continuity and Change in the Relationship Between the Army and Political Power in Mauritania

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The independence of the third world was the beginning of a new era of conflict between the ruling elites of those countries, his main theme was the race for the succession of the colonizer in the rule of those countries. As elites intensified, some important features surfaced as a direct result of that conflict, a set of characteristics that characterized the experience of governance in the world's contagious countries. Including the emergence of a pattern of patriarchal state with its well-known characteristics such as the character of the state's governance,And the absence of any kind of separation between the public life and private life of its managers, and the tyranny of the view that public jobs are a means of material wealth, and that the political system operates according to the network of the leader and followers, and the use of power and employment in the service of officials, making them suffer from a state of public failure contributed to the extent The existence of a total rupture between the peoples of these countries with their various demands and expectations, on the one hand, and between their ruling elites and the way in which they have exercised the rule on the other,at the forefront of these elites is the military establishment, which in most of these countries has formed the mole and moor in terms of the exercise of governance.

This paper seeks to address the issue of the relationship between military institutions and the systems of governance in the third world countries, through a model highly responsive to the general manifestations of underdevelopment, namely, the Mauritanian situation, which reflected a kind of special relationship and complex between the institutions of the Kingdom and the military was characterized in the first phase dominated by the first In the later stages of the latter's dominance over the former, making it a case worthy of study and research from the perspective of continuity and change.The importance of this paper stems from the fact that it is trying to present a new vision of the relationship between the two, which takes into account the degree of integration between different social sciences. It opens up to different sciences and disciplines, from history to political sociology to political science, It can not be relied upon to analyze one nook or one specialty, no matter what.This paper attempts to address this issue through a comparative methodology, attempting to distinguish between three basic stages of the military's relationship with the political authority in Mauritania: the stage of civil rule (1960-1978), characterized by the era that the army was completely subject to the domination of civilians (1978-1991). It was characterized by the exercise of direct domination of governance by the military establishment and the almost complete exclusion of the civil institution from the various decision-making centers. The third era, which was the first and last word in all matters of governance,It is the period between 1992 and 2016, and the most prominent feature is that the army has shifted from direct to indirect rule, and remained in the hands of decision-making institutions through the appearance of democracy and the inside is that it is just a soft front of the rule of the military.This paper concludes that the weakness of the institutions of the political society and its proximity, the almost complete absence of civil society and the weakness of its monitoring of public affairs, the large differences between civil political elites, the preference of their own interests for the public good, the weakness of the state institution and its failure to eliminate traditional structures, The dominance of the military over institutions of governance as the most powerful and organized institution able to fill the vacuum caused by the weakness of civil institutions that were supposed to govern.

Keywords: Military, Political Power, Mauritania, Military Elites, Third World

الإستمرارية والتغيير في علاقة الجيش بالسلطة السياسية في موريتانيا ؟

لقد شكل حصول دول العالم الثالث على الإستقلال فاتحة لعهد جديد من الصراع بين النخب الحاكمة لتلك البلدان، كان موضوعه الأساس هو السباق على خلافة المستعمر في حكم تلك الدول، ومع اشتداد المنافسة بين تلك النخب بدأت بعض السمات العامة تظهر على السطح كنتيجة مباشرة لذلك الصراع تمثلت في مجموعة من الخصائص التي ميزت تجربة الحكم في بلدان العالم الثالث، من بينها بروز نمط من الدولة الأبوية بخصائصها المعروفة من قبيل شخصانية الحكم في الدولة، وغياب أي نوع من الفصل بين الحياة العامة والحياة الخاصة لمسيريها، وطغيان النظرة القاضية باعتبار الوظائف العامة وسيلة للثراء المادي ،وكون النظام السياسي يعمل تبعا لشبكة القائد والأتباع، واستخدام السلطة وتوظيفها في خدمة المسؤولين مما جعل تلك البلدان تعاني من حالة تخلف عام ساهم فيها إلى حد كبير وجود قطيعة شبه تامة بين شعوب تلك البلدان بمطالبها وانتظاراتها المختلفة من جهة، وبين نخبها الحاكمة والطريقة التي مارست بها الحكم من جهة أخرى، وفي مقدمة تلك النخب المؤسسة العسكرية التي شكلت في أغلب تلك البلدان قطب الرحى وفرس الرهان فيما يتعلق ببمارسة الحكم .

وتسعى هذه الورقة البحثية إلى مقاربة موضوع العلاقة بين المؤسسات العسكرية وأنظمة الحكم في بلدان العالم الثالث، من خلال نموذج شديد الإستجابة للمظاهر العامة للتخلف، الا وهو الحالة الموريتانية التي عكست نوعا من العلاقة الخاصة والمعقدة بين المؤسستين اللمدنية و العسكرية اتسمت في مرحلتها الأولى بهيمنة الأولى على الأخيرة وفي المراحل اللاحقة بهيمنة الأخيرة على الأولى مما يجعلها حالة جديرة بالدراسة والبحث من زاوية الإستمرارية والتغيير.

وتنبع أهمية هذه الورقة من كونها تحاول تقديم رؤية جديدة للعلاقة بين هذه الثنائية، تأخذ بعين الاعتبار مدى التكامل الحاصل بين العلوم الاجتماعية المختلفة، فتنفتح على علوم وتخصصات مختلفة، بدءا بالتاريخ، مرورا بعلم الاجتماع السياسي، وانتهاءا بالعلوم السياسية، وذلك انطلاقا من كون الظواهر الاجتماعية لايمكن الاعتماد في تحليلها على زواية واحدة، أو على تخصص واحد مهما كان.

وستحاول هذه الورقة تناول هذا الموضوع من خلال منهجية مقارنة، محاولة التمييز بين ثلاث مراحل أساسية مرت بها علاقة الجيش بالسلطة السياسية في موريتانيا الأولى هي: مرحلة الحكم المدني (1960- 1978 م)، وقد تميزت هذه الحقبة بأن الجيش فيها كان يخضع بشكل كامل لهيمنة المدنيين الذين كانو أصحاب الكلمة الأولى والأخيرة في كل شؤوون الحكم، أما المرحلة الثانية، فقد امتدت بين العامين:(1978 - 1991م)، وقد اتسمت بممارسة هيمنة مباشرة على الحكم من قبل المؤسسة العسكرية وإقصاء شبه تام للمؤسسة المدنية من مختلف مراكز صنع القرار أما الحقبة الثالثة، فهي الحقبة مابين (1992- 2016م)،وأبرز سماتها هي أن الجيش قد تحول فيها من الحكم المباشر إلى الحكم غير المباشر ،فظل ممسكا بمقاليد صنع القرار من خلال مؤسسات ظاهرها الديمقراطية وباطنها هو أنها مجرد واجهة ناعمة لحكم العسكر.

وتخلص هذه الورقة إلى أن ضعف مؤسسات المجتمع السياسي واحترابها، والغياب شبه التام للمجتمع المدني وضعف مراقبته للشأن العام، وكثرة الخلافات بين النخب السياسية المدنية وتغليبها لمصالحها الخاصة على الصالح العام، وضعف مؤسسة الدولة وفشلها في القضاء على البنى التقليدية كلها عوامل من بين أخرى قادت إلى هيمنة المؤسسة العسكرية على مؤسسات الحكم بوصفها المؤسسة الأقوى والأكثر تنظيما والأقدر على ملأ الفراغ الناجم عن ضعف المؤسسات المدنية التي كان يفترض فيها أن تحكم.

المصطلحات الأساسية
الجيش، السلطة السياسية، موريتانيا، النخب العسكرية، العالم الثالث.

Reflections of Colonisalism in North African Countries on Literature and Ebu'l Kasim Eş-Şabbi

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North African countries, which include Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, have always drawn interest of colonialist countries throughout history due to their strategic locations. The fact that these countries, which are located on the Mediterranean Coast, are on international marine routes and that they possess significant amounts of natural resources has increased the importance of these countries.

In the past, these soils witnessed numerous wars including the wars fought between the Phoenicians, who established the civilization of Carthage, and Romans. At times, literature became a significant means of defense in these struggles. Here, we are going to deal with the reflections of the freedom wars these countries fought against the French in recent past on literature.

Peoples of Algeria and Tunisia, who remained under Ottoman rule for long years, did not react severely to their new authorities as they did not tamper with the cultural texture of the society. However, when the Ottoman state weakened and Western states joined forces, these lands were occupied by the French, who bore a different cultural identity. With this occupation, an effort was also launched to impose the French culture on native people. A large majority of the society reacted to this repressive colonialist attitude. Some intellectuals from among the people who did not possess weapons to resist the occupation attempted to demonstrate their reaction using their pens.

A young man from Tunisia named Ebu'l-Kasım eş-Şabbi exhibited almost legendary anti-colonialist position in the Arab world with the verses he wrote when he was only 19 years old. The following verses of the poet, who had a poetry book published with the title Songs of Life, are well-known across the whole Arab world:

If one day the society wants to live on
The destiny will be obliged to submit
The night will certainly give way to light
Chains will certainly be broken
Those who refrain from climbing heights
Will remain forever in pits

Moreover, some storytellers and novelists exhibited anti-colonialist attitudes in their works and tried to perform through the heroes in their works what they could not do in practice.

Keywords: Modern Arab Literature, Modern Arab Poetry, North African Countries, Colonialism, Abu'l-Kasem Al-Şabbi

Kuzey Afrika Ülkelerinde Sömürgeciliğin Edebiyata Yansimasi ve Ebu'l-Kasim Eş-Şabbi

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Fas, Tunus ve Cezayir için kullanılan Kuzey Afrika ülkeleri, sahip oldukları stratejik konumdan dolayı tarih boyunca sömürgeci ülkelerin ilgisini hep çekmiştir. Gerek Akdeniz'e kıyı olan bu ülkelerin uluslararası deniz ulaşımı üzerinde yer almaları gerekse önemli doğal kaynaklara sahip olmaları bu ülkelerin önemini arttırmıştır.

Geçmişte bu topraklar Kartaca uygarlığını kuran Fenikelilerle Romalılar arasında cereyan eden savaşlar gibi birçok savaşa mekân olmuştur. Kimi zaman bu mücadelelerde edebiyat önemli bir savunma aracı olmuştur. Biz burada bu ülkelerin daha çok yakın geçmişte Fransızlara karşı yaptıkları özgürlük mücadelesinin edebiyattaki yansımalarına yer vereceğiz.

Daha önce uzun yıllar Osmanlı yönetimi altında bulunan Cezayir ve Tunus halkı gelen yöneticilere toplumun kültürel dokusuyla oynamadıklar için ciddi bir reaksiyon göstermemişlerdir. Ancak Osmanlı Devleti'nin zayıflaması Batılı devletlerin birleşmesi sonucunda bu topraklar farklı bir kültürel kimlik taşıyan Fransa tarafından işgal edildi. Bu işgalle birlikte Fransız kültürü halka zorla empoze edilmeye başlanmıştır. Toplumun büyük bir çoğunluğu bu baskıcı sömürge anlayışına karşı tepki göstermiştir. Karşı koyabilecek silah gücüne sahip olamayan halktan bir kısım entelektüel, tepkisini kalemiyle göstermeye çalışmışlardır.

Tunus'un genç direnişçisi Ebu'l-Kasım eş-Şabbi, henüz 19 yaşında iken kaleme aldığı dizeleriyle tüm Arap dünyasında adeta destanlaşan sömürge karşıtı bir duruş sergilemiştir. Yaşam Şarkıları adıyla yayımlanan bir şiir kitabı olan şairin şu mısraları bütün Arap dünyasında yaygındır:

Günün birinde toplum isterse yaşamak Kader boyun eğmek zorunda kalacak. Gece elbet aydınlanacak Zincirler elbet kırılacak.

Yükseklere çıkmaktan çekinen Ebediyen çukurlarda yaşayacak.

Ayrıca kimi hikâye ve romancılar da eserlerinde sömürge karşıtı bir tavır sergilemişler, pratikte yapamadıklarını eserlerindeki kahramanlar üzerinden yapmaya çalışmışlardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modern Arap Edebiyatı, Modern Arap Siiri, Kuzey Afrika Ülkeleri, Sömürgecilik, Ebu'l-Kasım Eş-Şabbi

Salafi / Wahhabi Movement Currents in the Sinai Peninsula (2004-2015)

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Egypt's Sinai Peninsula is considered to be the only land border with Israel and the Gaza Strip. After 2004 Sinai terrorist attacks, new players appeared in the region. Salafi Takfiri groups who in addition to the government of Egypt and Israel, excommunicate the Islamic resistance movements such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad and other Islamist groups like the Muslim Brotherhood. After 2011 Egypt uprising, Due to the weakness of the security forces in the region, the activities of this group increased to the extent that numerous attacks on the army and the Egyptian security forces, gas pipelines and Israel took place. The overthrow of Morsi and suppressing his supporters caused an increase in attacks on military and security forces in Egypt's Sinai. On the other hand, the increase of attacks in Egypt north Sinai caused a violent and brutal reaction from the army and security forces which led to many losses and damages to the civilians

The first congregation formed by terrorist Takfiri jihadists in the Sinai Peninsula was community of “Tawhid and Jihad", which was established in 2002. This group was responsible of series of terrorist attacks from 2004 to 2006 that led to announcement of the presence of Takfiri terrorism on the region. Despite the massive military operation that led to the killing of Jamaat Tawhid and Jihad leaders by security forces, harsh treatment of the government with the Bedouins in the wake of these attacks, as well as proper grounds for excommunication in the region led the idea of congregation Tawhid and Jihad to be present in the region in spite of divisions that happen in the Tawhid and Jihad.

Sinai Peninsula last eleven years developments, which led to strengthening of takfir in the sensitive area of the West Asian region has a great impact on Egypt, West Asia and even the world. The Egyptian government's lack of attention to long-term solutions and focusing only on security solution inititive for defeating terrorist groups has darkened the prospect of defeating these groups. This article tries to study the Salafi Jihadi tendency in North Sinai region, introduce major congregations to help understand the situation and the proper ways to deal with it.

The Role of Ideology in the Study of Turkey and Iran: Levels of Modernity vs Sectarian Differences

Dr. Agah Hazir
Yüzüncü Yıl University

This presentation traces existing comparative literature on Iran and Turkey in terms of their approaches, themes and findings. It reveals two dominant trends in this literature; Analyses of sectarian differences and analyses of modernization attempts. This presentation argues that, these two common lines of comparisons have serious limitations since they carry the traces of orientalist and ethnocentric assumptions.

The comparative study of Iranian and Turkish historical trajectories is not a recent field of research interest. These two countries have always offered productive grounds for comparing and testing various conceptual problematics: modernisation, secularism, the relations between Islam and democracy, religion and state relations. Without doubt, not only the debates in history and area studies but also the ones in political science and sociology have benefited much from the analysis of the above mentioned comparative topics. The aim of this presentation is to locate and review the comparative works that have been conducted with regard to Iran and Turkey. It is composed of three parts. First, it provides a brief overview of the factors that make Iran and Turkey a fertile ground for comparison. Following this brief contextualisation, the second part of the presentation identifies, then critically analyses two main repetitive lines of comparison between Turkey and Iran which I argue, to a large extent, dominate most of the comparative works. I Then, I will address the weaknesses and strengths of these lines of comparisons. I argue that although they are focusing on different aspects of Iranian and Turkish historical trajectories and although there are exceptions, both axes usually has fallen into the trap of orientalist and ethnocentric assumptions.

Türkiye ve İran Çalışmalarında İdeolojik Etkiler: Modernleşme Düzeyleri ve Mezhep Farklılıkları

Dr. Agah Hazir
Yüzüncü Yıl University

Bu sunuş İran ve Türkiye hakkında varolan karşılaştırmalı literatürün yaklaşım, tema ve bulgu açısından bir incelemesini yapmaktadır. Literatürde iki baskın eğilim gözlemlenmektedir. Mezhep temelli karşılaştırmalar ve modernleştirme temelli karşılaştırmalar. Sunuşta bu iki karşılaştırma biçiminin eleştirel bir değerlendirilmesi yapılmakta ve bu bakışların taşıdığı oryantalist ve etnosentrik eğilimler gösterilmektedir.

İran ve Türkiye'yi karşılaştırmalı çalışmak yeni bir araştırma alanı sayılamaz. Bu iki ülke her zaman çeşitli kavramsal sorunsalları tartışmak için verimli başlıklar sunmuşlardır. Modernite, laiklik, İslam ve demokrasi ilişkisi ve din devlet ilişkileri bu başlıklardan birkaçı olarak sayılabilir. Hiç kuşkusuz sadece bölge çalışmaları ve tarih değil siyaset ilimi ve sosyoloji de bu karşılaştırmalı çalışmalardan etkilenmişlerdir. Bu bağlamda sunuş İran ve Türkiye'ye karşılaştırmalı bakan çalışmaları eleştirel bir incelemeye tabii tutacaktır. Sunuş üç bölümden oluşacaktır. İlk bölümde Türkiye ve İran'ın neden karşılaştırmak için uygun örnekler olduğu tartışılacak sonra litertürde bu karşılaştırmalarda baskın bir şekilde karşılaşılan iki düşünce çizgisi analiz edilecektir. Sunuşta, bu düşünce çizgilerinin-her ne kadar tarihin farklı dönemlerine yoğunlaşsalar ve istisnaları bulunsa da oryantalist ve etnosentrik varsayımlar taşıdıkları iddia edilecektir.

The Ideal of Arab Unity: The Experience of United Arab Republic

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The United Arab Republic, which is internationally renowned and highly empowered by Cemal Abdel Nasser, who rose to the presidency of the dictatorial administration established by Free Officers who took over King Faruk in Egypt, has taken the ideological essence of Arab nationalism. Egypt merged with Syria, which was the president of the Sukru El Kuvvetli, and on February 1, 1958, the establishment of the United Arab Republic was established and this became the most essential element of the new united state. Yemen has also joined the United Arab Republic and this unity has expanded further. Nasir, a low-ranking officer in Egypt before the coup and not a member of a military elite (his father is a postal officer), has begun to see himself as a supra-state leader, even though not more than six years have passed since the coup d'etat. Although Nasser called for a merger with Saudi Arabia and Jordan in order to expand the United Arab Republic, this call remained unrequited. King Saud bin Abdul Aziz al-Saud did not accept this call because he rejected the leadership of Nasser on the Arabs and followed a policy of his own leadership on the Arab world. The conflict between Nasser and King Saud bin Abdulaziz al-Saud continued for a long time. As both criticized each other heavily for politics, this controversy came to an allegation that they were ready to assassinate each other on a radar. The Iraqi coup plotting politics close to the USSR has also adhered to the participation of the United Arab Republic, which has laid down the bases of Nasser. If the heavy nationalistic aspects of this movement, exemplifying the coup in Egypt, had not been crushed by the support of the USSR, no doubt it could be thought that the participation of Iraq in the United Arab Republic could be possible. Despite everything, Nasser regarded himself as a strong leader. He took an aggressive policy against Iran in 1960 with the idea of centering the Arab unity. After all, there was a great separation between Sunni Arabs and Shi'i Iran. As a result, political relations between Egypt and Iran were also damaged. The declaration of Syria's independence from the United Arab Republic on September 28, 1961 was the strongest event that broke Nasser's big plans. The apparent cause of Syria's independence declaration was the military coup in Syria by pro-USSR Syrian officers with communist ideology. The main reason for independence is that Egypt, which is the main element of this republic, which has been in existence for about 4 years, has started to manage Syria like a province. As Nasser assumed the presidency of the United Arab Republic, he always assigned and settled the Syrians' strategic administrative units. Naturally, this policy has brought discomfort to Syria's Syrian troops, causing it to explode at some point. The external support of the USSR has also led to the corruption of the Egyptian and Syrian unity. After Syria, Yemen went on the road to leave. However, Nasser has not changed the name of the United Arab Republic, which is in Egypt only. The name of the United Arab Republic took place after the death of Nasser, the Arab Republic of Egypt. Yemen has become the third participant of the United Arab Republic after Egypt and Syria, leaving Egypt alone by choosing to leave the United Arab

Republic after the departure of Syria. On September 26, 1962, Yemeni soldiers who were supporting Nasser made coups in the country in the wake of Nasser's unbridled Arabic unity and the appearance of being out of Egypt as a manifestation of being out of Egypt. However, this coup did not reach success completely. On the other hand, the royal supporters in Yemen have taken the support of Saudi Arabia and struggled against the pro-Nasser republican group. After one point, the division in the country led the country to split into two as North Yemen and South Yemen. The official name of North Yemen, behind Egypt's support, has been the Arab Republic of Yemen.

Bir Arap Birliği İdeali: Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti Tecrübesi

Adem Bağış Alçiçek

Mısır'da Kral Faruk'u deviren Hür Subaylar'ın kurduğu dikta yönetiminde devlet başkanlığına yükselmiş olan Cemal Abdül Nasır'ın uluslararası düzleme kattığı ve oldukça emeğinin bulunduğu Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti, ideolojik özütünü Arap milliyetçiliğinden almıştır. Mısır, Şükrü El Kuvvetli'nin cumhurbaşkanı olduğu Suriye ile birleşerek 1 Şubat 1958 tarihinde Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşunu gerçekleştirmiş ve bu yeni birleşik devletin en asli unsuru olmuştur. Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti'ne Yemen de katılmış ve bu birlik daha da genişlemiştir. Mısır'da darbe öncesinde düşük rütbeli bir subay olan ve askeri elit bir aileden de gelmeyen (babası posta memuru olan) Nasır, darbenin üzerinden 6 yıl bile geçmemişken kendisini devletler üstü bir lider olarak görmeye başlamıştır. Nasır, Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti'ni genişletmek adına Suudi Arabistan ve Ürdün'e birleşme çağrısı yapmışsa da bu çağrısı karşılıksız kalmıştır. Kral Suud Bin Abdülaziz el-Suud bu çağrıyı kabul etmemiştir çünkü Araplar üzerinde oluşacak bir Nasır liderliğini reddetmiş ve Arap dünyası üzerinde kendi liderliği yolunda bir siyaset izlemiştir. Nasır ve Kral Suud Bin Abdülaziz elSuud arasındaki çekişme de uzun müddet devam etmiştir. İkisi de birbirlerini politikaları nedeniyle ağır şekilde eleştirdiği gibi bu çekişme bir raddede her iki tarafın birbirlerine suikast hazırlığında olduğu iddialarına değin varmıştır. SSCB'ye yakın siyaset izleyen Irak darbecileri de Nasır'ın temellerini attığı Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti'ne katılmaktan imtina etmiştir. Mısır'daki darbeyi örnek alan bu hareketin milliyetçi yönü ağır unsurları SSCB desteği ile ezilmemiş olsaydı, şüphesiz olarak Irak'ın Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti'ne katılımının mümkün olması düşünülebilirdi. Nasır, her şeye rağmen kendini güçlü bir lider olarak görüyordu. Arap birliğini merkeze alan düşüncesi ile 1960 yılında İran'a karşı saldırgan bir siyaset izledi. Ne de olsa Sünni Araplar ile Şii İran arasında büyük bir ayrışma mevcut idi. Neticede, Mısır ve İran arasındaki politik ilişkiler de zarar görmüştür. 28 Eylül 1961'de Suriye'nin Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti'nden bağımsızlığını ilan etmesi ise Nasır'ın büyük planlarını çökerten en güçlü olay olmuştur. Suriye'nin bağımsızlık ilanının zahir nedeni komünist ideolojiye sahip ve SSCB yanlısı Suriyeli subaylar tarafından Suriye'de yapılan askeri darbe olmuştur. Bağımsızlığın zımni nedeni ise, 4 yıla yakın bir süre varlığını sürdüren bu cumhuriyetin asli unsuru halinde bulunan Mısır'ın Suriye'yi bir vilayeti gibi yönetme yoluna girişmiş olmasıdır. Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti'nin başkanlığını Nasır üstlendiği gibi Suriye'nin stratejik idari birimlerine hep Mısırlıları görevlendirmiş ve yerleştirmiştir. Doğal olarak bu siyaset, Suriye'nin Suriyeli askerlerinde bir noktada patlamaya neden olan rahatsızlık meydana getirmiştir. SSCB'nin de dış desteği Mısır ve Suriye birliğinin bozulmasına neden olmuştur. Suriye'nin ardından Yemen de ayrılma yoluna gitmiştir. Ancak Nasır her şeye rağmen sadece Mısır'ın içerisinde kaldığı Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti'nin ismini değiştirmemiştir. Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti adının yerini, Mısır Arap Cumhuriyeti adının alması Nasır'ın ölümünden sonra gerçekleşmiştir. Yemen, Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti'nin Mısır ve Suriye'den sonra üçüncü katılımcısı olmuş olup Suriye'nin ayrılmasından sonra Birleşik Arap Cumhuriyeti'nden ayrılma yolunu seçerek Mısır'ı tek başına bırakmıştır. Nasır'ın Arap birliğinden vazgeçmeme düşüncesinin ve gözünün Mısır dışında olmasının bir tezahürü olarak devreye soktuğu harekât neticesinde, 26 Eylül 1962 tarihinde Nasır destekçisi Yemenli askerler ülkede darbe yapmışlardır. Ancak bu darbe tam anlamıyla başarıya ulaşamamıştır. Öte yandan, Yemen'deki kraliyet destekçileri de Suudi Arabistan'ın desteğini alarak Nasır yanlısı cumhuriyetçi gruba karşı mücadeleye girişmişlerdir. Ülkedeki bölünme bir noktadan sonra ülkenin Kuzey Yemen ve Güney Yemen olarak ikiye ayrılmasına yol açmıştır. Mısır'ın desteğini arkasına alan Kuzey Yemen'in resmi ismi Yemen Arap Cumhuriyeti olmuştur.

Modernism and West, from the Critical Perspective of Iranian Thinkers

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The penetration of the modern mentality and concepts in Iran, among scholars and thinkers of this country, has arouse many reactions. Intended and conceived in a complete different environment from the Iranian-Muslim, modernism became subject of speculation and criticism of many thinkers of this country and perhaps together with the religion, these are the most debated and discussed in recent decades. Even though before there were attempts and thoughts towards modernization, the first thinker who first achieved to build concepts and theories against modernization was Sayed Ahmed Fardid, an Iranian modern philosopher. Fardid on his treatises and philosophical activities, has given a very wide space to meaning and interpreting of concepts such as modernity and the West, and also the difference between modern Western culture and Islamic culture. He is the first who used the concept "Garbzadegi" (in the sense of westernization as an infectious disease to some Iranian modernists) and after addressing in depth of the nature of the modernity and the West, concludes that it should be abandoned by the West as a being and also as a way of life. Considering the impact of Fardid among the thinkers in Iran after him, modernity and the West treats found enormous space in thinker's intellectual activityو particularly the two big thinkers, Dariush Shayegan and Reza Daveri Ardekani were inspired by him. Dariush Shayegan used the themes of modernization and the West treats in the first part of his intellectual life, especially in his book "Asia versus the West". He focused on the processes and philosophies that have led Modern-Western opinion towards incurable nihilism, and he thinks that the Eastern people imitated this nihilistic culture, and they are undergoing a double condition of nihilism. But the one that treated and speculated about the theme of modernity and the West, was Daveri Reza Ardekani, who maybe all of his philosophical activities devoted to these concepts and their results. He believes that Iranian thinkers, should have access to critical humanism and modernity as the most important heritage of the West. The importance of treatment and understanding of these serious theories of Iranian thinkers towards modernity and the West more or less makes us clear about the perception of a large part of Iranian intellectuals and politicians on modernity and the West in general. Also at the beginning of this paper I want to introduce the key ideas and approaches of these Iranian intellectuals concerning the modernization and West, and in the second part to analyze and possibly to prove to criticize them. The methodology of this study is descriptive analytical.

Keywords: Modernity, West, Ahmed Fardid, Dairush Shayegan, Reza Daveri Ardekani

Unemployment in Algeria Requires Economic or Social Political Solutions?

Abderrahmane Khelifi

Until 1988, the Algerian economy was stables, the public institution played an economic and social role at the same time, but with the issuance of the laws of the independence of institutions (in 1988), and competition, adopting an economic policy based on trade and competition, it was necessary to review the legal system applicable to public institutions and subject them to the same rules of the private sector, so that executive decree 94/294

Included the dissolution and liquidation of public economic institutions, this situation affected the unemployment rate, and authority found itself obliged to comply the requirements of the international financial institutions.

This is the fact that the public institution is predominantly economic in nature, and the result of this shift from the closure of institutions and the mass layoff of workers and the introduction of a prior and relative retirement, the shift from the creation of jobs to the protection of wage earners who lose their jobs for economic reasons, which requires the adoption of social attention to the working class and job seekers by issuing the laws of the social by issuing the laws of the social file, to face a new economic and social situation.

البطالة في الجزائر،تتطلب حلول اقتصادية ام سياسة اجتماعية؟
الى غاية سنة 1988 كان الاقتصاد الجزائري يتسم بالاستقرار النسبي،وكانت المؤسسة العمومية تلعب دور اقتصادي واجتماعي في نفس الوقت،لكن بصدور قوانين استقلالية المؤسسات(سنة 1988)،واعتماد سياسة اقتصادية تقوم على المتاجرة والمنافسة،كان لزاما مراجعة النظام القانوني المطبق على المؤسسات العمومية،وإخضاعها لنفس قواعد القطاع الخاص،بحيث صدر المرسوم التنفيذي 294/94 المتضمن حل وتصفية المؤسسات العمومية الاقتصادية،هذا الوضع اثر على نسبة البطالة ،ووجدت السلطة نفسها مضطرة للخضوع لشروط المؤسسات المالية الدولية،وهذا بتغليب الطابع الاقتصادي على الطابع الاجتماعي للمؤسسة العمومية،وما ترتب على هذه النقلة من غلق للمؤسسات وتسريح جماعي للعمال واستحداث تقاعد مسبق ونسبي،وتحول التفكير من خلق مناصب شغل الى حماية الاجراء الذين يفقدون مناصب عملهم لأسباب اقتصادية،وهو ما تطلب اعتماد الالتفاتة الاجتماعية للطبقة الشغيلة ولطالبي العمل بإصدار قوانين الملف الاجتماعي،لمواجهة وضع اقتصادي واجتماعي جديد.
ومن ثم اصبح انشغال السلطة والشركاء الاجتماعيين والخبراء في وضع تدابير عملية لامتصاص نسبة البطالة التي تزداد يوما بعد يوم،والهدف من هاته الدراسة هو وضع اليد على الحلول المعتمدة ومدى فعاليتها في عالم الشغل،وذلك بطرح الاشكالية التالية:
هل ان التدابير التي اعتمدتها الدولة تجد لها مجالا مع جو اقتصادي غير مستقر وأسعار المحروقات المتدهورة،والى اي مدى يجب التوفيق بين الحلول الاقتصادية والمتطلبات الاجتماعية؟
سيتم تناول هذا الموضوع بالتطرق للمحاور التالية :
المبحث الاول:ظاهرة البطالة بصفة عامة
المبحث الثاني: - تأثير البطالة على مبدأ الحق في العمل
المبحث الثالث: - وسائل حماية حق الشباب في العمل
المبحث الرابع: الحلول العملية للقضاء على البطالة
خاتمة(نتائج وتوصيات).

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Involvement Gulf in the Arab Regional System in Light of the Arab Revolutions: A Case Study of Saudi Arabia

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Arab revolutions strongly revived deep powers in the middle-East to reforming a new regional strategic environment and redefining a new rule of engagement in the region. Under this revolutions' circumstances, GCC countries are pushed to escalate their roles as a new attraction in the Arabic World. At start of revolutions, Gulf readings somehow settled on drivers and contradictory estimates towards on how the relationship being between GCC and Arabs revolution countries, whether are concerned as an asset or threat? Do GCC take a hand or ignore Arabs revolutionary countries? Must fir GCC support or contain them? is it possible to be seen as a solved solution or a conflict? Within this strategical circumstance, GCC started adopting to the surrounding environment, that lead the region facing what Florence Gaud called" the golf moment" as a regional emerging caper, not only with the procession of bearings, but further as a strength of the formation of the regional arena. That ultimately and consequently reformed an only Arab sub-system has the ability to move through intervention in certain areas, and directing internal parties towards specific interests, Serving then the status quo. otherwise promot particular party or serving a revolutionary actor. Accordingly, talking about the golf moment within Arab regional system requires talking on the external behaviors of GCC. In this sense, our paper focuses on Gulf's engagement into Arab regional system in terms of factors and their ascensions, then highlights the Saudi politics as an embodiment of the Gulf moment. That will talk about its posion on Arab revolutions and its foreign policy interests.

Keywords: Gulf cooperation council, Involvement, Arab revolutions, Saudi Arabia

الانخراط الخليجي في النظام الإقليمي العربي على ضوء الثورات العربية: دراسة حالة المملكة العربية السعودية

حركت الثورات العربية قوى عميقة في الشرق الأوسط تتجه نحو إعادة تشكيل البيئة الجيواستراتيجية الإقليمية وإعادة تعريف قواعد الاشتباك في المنطقة، فأصبحت دول مجلس التعاون الخليجي في ظل هذه الثورات يتصاعد دورها كمركز جذب جديد في العالم العربي، فمع بداية الثورات العربية وقعت القراءة الخليجية لهذه الثورات في تقديرات مختلفة ومتناقضة أحياناً حول ما ستكون عليه العلاقات الخليجية مع دول الثورات العربية، هل يمكن اعتبارها رصيدا أم تهديداً؟ هل يمكن تجاهلها أو مساعدتها ؟ هل يجب دعمها أو احتوائها؟ هل يمكن النظر إليها نظرة حل للتعاون أم للصراع ؟. أمام هذا الوضع الجيواستراتيجي بدأت دول مجلس التعاون الخليجي تتكيف مع البيئة المحيطة بها، فدخلت المنطقة حسب Florence Gaud بما سمي » باللحظة الخليجية The Gulf Moment« كأبرز مستجد اقليمي ليس له مواقف وفقط، بل كقوة تشكيل أحداث في الساحة الإقليمية، فشكلت النظام العربي الفرعي الوحيد الذي له القدرة على التحرك من خلال التدخل في مناطق معينة، وتوجيه أطراف داخلية نحو مصالح محددة، تخدم حينا الحفاظ على الوضع القائم وفي أحايين أخرى إما تعزيز طرف معين، أو خدمة فاعل ثوري. وعليه فالحديث عن اللحظة الخليجية في النظام الاقليمي العربي يقتضي الحديث عن السلوك الخارجي لدول المجلس التعاون؛ فمن هذا المنطلق سيتم التركيز في هذه المداخلة على الانخراط الخليجي في النظام الاقليمي العربي من حيث عوامل الصعود ومقوماته، ثم السياسة الخارجية السعودية كتجسيد للحظة الخليجية، هذه الدولة برزت بشكل أكثر فيما يتعلق بتعاطيها مع الحراك العربي، لذا سيتم الحديث عن موقفها من الثورات العربية، والمصالح الموجهة لسياستها الخارجية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: مجلس التعاون الخليجي، الانخراط، الثورات العربية، السعودية

Iranian Propaganda in Syria and Iraq: Content Analysis of EL-Manar and ElAAlem Channel's websites.

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Propaganda is one of the most important methods of psychological warfare using in wars. The term "propaganda" as a means of political persuasion is presented by political systems. Although the term was first used in information and communication science during the 19th century. Propaganda is "information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view" Propaganda is often associated with the psychological mechanisms of influencing and altering the attitude of a population toward a specific cause, position or political agenda in an effort to form a consensus to a standard set of belief patterns. It first large-scale and organised propagation of government propaganda was occasioned by the outbreak of war in 1914. After the defeat of Germany in the First World War, military officials such as Lundendorf suggested that British propaganda had been instrumental in their defeat. Adolf Hitler came to echo this view, believing that it had been a primary cause of the collapse of morale and the revolts in the German home front and Navy in 1918. Later, the Nazis adapted many British propaganda techniques during their time in power. Most propaganda in Germany was produced by the Ministry of Public and Propaganda. Joseph Gobbles was placed in charge of this ministry. World war II show continued use of propaganda as a weapon of war, building on the experience of WW1, both by Hitler's propagandist Joseph Gobbles and the British Po Warfare Executive, as well as the United States Office of war information.

And the return to the conflict in the Middle East, especially in Syria and Iraq, which is witnessing a competition between global and regional powers as the Islamic Republic of Iran is one of the most important international players influential in the region where the media are among the most important weapons used to convince supporters and the practice of psychological warfare against opponents In a war that has been called the regional Cold War.

In this study, we will conduct a content analysis for the Arabic-speaking Iranian media. The website of Al-Alam and Al-Manar channels for the news items on the war in Syria and the situation in Iraq from September 2016 to December 2016 in an analytical study of news items using a survey tool to analyze content.

eywords: Propaganda, psychological warfare, sectarianism, popular mobilization, sectarian strife , holy war, popular legitimacy.

Iran Economy: Rantier State and Resistance Economy

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Iran economy has not displayed a remarkable economic performance after the 1979 Revolution. Iran can be characterized as a country with a large number of interconnected structural problems. The country has faced with unilateral and multilateral strict sanctions since the 1980s. In order to protect the principles of the Revolution as well as to curb the adverse effects of these sanctions, the country has pursued protectionist and inward oriented policies in economic arena. In addition to two interconnected factors (the external pressure stemming from the sanctions and also internal concerns about protecting Revolutionary principles), Iran has another structural weakness: dependency on oil revenue. Oil revenue constitutes the bulk of both external revenue as well as budget revenue and moreover GPD growth heavily depends on both volatility (negatively) and the growth of oil sales (positively). The long negotiations between P5+1 powers and Iran over the nuclear program have resulted in an agreement (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action-JCPA) on January of 2016. With JCPA, some of the economic sanctions over Iran were lifted. According to some experts, after the nuclear deal, the moderate Rouhani government would introduce some essential measures to integrate Iranian economy into the global markets. However, it has been observed that the existent internal power distribution is not compatible with Rouhani's intention to commence market economy friendly reforms. On the contrary, Iran's Supreme Leader recently proposed the "Resistance Economy Doctrine" which does not incorporate nor praise liberal and global-friendly economic policies. The doctrine enjoins a state-dominated economy along with import-substitution policies. In this study, the objective is to analyze the current economic problems of Iran, particularly paying attention to the effects of "Resistance Economy Doctrine" over structural economic problems including oil dependency and distributional conflicts. Since the rant stemming from oil revenue is a pivotal parameter in power distribution and conflict among strong actors in policy making process, this study will analyze the implications of "Resistance Economy Doctrine" over power distribution.

İran Ekonomisi: "Direniş Ekonomisi" ve "Rantiyer Devlet" Sistemleri

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1979 İslam Devrimi sonrası İran ekonomisi parlak bir gelişim performansı gösterememiştir. İran ekonomisi birbirleri ile geniş kesişim kümeleri olan birçok yapısal sorunla karakterize edilebilir. Ülke uzunca süredir ambargolarla karşı-karşıyadır. İslam Devrimini koruma refleksi ile Batılı ülkeler tehdit olarak algılanmış ve ülke kendi kapatmayı tercih etmiştir. Buna ilave olarak uygulanan ambargolar bu içe yönelmeyi desteklemiş ve derinleştirmiştir. Petrol gelirlerinin milli gelir ve bütçe içindeki payı ülke ekonomisine yön veren diğer bir önemli değişkendir. İran'ın nükleer çalışmaları nedeniyle 2000'li yılların sonlarına doğru zaten var olan ambargolara yenileri eklenmiştir. Ancak uluslararası toplum ile İran arasında yapılan görüşmeler sonucunda 2016 yılı ocak ayında nükleer çalışmaları nedeniyle uygulanan ambargolar askıya alınmıştır. Bu görüşmelerin nihayetlenmesi sonrasında İran ekonomisinin daha liberal ve küresel bir rotaya yöneleceğine yönelik beklentiler oluşmuştur. Ancak İran iç siyasetinde rüzgâr farklı bir yönden esmektedir. İran Dini Lideri tarafından yakın zamanda ortaya atılan "Direniş-Ekonomisi" doktrini İran'ın ithal-ikameci rotada yoluna devam edeceği yönündeki duruşunun tahkim edilmesi anlamına gelmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı bir yandan petrol rant geliri ve diğer taraftan ithal ikameci stratejinin aynı cenderede nasıl harmanlandığını analiz etmektir. Çalışmamızda İran ekonomisinin içerisinde bulunduğu yapısal sorunların bu iki karakteristikten nasıl beslendiği göstermektir.

Constitutional Transformation in The Ottoman Empire And Iran: A Comparative Perspective

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Both the Ottoman Empire and Iran has rich historical backgrounds in terms of their civilizational, political and socio-economic experiences. Going back to thousands year old Middle Eastern civilization, Asian nomadic cultures and Islamic civilization, both the Ottoman Empire and Iran have been influenced by a vast array of civilizational and cultural developments. However, the Ottoman Empire was exposed to Roman and Byzantine influences especially after Constantinople was taken with the end of Eastern Roman Empire in 1453. Particularly Ottoman *Kanunnames* were written under the influence of Eastern Roman Justinian law and they bestowed the Ottoman people, namely the *Teba'a* juridical status and the Ottoman State a juridical code. Therefore, coming from different political and juridical experiences, this study aims to understand how the constitutional development in the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th century and beginning of the 20th century occurred in comparison to the constitutional development in Iran in 1906 in a social and historical context.

Iranian and Turkish Narratives in the Middle East Complementation or Contradiction?

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Developments in the Middle East as well as intraregional coalitions and alliances have a mostly ideological nature. In other words, regional strategies are inspired by ideas and identities. Bobby S. Sayyid, the author of "A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism," believes that at present four worldviews and narrations; that is, the Western one as well as Iran's revolutionary worldview, Arab Sultanism, and Turkish Kemalism [with the latter being developed and revised by Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party are in confrontation and interaction in the region. He says that while sultanate regimes are on decline, other worldviews are not able to offer any complete and absolute substitute and replacement for it. As a result, about 20 years ago, he imagined an uncertain and undetermined situation for the Middle East in which Turkey's Kemalism would compete with the Iranian way of thinking. At present, we practically see that confrontation among the aforesaid worldviews, existence of theoretical, spiritual and identity voids, in addition to foreign and security-based interventions have joined hands to bring about a tragic situation in the Middle East. When rationalist worldviews such as Turkish and Iranian Views defuse each other's energy, the result is creation of big spiritual gaps, which instead of getting mixed with a civil environment inside the two sides, get mixed with a security environment and pave the way for the emergence and expansion of such terrorist groups as Daesh and al-Nusra Front.

Therefore, cooperation between Turkey and Iran, for the following reasons, can be a sound strategy for breaking the above vicious circle. Despite many differences between the two countries over regional issues and Turkey's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), one of the easiest solutions could be relative expansion of cooperation between Tehran and Ankara because:

1. Due to historical and religious reasons and since they have been a venue for encounters among different worldviews, Turkey and Iran have basically been, and still are, promoters of moderation. First of all, Anatolian Islam has always felt some kind of affinity with Iran throughout history due to three major factors that abound in it, that is, mysticism, domination of wisdom and philosophy, and the love of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH)'s Household. Secondly, the two sides enjoy common grounds including commonalities in such fields as religious and cultural identity and history in addition to common experiences in the area of modernity and interaction with the Western powers. The bilateral ties are mostly free from any religious and ethnic hatred. Thirdly, the two countries share a common fate right now in the face of major transregional powers. Iran and Turkey are also facing common ethnic and social problems and vulnerabilities.

2. Turkey is the sole country in the region through whose cooperation it would be possible to tone down and even totally defuse psychological operations and propaganda that aim to fan the flames of Shia-Sunni war. If we managed to do away with the notion of Arab-non-Arab war during the Iraqi imposed war on Iran through cooperation with Syria as an Arab country, Tehran-Ankara axis can now play the same role and thwart the operations launched to foster a war between Shias and Sunnis.

3. If the Iranian and Turkish worldview rival as well, the final outcome of this situation would be a void of identity and knowledge and civility, which will result in more extremism and terrorism and turn into a historical incentive for further expansion of Salafi ideas. Final product of a row between Iran and Turkey would be growth of Salafist ideas and extremism as a result of which extremism will find more breathing space. Under these circumstances there would be no room for the development of the Islamic Republic of Iran's tenets, and neither civil ideas of the Muslim Brotherhood would thrive, nor the political philosophy of civil and economy-based Justice and Development Party, which claims not to be bound by party limits but be a civil movement. The current situation of relations between the two countries with regard to regional issues is to same extent reminiscent of lose-lose game and will be

detrimental to both sides and only beneficial to Salafism and irrational movements, which are their common enemies. On the level of hard power, it must be also admitted that if the two countries enter into a conflict through confrontation or alignment with extremism and Zionism, their domestic and foreign policies would totally get out of a civil, economic, trade-based, and development-oriented phase and become more securitized as a result of which the only parties to benefit would be Western countries, the Zionist regime and the Salafists. Basically speaking, Turks cannot forge a successful long-term partnership with Saudis due to their identity-based disharmony. Iran and Turkish cooperation and co-Existence are indispensable.

The Theoretical Essence of Crisis in Middle East and North Africa and the Ways to Exit It

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There are many years that Middle East and North Africa are in a complicated and critical situation. War and terrorism have caused insecurity, destruction of the foundations, emigration of millions of the peoples and the extents of this crisis have reached inside Turkey. There is no doubt that in the genesis and continuation of this situation, in addition to the interferences of the world powers and the destructive role of Israel and also the convulsive policies of the governments of these areas, the political, cultural, religious and economic factors are also very important.

In this article in addition to reviewing the four important factors of the crisis of the area after the 1st world war, the exit ways of the present situation are discussed. The four factors are: 1- the autocratic, absolutist governments, 2- sectarianism and religious divisions, 3- extremist nationalism and 4- class distinctions. This author assesse the essence and the sources of the present crisis first theoretical and doctrinal and then political and economic; and by emphasizing the role of the scholars and intellectuals of the Islamic world in causing belief and doctrinal changes, proposes four solutions for eluding and exiting the crisis: 1- emphasis on the religious mutuals and Islamic unity and abstaining sectarianism and fundamental thoughts, 2- strengthening the democracy and amplifying the democratic organizations by establishing rules and fascinating the various casts of people, 3- expanding justice and just distribution of the facilities, 4- advancement of the humanitarian, moderate thoughts which are based on peaceful coexistence and keeping away from preaching radical, lingual and religious disgusts. The emphasis on these factors does not mean belittling the national, regional and international peaceful actions, but it asserts that the radical solution of the crisis of the Middle East and North Africa and all Islamic countries is due to taking such policies.

Keywords: Middle East, North Africa, religious Mutuals, Expanding Democracy, Humanitarianism, Social Justice

Bir İslami Sosyal Hareketin Dönüşümü ya da İslami Hareket Yeniden Yorumlanıyor: En-Nahda ve Yeni Politikalar

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2010 sonlarında Ortadoğu ve Kuzey Afrika'da büyük dönüşümlere yol açan ve açmaya devam eden isyanlar ve devrimler rüzgârının çıkış noktası olan Tunus'ta sadece siyasal yapıyı değil, ülkenin en önemli İslami hareketi sayılacak En-Nahda Hareketini de oldukça etkilemiştir. Devrim sonrası iktidar tecrübesi yaşayan ve daha sonraki süreçte seçimlerde güç kaybeden hareket, 2016'da gerçekleştirdiği onuncu olağan kongresinde yeni dönüşümlere kapıyı araladı.

Öncelikle En-Nahda Hareketi lideri Raşid Gannuşi'nin ürettiği "Müslüman Demokrasi" kavramının "Siyasal İslam" kavramına bir alternatif sunmasıyla başlayan dönüşüm yapısal olarak da devam etmektedir. Bu dönüşümün temel dinamikleri yine Tunus'un sosyo-politik yapısında, hareketin bizatihi kendisinde ve Raşid Gannuşi'nin edindiği tecrübelerde yatmaktadır.

En-Nahda hareketinin bu dönüşümü aynı zamanda din ve devlet arasındaki ilişkilerinin de yeniden yorumlanması olarak belirtilebilir. İslam'ın ilk dönemlerinden itibaren tartışılagelen bu can alıcı mevzu Raşid Gannuşi tarafından Tunus'un sosyo-politik yapısına göre yeniden tanımlanmaktadır. Fakat bu teorinin sadece Tunus'ta değil diğer İslam ülkelerindeki İslami hareketlerde de önemli etkiler bırakacağı ve hatta o hareketler tarafından rol-model alınacağı aşikârdır.

Bu çalışma En-Nahda hareketinin 2016 yılında aldığı yeni kararların zeminini, kaynaklarını, temel karakteristiklerini, uygulamalarını, Tunus ve diğer İslam ülkeleri üzerindeki muhtemel etkilerini incelemenin yanı sıra hareket içindeki dönüşümün yapısal özelliklerini de ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır. Ayrıca bu çalışmada birey, toplumsal hareket, din ve devlet arasındaki ilişkilerin Gannuşi'nin yeni metaforuyla nasıl ortaya konduğu tartışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tunus, En-Nahda, İslami Hareket, Demokrasi

İran ve Türkiye Eğitim Sistemlerinin Amaçlarının Karşılaştırmalı Analizi

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Türkiye ve İran, bölgenin iki önemli ülkesi olarak tarihi, kültürel, siyasi, ekonomik ve coğrafi ilişkilere sahiptir. Türkiye ve İran'ın benzer modernleşme ve Batılılaşma süreçlerinden geçmeleri iki ülkenin eğitim politikalarına da yansımıştır. Bu durumun bir sonucu olarak Batılılaşma eğilimi, iki ülkenin eğitim sistemini başta amaçlar olmak üzere yapı, yönetim ve finansman açısından etkilemiştir. Bu nedenle iki ülkenin eğitim sistemlerinin karşılaştırılmasının literatüre katkı sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir. Türkiye ve İran'ın eğitim sistemlerine bakıldığında birçok benzerliğin ve farklılığın olduğu görülmektedir. Ancak siyasal rejimleri birbirinden çok farklı olmasına rağmen, her iki ülkenin eğitim sistemleri, tek tip insan yetiştirmeyi hedeflemeleri bakımından oldukça benzer amaçlara ve özelliklere sahiptir. Bu çalışmada tarihten bu yana güçlü ve dengeli ilişkiler kurmuş iki komşu ülke olan İran ve Türkiye'nin mevcut eğitim sistemlerinin amaçları karşılaştırılmıştır. Araştırma genel olarak karşılaştırmalı eğitim çalışmaları doğrultusunda bir içeriğe sahip olup Türkiye ve İran eğitim sistemlerinin amaçlar açısından özellikleri, benzerlikleri ve farklılıkları tespit edilmiş, bulgular yorumlanmış ve çeşitli önerilerde bulunulmuştur.

Anahtar sözcükler: Karşılaştırmalı eğitim, Türkiye eğitim sisteminin amaçları, İran eğitim sisteminin amaçları.

Comparatıve Analysıs of the purposes of Educatıon Systems in Iran and Turkey

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Turkey and Iran have historical, political economic and geographical relations as the two important countries of the Middle East. These ongoing relationships requires the comparison of the educational systems of both countries. When we look at the education systems and status of the two countries, from demographics to schooling rates, from objectives to the structure it is possible to find serious similarities. There are differences to note as well. Despite the incompatibility between the political regimes of the two, they are similar in targeting to create a uniform and homogenous nation.

Similar modernization processes in both countries have influenced the adaptation of similar educational policies and implications. As a result of that, the favour of westernization influenced the structure, objective, management and financing of education system in both countries. The purpose of this study is to compare and contrast the educational systems of two neighboring countries Turkey and Iran that built the strong relationship by handling the existing education systems by addressing to the similarities and differences of general structure, objectives and principles. This study figures out the similarities and differences of Turkish and Iranian educational systems in structure and main purposes, interprets the findings and propose several suggestions.

This study figures out the similarities and differences of Turkish and Iranian educational systems in purposes, interprets the findings and propose several suggestions. In this context, horizontal and vertical approaches beside survey model have been employed.

Keywords: comparative education, the aims of Turkish educational system, the aims of Iranian educational system.

İran Devrimi Sürecinde Şah'a Muhalif Gruplar ve Propaganda Metotları

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İran Devrimi, yirminci yüzyılın son çeyreğinde neredeyse tüm İran halkının ortak iradesiyle gerçekleşti. Devrim uzun bir sürecin sonucuydu. Bu sürecin Devrime kazandırdığı en önemli nokta zamanla farklı fikirlerin ortak paydalarda buluşabilmesiydi. Nitekim İran Devrimi'nin temel dinamikleri yirminci yüzyılın ilk yıllarından itibaren belirdi. Pehlevi rejiminin uygulamalarına karşı 1960'lı yıllardan itibaren somut şekilde varlığını ortaya koyan muhalefet zaman içinde gelişti. Bu süreçte Şah, baskı, korku, kontrol yöntemi gibi çeşitli metotlarla muhalif güçlerin tepkilerini ve protestolarını bastırdı. Bu sayede İran'da muhalefet baskıya maruz kalıp yok olmaktansa, yer altında gizli örgütlenmelere yönelirken Şah, onları yok ettiğini, en azından kontrol altında ve sınırlı olduklarını düşündü. Şah'a veya Pehlevi rejimine karşı fikirleri olan gruplar ise varlıklarını korumak ve fikirlerini yaymak için için çeşitli örgütlenme ve propaganda metotları geliştirdi.

Bu çalışmada 1960'lı yıllardan itibaren Muhammed Rıza Pehlevi'nin "Ak Devrim" olarak adlandırılan reform programı, İran'ın dış devletlere sunduğu ayrıcalıklara tepki olarak gelişen muhalefet, bu muhalefetin propaganda ve örgütlenme metotları incelendi.

İran coğrafi ve stratejik önemi ve dış dünya ile kurduğu bağlar göz önüne alındığında, devrim sürecinin gelişimini dış faktörlerden soyutlamak tam olarak mümkün olmaz. Bu sebeple Devrim sürecinde dış güçlerin İran ve bu muhalif hareketlerle ilişkilerine bu çalışmada genel bir çerçeve ile değinildi.

Araştırma için, Devrim sürecinde İran basınından bazı örnekler, Amerikan arşiv belgeleri, dönemin siyasilerinin ve Devrim lideri olarak Humeyni'nin çeşitli söylemleri kaynak olarak kullanıldı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Propaganda, Devrim, İran, İnkılap, Şah, Dowres

Opposition Groups and Propaganda Methods to the Shah during the Iranian Revolution

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The Iranian Revolution took place in the last quarter of the twentieth century with the common will of almost all Iranian people. The revolution had a long process. The most important point of this process was that different ideas of opposition could meet in common ground. As a matter of fact, the basic dynamics of the Iranian Revolution started from the beginning of the twentieth century. The opposition elements, which were against the implementation of the Pahlavi regime in 1960s, started to develop over time. In this process, the Shah repressed the reactions and protests of dissident forces with various methods such as oppression, fear, and control. In this regard, the opposition in Iran was exposed to pressure and destruction. Moreover, the Shah thought that the opposition elements disappeared or they were under the control of Shah's officers at least. However, the opposition elements organized under secret organizations underground. On the other hands, groups that were against the ideas of the Shah or the Pahlavi regime developed various organizational and propaganda methods to protect their assets and to spread their ideas.

In this study, the reform program called “White Revolution” of Muhammad Riza Pahlavi since 1960s, the development of opposition which was against the privileges given by Iran to foreign states, the methods of propaganda, and the organization of this opposition elements have been examined.

When the geographical and strategic importance of Iran and the links it has established with the outside world are taken into consideration, it is not quite possible to abstract the development of the revolutionary process from external factors. For this reason, in the course of the Revolution, the relations of foreign powers with Iran and these opposition movements have been generally evaluated in this study. For the research, some examples from the Iranian presses during the Revolution, American archive documents, period politics and various discourses of Khomeini as a leader of the Revolution were used as sources.

Keywords: Iran, Propaganda, Revolution, Shah, Dowres, Khomeini

Unemployment Problem in Iran

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Unemployment is a chronic economic problem for Iran. The natural rate of unemployment in Iran fluctuated around 10-12%, not only has associated with the heavy economic consequences in the country, but also brings about many social problems. The study aims at analyzing in detail the ongoing chronic unemployment problem in Iran after the Islamic Revolution. Economic and social policies implemented after the Revolution have had great impacts on existence and deepening of this problem. From this perspective, the factors (including demographic problems, inadequate growth performance, insufficient investment, inappropriate educational policies, labor market rigidities) affecting the unemployment problem will be examined in detail and the unemployment problem will be evaluated from a holistic perspective. Since the existence of chronic unemployment problem has been associated with several other structural and conjectural problems in Iran, the solution will also call for holistic and deep reforms.

Keywords: Iran, unemployment, population, education, Rouhani

Iran Economy During Rafsanjani Era

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Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani served as President of Islamic Republic of Iran for two consecutive terms, 1989-1993 and 1993-1997. During his presidency, Rafsanjani launched a large-scale reconstruction program to repair the physical damage inflicted by the war with Iraq during 1980s. His government strived for implementation of some reforms and economic policies in tune with spirits of liberal ideas and also with market economy. The reconstructing program carried out in Rafsanjani era was financed through the use of short term foreign debt which is regarded as the most unsafe instrument. Excessive amount of short term foreign debt caused difficulties in debt servicing after 1992 which in turn led to a financial crisis in 1993. Due to spread of corruption, worsening of income distribution and also adverse consequences of financial crisis to the large segments of population, Rafsanjani lost his popular support about the end of his second term.

Keywords: Rafsanjani, economic policies, Iran economy

Bifurcating Ideologies and Imbalance of Power: Decision Makers Perceptions and Turkish-Saudi Relationship Post Arab Spring

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Turkey and Saudi Arabia both are amongst the leading political powers of the Muslim world. Their influence and policies critically affect the political events of the Muslim world in general and Middle East in particular. Both are linked with each other through strong religious ties and also share the similarity in terms of being close United States allies. The two powers share a common vision for peace and stability in the region as well as ardently supporting the Palestinian cause. These political commonalities have contributed in strengthening the bilateral relationship of both nations over the years. The highest mark in the relationship came when Turkey initiated a strategic dialogue with the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in September 2008. This initiative paved the way for the institutionalization of the close relationship between Turkey and the GCC member states of which Saudi Arabia is a leading member. These steps also led to an increase in bilateral trade and mutual economic endeavors.

The start of Arab Spring events in the last days of 2010 and then in 2011 changed the political demographics of the region upside down and subsequently also affected Turkey-Saudi relationship and their geo-strategic vision for the region. Turkey welcomed the changes in political status quo of the region and courted the new governments in both Egypt and Tunisia due to ideological proximity as they belonged to Saudi Arabia on the other hand viewed the public uprisings as a threat to the stability of the region. The fall of Husni Mubarak in Egypt was particularly a big setback as this deprived the Saudis of a vital and trusted political ally in the region and further jeopardized the balance of power in region that has already been altered by the American invasion of Iraq. In order to defend the beleaguered monarchy of Bahrain, Saudi Arabia intervened with its troops and quashed the opposition movement while mediated a political transition in Yemen. Syria was the only case where both Turkey and Saudi Arabia principally agreed that Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad must step down. Yet it must be noted that both the countries adopted this stance from different perspectives. Turkey had only supported popular agitations against dictatorial regimes and stressed the need for democratization of these countries. The strategic incentive for Turkey in this democratization, as evident from the elections in Tunisia and Egypt was a surge of Islamist political forces that ideologically were close to Turkey. This invariably raised the political clout of Turkey in the region and elevated its power position. Turkey anticipated that downfall of Bashar Al-Assad in Syria will result into a similar empowerment of Islamist forces further enhancing its regional influence. Saudi Arabia on the hand though highly skeptical of Arab Spring agitation in countries ruled by its allies was supporting the movement against Assad as his removal will deprive Iran from a key ally and thus tilt the regional balance of power in Saudis favor.

It can be deduced that Turkey welcomed the events of Arab Spring as it led to an increase in its regional influence due to the empowering of ideologically like-minded political actors throughout the region. Saudi Arabia on the other hand also viewed the events from a balance of power perspective shaped by ideological forces not amenable to its worldview. Saudi Arabia lost two key allies in Tunisia and Egypt which was highly damaging for its balance of power calculation against Iran. From an ideological point of view the rising political capital of Muslim brotherhood affiliated groups in the region proved equally troubling as this model posed a direct threat to the rule of Al-Saud family itself. Saudi decision to back opposition movement was more dictated by its concerns vis-à-vis Iran rather than the Syrian situation itself. Saudi Arabia was also mindful of the possibility that Bashar Al-Assad's departure might also lead to another Muslim Brotherhood affiliated government. This prompted Saudis to back rebel groups that were composed of mainly military defectors and had a more secular-nationalist outlook. Both Turkey and Saudi Arabia

wanted the same goal but for different reasons. Saudi Arabia wanted Iran to be a net looser from these political events but at the same time it was skeptical of the rise in Turkish power in the region which could have ultimately undermined Saudi political standing in the region. This is precisely when the Egyptian military deposed President Morsi Saudis viewed it as an opportunity to balance this time against the rising Turkish power. This led to a political rift between both countries. Although the problem at heart of the discord was ideology but its manifestation in the regional power politics ultimately resulted in both countries falling apart. It must also be noted that both countries policy line in this manner seriously undermined their balancing efforts against Iran. This disjoint affected the rebel struggle in Syria against Bashar Al-Assad and eventually resulted in a more fractured rebel front against him. The regional balance of power further tilted in favor of Iran by Iranian backed Houthi Rebels takeover of Sanaa in Yemen. Turkey and Saudi Arabia both bore the losses of their political incoherence.

It can be finally concluded that Turkish and Saudi alignment against Iran in the region suffered from diverging ideological multi-polarity, perceptions of decision makers and their respective policies in context of Iran. The linkage of all these factors with regional balance of power further problematized the balancing potential of this alignment. This led to an under-balancing against Iran. Another important factor that contributed to this state of affairs was the severity of Iranian threat vis-à-vis Saudi Arabia and the level of its appreciation by Saudi leadership. The ascent of King Salman to royal throne changed this variable and the new Saudi leadership acknowledged the heightened level of threat posed by Iran to its political power in region. Turkey on the other hand suffered from an acute political isolation in the region mainly after removal of President Morsi. Both these factors eventually contributed to the rapprochement of Saudi Arabia and Turkey.

Nükleer Anlaşma'nın Birinci Yılında İran'ın Enerji Diplomasisi Alanındaki Performansı

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Ülkelerin enerjiye olan taleplerinin gün geçtikçe artması, enerji kaynaklarını elinde bulunduran ülkelerin güçlenmesinin yanı sıra enerji diplomasisinin de ortaya çıkışını sağlamıştır. Petrolün bulunması ve petrolle çalışan motorların icadı, zamanla petrolü hem enerji piyasasında önemli bir sıraya yükseltmiş hem de ülkelerin dış politika hedeflerini şekillendiren ve bu hedeflerin gerçekleştirilmesinde kullanılan bir araç haline getirmiştir. 1950'ler sonrası enerji temelli örgütlerin kurulması ile birlikte enerjinin özellikle dış politika araçları arasında daha da güçlenmesi ülkelerin bu konuya bakışını ve verdiği önemi bir hayli değiştirmiştir. Bu minvalde dünyanın kanıtlanmış en büyük ikinci doğalgaz ve dördüncü petrol rezervlerine sahip olan İran'ın enerji piyasasındaki rolü ve önemi artmıştır. Yaptırımlar öncesinde dünya petrol piyasasının %9,3'üne sahip olan İran yaptırımlar boyunca pek çok alıcısını ve bu sebeple de piyasada gücünü kaybetmiştir. Bu çalışma da İran ile BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nin beş daimî üyesi ve Almanya arasında imzalanan nükleer anlaşmanın yürürlüğe girmesinden itibaren bir yıllık süreç içerisinde, İran'ın diğer devletlerle ilişkilerinde enerji diplomasisini hangi amaçlarla kullandığı ve sonuçlar doğrultusunda başarılı olup olmadığı analiz edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *İran, Enerji Diplomasisi, Nükleer Anlaşma*

Performance of Iran's Energy Diplomacy in the First Year of the Nuclear Deal

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The ever-increasing demand for energy through the World has led to the emergence of energy diplomacy as well as the strengthening of the countries that owner the energy resources. The discovery of oil and the exploitation of oil-powered engines has, over time, upgraded oil as a significant place in the energy market, and has shaped the foreign policy objectives of countries and has become a tool used in the realization of these goals. With the establishment of energy-based organizations in the post-1950s, the strengthening of energy, especially among foreign policy instruments, has greatly altered the way in which countries view this issue. In this way, the role and the prominence of Iran's energy market, which has the world's proven second-largest natural gas reserves and fourth oil reserves, has increased. While having 9.3% of the world oil market as 2012, Iran has lost many of its buyers through sanctions and hence the market power with the nuclear sanctions. Therefore, this article will analyze how Iran has used energy diplomacy in relation to other states and whether it has succeeded according to the results, within a year period since the inurement of the nuclear agreement signed between Iran and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and Germany.

Keywords: *Iran, Energy Diplomacy, Nuclear Deal*

The Role of Western Sahara Issue on Morocco's Africanity and Europeanity National Identity Components

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The Moroccan postcolonial national identity was formed by several components, which are basically Islam, Moroccanity, Africanity, Maghrebity, Arabity, Amazighity and Europeanity. Accordingly, Morocco was a Muslim, Moroccan, African, Maghrebi, Arab, Amazigh and a European nation and state in 1987, when Morocco applied to the European Economic Community by complying the article 237 of the Treaty of Rome that was articulating that only European states can apply for the full membership to the European Communities. Today, the situation changed a bit, because Morocco experienced a shift especially from Africanity and Europeanity to Moroccanity. These two components were shaped by Morocco's perception of Western Sahara issue, in which Morocco preferred Moroccanity to Africanity when it withdrew its membership from the Organization of African Union in 1984, and again Moroccanity to Europeanity when it suspended the relations with the European Union in 2016 due to its attitude on Western Sahara issue. In this vein, Moroccanity was preferred to Africanity and Europeanity due to Morocco's defensive position in the Western Sahara issue.

Keywords: Morocco, Western Sahara, postcolonial national identity, European Union, Africa

Us Involvement in Military Coups After the Cold War: A Comparative Study of Coups in Algeria, Egypt And Turkey

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The question of what determines coup success has been a consistent theme in civil-military relations literature. In discussions regarding which coup attempts succeed and which ones fail, the literature points at different factors from popular resistance to fractures within the coup coalition as well as international support. By discussing the cases of post-Cold War coup attempts in Algeria (1990-1991), Pakistan (1999), Turkey (1997 and 2016), and Egypt (2013), this article underlines popular resistance as popular resistance and the nature of the coup (whether hierarchical or outside command chain) as the most important determinants of coup 'success'. Among five coups discussed only the 2016 coup was carried out outside the military command chain and was resisted by the people in the streets. When people remained silent and military command stayed in unity during the coup attempt in the remaining cases, coups succeeded. When military command fractures and people resist to a coup attempt, international support does not suffice for coup success. This means that determinants of coup success are domestic rather than international.

Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Askeri Darbelere Dahiliyetimiz: Cezayir, Mısır ve Türkiye'de Darbelerin Karşılaştırmalı Olarak İncelenmesi

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Ömer Aslan
Polis Akademisi

Hangi darbe teşebbüslerinin başarılı olduğu, hangi kalkışmalarınsa başarısızlığa uğradığı sivil-asker ilişkileri literatüründe istikrarlı bir temaya işaret eder. Literatür bu soruya cevaben halkın darbe teşebbüslerine direnişinden darbe koalisyonu veya aktörleri arasındaki bölünmelere ve uluslararası destek eksikliğine kadar çok sayıda faktöre işaret etmektedir. Bu makale Soğuk Savaşın ardından, Cezayir (1990/1991), Pakistan (1999), Türkiye (1997 ve 2016) ve Mısır (2013) darbe teşebbüslerini inceleyerek, halk direnişi ve komuta kademesi arasındaki bölünmelerin darbe teşebbüslerinin başarısını etkileyen en önemli etkenler olduğunu göstermektedir. Tartışmaya açılan beş vaka arasında yalnızca 15 Temmuz darbe girişimi, hiyerarşi-dışı ve halkın direndiği darbe girişimi oldu. Halk aktif olarak darbe girişimine direndiğinde ve ordu içerisinde darbe esnasında bölünmeler yaşandığında, uluslararası aktörlerin desteği boşa çıkmakta, darbe başarısı için yeterli olmamaktadır. Darbe teşebbüslerinin başarıya ulaşmasında dış faktörlerden çok iç etkenler daha önemli gözükmektedir.

Türkiye-İran İlişkileri (1923-1979)

Dr. Hakkı Uygur
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1923 Türk tarihi için bir dönüm noktası olduğu kadar komşu İran için de öyledir. Başbakan olan ve 2 sene sonra ilk Pehlevi Şahı olarak taç giyen Rıza Şah'ın "Yurtta Sulh, Cihanda Sulh" ilkesini benimseyen yeni Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin siyasetlerine olumlu yanıt vermesi ilişkilerin hızla iyileşmesine sebep olmuştur. Atatürk ve Rıza şah tarafından temelleri atılan iyi komşuluk ilişkileri Soğuk Savaş döneminde de gelişerek devam etmiştir. Bu çalışmada 1923 yılından İran'da İslam Devriminin olduğu 1979 yılına kadarki süre içerisinde Türkiye ile İran'ın ilişkileri dış politika açısından incelenecektir. Bu çerçevede, yaşanan küresel gelişmelerin de bu iki ülkenin ilişkilerinde oynadığı rol analiz edilecektir.

İslam Devrimi Sonrası İran'da Değişim

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1979 yılında gerçekleşen İslam Devrimi, İran ve Ortadoğu tarihini değiştiren olaylardan biridir. Bu çalışmada üzerinden geçen 38 yılda İran sosyolojisinin hızlı değişimini ele almaktadır. Çalışmada bugün İran'da yaşanan sosyal gelişmeleri anlayabilmek için bazı toplumsal/kitlesel hareketler üzerine kısa kısa değinilecektir. Bu çerçevede İran-Irak Savaşı, Hatemi'nin akamete uğratılan reform çabaları, 2009 seçimleri sonrası yeşil hareket, P5+1 ülkeleri ile nükleer anlaşma, Suriye İç Savaşı üzerine değerlendirmeler yapılacaktır. İran halkının devrim öncesinden beri süregelen değişim talebinin farklı şekillerde devam ettiğinin altı çizilecektir.

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