

8. INTERNATIONAL ASRICA ISLAMIC UNION MODEL SEEKING SOLUTIONS TO CRISES INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

Seeking Solution to the Crisis in the Middle East and North Africa Region

2-3 NOVEMBER 2024



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ASSAM ADALETİ SAVUNANLAR
STRATEJİK ARAŞTIRMALAR MERKEZİ

CONCLUSION
DECLARATION



ASSAM - ADALETİ SAVUNANLAR
STRATEJİK ARAŞTIRMALAR MERKEZİ

ASSAM ISLAMIC UNION MODEL CONGRESSES

2024

Seeking a Solution
to the Crises in the
Middle East -
ODBIF and North
Africa - KABIF
Region" Congress

2025

Seeking a Solution
to the Crises in the
Europe - ABIF and
Near East Asia -
YDABIF Region"
Congress

2026

Seeking a Solution
to the Crises of the
Central Asia -
OABIF and South
East Asia - GDABIF
Region" Congress

2027

Seeking a Solution
to the Crises in the
East Africa - DABIF,
South West Africa -
GBABIF, North
West Africa -
KBABIF Region"
Congress



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ABOUT

ABOUT ASSAM

- ASSAM: Adaleti Savunanlar Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi / Justice Defenders Strategic Studies Center
- Foundation Year of ASSAM's: 2013
- ASSAM's Purpose: ASSAM Congresses; To make determinations on an academic and political basis regarding current problems in world politics, especially the Geography of Islamic Countries; to propose solutions to international, regional and local crises; To determine the necessary institutions for the gathering of Islamic Countries under one will and to create the necessary legislative models for these institutions; It aims to present a solution to the Islamic World and decision makers.
- ASSAM's Fields of Activity: As the Strategic Research Center (SAM), it carries out activities in academic and scientific fields. It organizes the "International ASSAM Islamic Union Model Congresses" annually. It has various social activities such as seminars and training.

ABOUT

EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL ASRICA ISLAMIC UNION MODEL "SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS TO THE
CRISES OF THE MIDDLE EAST – ODBIF AND NORTH AFRICA – KABIF REGION" CONGRESS (2-3
NOVEMBER 2024)



- The congress was held in Turkish, English and Arabic. The papers were compiled into a book and published on the ASSAM Congress WEB Site. The papers can also be published electronically in the ASSAM International Refereed Journal (ASSAM-UHAD). Those who submit papers to our congress and want to have their papers published in the ASSAM International Refereed Journal (UHAD) must prepare their papers in accordance with the paper preparation format of our refereed journal and upload them to the system. Papers/articles will be published in the refereed journal after passing the referee process.
- The Congress Final Reports, which will be prepared for execution, will be sent to decision-making mechanisms and invitees and participants from the Islamic world and will be published on the ASSAM Congress website.



CONGRESS INFORMATION

CONGRESS TITLE

8th INTERNATIONAL ASRICA ISLAMIC UNION MODEL

Congress on

“Searching for Solutions to the Crises of the Middle East – ODBIF and North
Africa – KABIF Region”

CONGRESS DAY AND PLACE

2-3 November 2024

Online, Zoom

NOTIFICATION COUNTRY INFORMATION

Türkiye-8, USA-1, Chad-3, Palestine-3, France-1,
Kashmir-1, Gambia-1, Malaysia-1, Egypt-2, Pakistan-2,
Singapore-1, Tunisia-1, Morocco-1, Syria-1, Yemen-1

Total: 15 Country / 28 Full Text

ORGANISATION

ASSAM | Justice Defenders Strategic Studies Center

IUMS | International Union of Muslim Scholars

UNIW | Union of NGO's of the Islamic World

ASDER | The Association of Justice Defenders

ORGANIZING BOARD

ASSAM Management Board

EDITOR & DESIGN

Emre ÇOMAKLI | ASSAM Digital Media Officer

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3. PREAMBLE

For over 200 years, the world has been exploited by Western civilization. Western intellectuals, including Hegel, Marx, and W.W. Rostow, all believed that the only path that could be followed for each country was the path followed by Western countries. This theory is the main reason for the occupation and domination of the West over our geography.

The West is experiencing a crisis of civilization and is carrying this crisis as a savagery to the geographies under its hegemony. The Islamic geography is one of the most affected by this. After the withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from the stage of history, the colonial British, French and Italians divided the Middle East and North African geography among themselves. They created a lot of artificial offices and distributed them to their collaborators. The political systems established brought nothing but persecution to the peoples.

Today, two factors underlie the problems experienced in the Middle East and North Africa. The first is political and the second is economic.

On the political level, it is the existence of illegitimate despotic political systems internally, while on the outside it is the presence of Israel as the head of a boil in the very heart of Bilad 'ush Damascus and the Maghreb.

The Islamic geography is struggling with internal political crises. This state of instability weakens itself against invasions. Essentially, a political system is characterized by answers to two questions: "In whose hands is the authority and where does the right to seize this authority come from?" Islamic Law has determined the qualifications sought in the head of state and has foreseen that a council of councils (أهل الحلّ و العقد/Ahlul-Hal ve 'l-Aqd) consisting of people with these qualifications will be (el-ENSÂRÎ, 1994) elected and entrusted to the President. Today's political systems of Islamic geography generally do not comply with these principles of Islamic Law.

In the economic dimension, the underground and aboveground resources of these two regions are intended to provide life water to the prosperity of the West without any problems and interruptions. The World Order established after the First World War is for the continuity of this chaotic situation. In the United Nations regime established after the Second World War, Muslims do not have the right to representation and influence. The current international system is not based on the rule of law, but on the law of the superiors, that is, the winners of the second world war.

The owner of the current system in the world, in the words of Luise Marschalko, is *"the insidious monster trying to devour the world, Jewish Nazism, Political Zionism"*. Those who are exploited and massacred are mostly Muslims. Jewish Nazism Political Zionism aims at world domination. They see themselves as the superior race and others as slaves to themselves. They aim to establish Greater Israel and believe that they will achieve world domination with the coming of the Messiah. Unfortunately, the Puritan (Protestant) Christian world sees subcontracting for this purpose as worshipping themselves.

The West is doing its best to prevent the Islamic world from coming together in order to maintain the order of exploitation in the world, especially in the Islamic geography. For this, two sensitive factors in Islamic geography are constantly used. These are sectarian and ethnic differences. As a result of the beginning of the events in 2011, which we call the Arab Spring of the West and the Arab Suffering, North Africa was in turmoil and Libya and Gaddafi paid a heavy price. Libya was occupied and Gaddafi was lynched. Egypt is destabilized, Syria is dragged into civil war. In Türkiye, the invasion attempt was eliminated by the Turkish nation and strong political will on July 15. While the *'Sick West'* attacked the Islamic world altogether, there were invasions and fragmentations with heavy defeats in individual defenses, as in the case of Palestine, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Afghanistan, Yemen. Our resources are being exploited.

Therefore, the Islamic world, especially the Middle East and North Africa (Bilad 'üş Damascus-Maghreb) region, is under the open threat of Zionism

and the '*Sick West*' in terms of its economic, cultural and geopolitical value, underground and aboveground resources. With the intra-civilizational conflict initiated by the West through the clash of civilizations, there is only one way to stop the invasions it has sustained and substituted. This is possible with the establishment and maintenance **of an 'intra-civilization alliance'** by the Islamic world. The implementation of the Islamic Alliance will be effective in ending the persecution in the world. Working for the realization of this goal is the most important duty of all Muslims.

Melih TANRIVERDİ
Chairperson of the Board of
Directors

4. OBJECTIVE

The purpose of the congress titled ASRICA Model Islamic Union *"Seeking Solutions to Middle East and North Africa Crises"* held in 2024 is to address the crises in the Middle East Regional Islamic States Federation-ODBIF and North Africa Regional Islamic States Federation-KABIF geography, two of the federations that make up ASSAM's Model ASRICA Confederation, and to offer solutions.

5. SCOPE

The developments show that the welfare of Muslim nations, the security and survival of states, the establishment and maintenance of peace in the world, the dominance of justice will only be possible with the gathering of the Muslim geography under the umbrella of Asia-Africa, that is, the "ASRICA" confederation. In the model envisaged by ASSAM, there are a total of 18 countries in the Middle East and North Africa geography. Model ASRICA Middle East Regional Islamic States Federation – ODBIF consists of 12 countries including Bahrain, UAE, Palestine, Iraq, Qatar, Kuwait, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Jordan, Yemen, and Model ASRICA North Africa Regional Islamic States Federation – KABIF consists of 6 countries including Algeria, Chad, Morocco, Libya, Egypt, Tunisia.

ASSAM finds it possible to stop the Zionist regime and its supporters who dare from the disorganization of the countries of the region by gathering two regional federations and these regional Islamic Federations under the roof of the Model ASRICA Confederation according to their ethnic and geographical proximity, without changing the national borders of the Middle East Regional Islamic States Federation (ODBIF) and the North African Regional Islamic States Federation (KABIF). At this year's congress, solutions were sought by focusing mainly on the crises in Palestine, Syria, Yemen, Libya and Chad.

6. FINDINGS

6.1. Assessment of ODBİF-Middle East Regional Islamic States Federation Region

6.1.1. Geopolitical Importance of the Middle East

Geopolitics has two elements: One of them is geographical elements, geographical location and characteristics, borders, geographical integrity, geographical breadth and strategic resources, and the other is human elements; social, economic, political, military, culture, religion. The geography of the countries provides an advantage and is also the reason why they are open to threats. It is the geographical elements of the countries that are most affected. Geographical location and features, which are unchanging elements of geopolitics, and sensitivity in one of the geographical integrity features cause internal and external threats. Islamic geography is geographically rich but sensitive, rich in human elements but has a qualitative problem. The void left by the Islamic world is filled by the 'sick west' (USA, EU) and other power-focused states (China, Russia, India).

Since the rise of Islam in the seventh century, the Islamic homeland of the Middle East has been the center of civilization in the Islamic world. The Middle East contains the west of Asia and the eastern borders of Europe in terms of land basin. In terms of sea basins, the south and east of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the southern shores of the Caspian constitute the maritime boundaries of this region. Important inland seas and gulfs such as the Red Sea and Basra are all in this region. The Middle East, which includes all these areas, constitutes the intersection area of three continents. Five of the nine most important sea routes in the world; Istanbul and Çanakkale straits connecting the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, Suez Canal and Aden Strait connecting the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, Hormuz Strait connecting the Persian Gulf to the Indian Ocean are located within this region.

The Middle East is one of the oldest centers of civilization in the world. Islam, the only religion of our Lord, was born here in various compositions and spread to the world. In this respect, the view of the whole world is on this region. The region, which is the meeting point of East and West, has been the crossing point of important trade routes, the exchange center of cultures and commercial goods, the meeting point of beliefs and thoughts throughout history. The Middle East, which the great powers tried to dominate in every period of history, came under the domination of the Umayyads, the Seljuks, the British and the French after the Ottomans, and the colonialist United States and the Soviet Union after the Second World War. Oil, which has been discovered since the end of the 19th century, has become the subject of competition of global oil companies over time. With the presence of oil in the region, its geoeconomic and geostrategic importance has increased. While 63.3% of the proven oil reserves in the world were found in the Middle East countries in 2003 (BP, 2004), this rate decreased to 48.4% in 2012 (BP, 2013) and 47.7% in 2014 (BP, 2015). However, the world's largest oil reserves are still located in this region.

*Table 1 The Place of the Middle East in the World Oil Reserve (thousand million barrels) /
Source: Modeling Inter-State Military Disputes in the Middle East Zuhal Çalık Topuz*

	1994	2004	2013	2014	Total Share %	Reserve / Producti on Rate
North America	127.6	223.7	232.5	232.5	13.7	34.0
Central America	81.5	103.4	323.8	330.2	19.4	*
Europe & Eurasia	141.2	140.8	157.2	154.8	9.1	24.7
Middle East	663.6	750.1	808.7	810.7	47.7	77.8
Africa	65.0	107.6	130.1	129.2	7.6	42.8
Asia & Pacific	39.2	40.6	42.7	42.7	2.5	14.1
World Total	1118.0	1366.2	1701.0	1700.1	100.0	52.5

The fact that **approximately three-quarters of the oil and natural gas resources are in the countries of the region** has made the region very

important for the industrial countries that need these resources. For this reason, the region has become one of the battlefields of superpowers in the 20th and 21st centuries. On the other hand, while the high incomes of the oil producer Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Countries increase the welfare level of the people, the welfare levels of the countries such as Egypt, Yemen, Palestine and Syria, which are not oil producers, have been relatively lagging behind. When we look at the economies of the countries in terms of the balance of payments, it is seen that the oil producing countries have a positive value and others have a negative value. The fact that the agricultural land in the countries of the region is very limited reduces the share of agriculture in national income. The fact that there are more than forty times the differences between the countries with the lowest national income per capita, Palestine, Egypt and Yemen, and Qatar, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, which are the highest, reveals the difference in welfare level between the countries in the region.

After the dissolution of the USSR, geopolitical gap areas emerged in Central Europe, the Balkans, the Middle East, the Caucasus and Central Asia. There are "integrative: religion" and "differentiator: ethnic and sectarian" factors in these gap areas. Oil and gas-rich geographical areas such as the Middle East and North Africa have been turned into a war zone in the last century, their peoples have been confronted with ethnic and sectarian conflicts, and their resources are exploited.

6.1.2. Political Structure and Government Characteristics of the Middle East

The political structure of the Middle East region is diverse and changing. Politically, there are Middle Eastern monarchies, non-democratic regimes, coups, military, single-party or family dictatorships. This difference in political regimes leads to political instability, regional conflicts and serious problems. It is difficult to determine the existence of a relationship between political systems and economic development. Because it is seen that the political structure is not democratic in some

countries where economic development and per capita national income are high and the services and industrial sector are developing.

Table 2 Independence Years of Middle Eastern States/ Source: Modeling Inter-State Military Disputes in the Middle East by Zuhâl Çalık Topuz

<i>States</i>	<i>Years of Independence</i>	<i>Colonial State</i>
<i>Egypt</i>	1922	United Kingdom
<i>Türkiye</i>	1923	-
<i>Iraq</i>	1932	United Kingdom
<i>Saudi Arabia</i>	1932	UK Auspices
<i>Lebanon</i>	1943	France
<i>Jordan</i>	1946	United Kingdom
<i>Syria</i>	1946	France
<i>Israel</i>	1948	United Kingdom
<i>Oman</i>	1951	United Kingdom
<i>Kuwait</i>	1961	United Kingdom
<i>Bahrain</i>	1971	United Kingdom
<i>Qatar</i>	1971	United Kingdom
<i>UAE</i>	1972	United Kingdom
<i>Islamic Republic of Iran</i>	1979	-
<i>Yemen</i>	1990	United Kingdom

6.1.2.1. Monarchies in the Middle East

Of the countries in the region, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Jordan, Kuwait and Oman are monarchies ruled by feudal families. The Saudi family holds power in Saudi Arabia, the al-Khalifa family in Bahrain, the al-Shani family in Qatar, the Hashemite family in Jordan, the al-Sabah family in Kuwait, and the Kabus family in Oman.

- **Saudi Arabia, ruled by the Saudi family, is a country ruled by an absolute monarchy.** All the higher authorities of the administration are in the hands of the men who belong to the royal family. Technically, it does not have a constitution or a basic law that replaces the constitutional text. The Qur 'an is considered as a constitution and the basic laws of the state are based on the

provisions of Sharia. There is no representative institution formed by any election or election in the country. There is only a 150-member advisory council (Meclisü 'l-Sûra), whose members are appointed by the king for four years.

- The political center **of the United Arab Emirates, a federation of seven emirates in the Gulf Region, is Abu Dhabi.**

Between 1971 and 1996, the United Arab Emirates was governed by an interim constitution. In 1996, a new constitution was adopted by the seven emirates. Abu Dhabi, one of the seven emirates, has been designated as the political center of the country by the Constitution. Accordingly, the Council of Supreme Administrators, which consists of the administrators of the seven emirates, is the highest authority of the federation and has the authority to determine the basic decisions and policies related to the federation. Issues other than the powers delegated to this higher body are under the authority of the emirates. While 20 of the members of the 40-member Meclisu 'l-Ittihadu 'l-Watani, who work in the legislative field, are determined by election, the rest are appointed by the federated states. Women have the right to vote and be elected.

- In Qatar, one of the countries with the smallest surface area in the Middle East, under the rule of the al-Shani family, a referendum was held on 29 April 2003 and the constitution entered into force on 9 July 2005. Fifteen members of the 45-member Parliament, which acts as an advisory body, are directly appointed by the emir, while 30 members are elected by popular vote. In the legislative process of the Meclisu 'l-Shura, it has only consultative authority and prepares draft laws. Emir has the ultimate ruling power. There is a limited choice for municipalities in the country and 29 members of the Central Municipal Council are determined by election and perform the advisory function.

- **Although some steps were taken towards democratization after the Gulf War in 1991 in Kuwait under the control of the Es-Sabah family,** a democratic structure has not yet been established. All political and administrative power centers in the country, which was governed by the constitution adopted in 1962, are in the hands of the Sabah family. The Assembly of 50 members, whose members are elected by the people, functions as the legislative assembly of the Council. Since political parties are not allowed to organize in the country, all of the representatives are in an independent position and the government members are natural members of the country. In 1999, women were granted some rights, including the right to vote. Among the Gulf countries, only Kuwait has a legislative body whose members are elected.
- **Jordan, another constitutional monarchy, is ruled by the Hashemite family.** According to the 1952 constitution, there is a bicameral legislative body. The members of the National Assembly (Meclisu 'l-Umma), consisting of 40 people, who serve as the Senate, are appointed by the king. The members of the 120-member House of Representatives (Meclisu 'l-Nuvvab) are elected by the people with a general vote. The role of the king in the administration of the country is very great. Although the activities of political parties are allowed in the country, some parties have boycotted the elections due to the developments in the elections of the House of Representatives. Among the political parties, there are many parties such as the Islamic Action Front, the National Action Party, and the Socialist Baath Party. In addition, the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood Organization on society and politics has an important place.
- **Oman, one of the absolute monarchies of the Middle East, has neither a modern constitution nor fully representative institutions and political parties.** Although it is a monarchy that continues with traditional methods, the Sultan enacted a new Basic Law in 1996. Accordingly, Oman has a bicameral political

structure, the main functions of which are consultancy. The Meclisu 'l-Devle, which has only an advisory function, has 71 members, all of whom are appointed by the Sultan/King. On the other hand, the Assembly, which has a limited legislative and advisory function, has 84 members and these members are elected for a period of four years by the people who have the right to vote according to the limited voting practice. The Sultan nevertheless has the right to have the last word on the election of the people and the authority to reject the election results. The last elections were held in October 2011, and Arab spring protesters also won seats.

- Concepts such as "shura" and "council", which are representative or advisory boards in the countries in the region, are due to the fact that "shura" and "council" are recommended and important methods in Islamic civilization.
- The democratization movements, which accelerated with the end of the Cold War, also affected the Middle East region in the early 2010s and had a transformative effect on political reforms. It is considered that anti-democratic regimes may lead to developments in the direction of giving way to democratic systems in the coming years. Democracy, on the other hand, comes with another dilemma. By managing the masses through non-governmental organizations funded by the press, publications, social media and external sources, the will of the people is surrounded and good and evil are replaced.
- As a result, the mass movements that demanded democratic political reform in Tunisia before 2010, followed by Egypt, Syria and some other countries, had serious consequences. The protests and popular uprising movements against the policies of political powers in the Arab World, especially in the Arab **Spring**, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Bahrain, Algeria, Jordan and Yemen, have erupted as a result of various problems such as unemployment, political corruption, oppressive administration, corruption and severe economic conditions. First, protests and demonstrations

against the power that erupted in Tunisia spread to other Arab countries with a kind of domino effect. Demonstrations and protests that led to the change of power in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen were suppressed in Algeria, Jordan, Morocco, Bahrain and other countries. Although the demonstrations and popular uprising in Syria were bloody suppressed by the armed forces of the government, on December 8, 2024, revolutionary opposition elements took over the provinces west of the Euphrates such as Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Damascus, Latakia and ended the 61-year-old Ba 'ath regime. The actions required for the establishment of the authority in the east of the Euphrates will be carried out with the close support of Türkiye. The Syrian revolution would inspire Middle Eastern countries. It is believed that Syria will be stabilized in a short time with the support of Türkiye as a whole.

6.1.2.2. Republics in the Middle East

Although Egypt, Yemen, Lebanon, Syria, Türkiye, Iraq and Iran are republics, there are serious differences between them in practice. Of these, Türkiye is closer to the West in terms of representation standards. On the other hand, although Yemen looks like a multi-party democratic country, it has had to flee from the country of President Saleh, which has ruled its country authoritatively for many years in the face of the increasing democratic demands and protests of the people, where it is far from democratic standards in terms of implementation. With the effect of many years of civil war and foreign interventions, the country was dragged into political instability and conflicts after the Arab Spring that started in 2011.

- The **Republic of Iraq** was a one-party and one-man dictatorship until the end of Saddam's regime with the invasion of the United States and its allies in 2003. It was not possible to say that the 250-member Majlis al-Watani was the democratic representative institution of the entire Iraqi people and the sole authority in the administration of the country. With the developments in Iraq after the invasion, the dictatorship of the person and the domination of

the Ba 'ath Party were ended. After the First Gulf War in 1991, the creation of no-fly zones divided into three by the United Nations limited the sovereignty of the political power in Baghdad over the whole country and effectively divided the country. In the north, the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Kurdistan Patriotic Union political parties of the Kurds have been put into an active position. After the end of the Saddam regime, a new constitution was adopted on October 15, 2005, political parties were established, new elections were held and steps were taken to establish a democratic system. According to the new system, the head of state is elected by the 325-member parliament (House of Representatives) and the government is formed from the majority party in the Parliament. There is serious competition between many ethnic and religious political parties. Although the country is not a full federation, the Kurdish Autonomous Administration in the north has a federated state-like structure. Iraq has been seeking stability since the US intervention in 2003. Power sharing among different ethnic and sectarian groups in the country is critical for the preservation of political balances. After the parliamentary elections held in 2021, the process of forming a government required long negotiations. Disagreements between Shia, Sunni and Kurdish political groups delayed the formation of the government. Competition, especially between Shia groups, has increased political instability. The conflicts between the Sadr Movement led by Muqtada al-Sadr and other Shia groups negatively affected the process of forming a government. There are structural reasons for the political crises in Iraq. The power struggle, especially among Shia groups, is one of the main factors of the current crisis. While Muqtadaal-Sadr wants to be in the ruling position with the power he has gained, traditional Shia political alliances try to prevent this.

- **On the other hand**, relations between Türkiye and Iraq have been developing recently. The visit of the President of Türkiye to Iraq

in 2024 was an important step towards strengthening relations between the two countries. During this visit, cooperation agreements were signed on issues such as transportation, security,



Map 1 Development Road Project

trade, energy and water resources within the scope of the 'Development Road Project'. The Development Road Project is a project defined as the new Silk Road that will connect Türkiye to the Port of Faw in the Persian Gulf with 1200 kilometers of railways and highways. It will affect and benefit a wide region from Europe to the Gulf states. Ensuring political stability in Iraq is of great importance in terms of regional peace and security. Dialog and cooperation between different ethnic and sectarian groups play a critical role for the future of the country.

- **Iran, which was established as an Islamic Republic after the 1979 Islamic Revolution, is a representative, elective and constitutional republic, but not a democracy by Western standards.** Although the 290-member Parliament is a legislative body formed by the national people with single-degree elections, it is not possible for political parties in the country to enter the power race and participate in the election. The power was shared

between the "guidance authority" (Velayet-i Fakîh) and the "head of state" elected by the general vote of the people. Velayet-i Fakîh, who has the authority to appoint the members and senior state officials of the Şûrâ-yi Nigehban, who has a significant influence on the work of the Majlis-i Şûrâyi Milli, dominates a significant part of the power. Iran follows a separate path in the Islamic world due to sectarian differences, revolutionary ideology, geopolitical interests and nationalist attitude.

- **In the period before the Arab Spring, multiple political parties, constitutions and general voting electoral mechanisms were in place in Syria, Yemen and Egypt. The head of state was elected by the people in a general election.**
- **The majority of the members of the 250-member Meclisu 'ş-Shaab, which was determined by general elections in Syria, belonged to the National Progressive Front (NPF), including the Ba 'ath Party.** The political demonstrations that started in 2011 with democratic demands against the administration of Bashar al-Assad, who was elected as the president in June 2000, led the country to bloody conflicts in a short time and turned into one of the most serious problems of the region with the gradual hardening of the administration.
- Some small reform efforts of the Bashar al-Assad administration were not enough to calm the events. While the Arab League, the UN, the European Union and Western powers, including Türkiye, advocated the withdrawal of Assad from power, Iran, China and Russia sided with Assad and caused chaos to grow. On December 8, 2024, the Syrian National Forces, which had the support of Türkiye and the people, overthrew Assad and dominated the lands west of the Euphrates such as Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Damascus and Latakia. Assad fled to Russia billions of dollars of the Syrian people with him. In order to de-terrorize the east of the Euphrates and stabilize Syria, the Syrian people, with the close support of Türkiye, are wrapping up the pain and wounds of the cruel Assad

period and defending the unity and integrity of the country against the invaders.



Image 1 Republic of Türkiye Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Hakan Fidan -Syrian National Government President Ahmed Al Shara meeting / Source: <https://www.voaturkce.com/a/disisleri-bakani-hakan-fidan-sam-da-hts-lideri-ahmed-el-sara-yla-gorustu/7910194.html>

• **Founded in 1990 by the merger of north and south, Yemen is a multiparty and bicameral republic.** At the end of the protest and popular uprising movements that started in the country in early 2011, President Ali Abdullah Saleh had to leave the country and withdraw from power. Journalist Tevekkül Karman, who was influential in the popular uprising, was awarded the Nobel Prize. Yemen is experiencing a deep political and

humanitarian crisis with the impact of the civil war that started in 2014. Shiite rebels, known as the Houthis, overthrew the government by seizing the capital Sana in 2014 and took control of the northwest of the country. This led to the intervention of the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen in 2015. Today, Yemen is divided into three main regions under the control of different groups:

- a) **Legitimate Government:** It controls approximately 55% of the country's territory. Half of the population lives in these regions.
- b) **Houthis:** Although they hold 25% of the land, they control the regions where more than 50% of the country's population lives.

- c) **Southern Transition Council (STC):** It has a dominance of about 20% in the southern regions.
- This divided structure deepens political instability in Yemen and exacerbates the humanitarian crisis. The civil war in Yemen has worsened the humanitarian situation and increased the number of casualties and internal migrants. The political situation in Yemen is complex and unstable due to the regions controlled by different groups and the ongoing conflicts. The peaceful resolution efforts and humanitarian aid of the international community are critical for the future of the Yemeni people.
 - **Egypt, a republic since the revolution carried out by Jamal Abdel Nasser, who came to power with the coup in 1952, has a long tradition of political parties.** The 518-member People's



*Image 2 Egypt's First President Mohammed Morsi
Elected by People's Vote*

Assembly (Meclis al-Shaab), whose members were elected by the people for a period of five years, had the authority and legislative power to elect the head of state until 2012. There is a 264-member Parliament al-Shura, which acts as an advisory body, and 176 of the members are determined by the people in general elections, while 88

members are appointed by the head of state. It is a bicameral democratic republic. The continuous victory of the National Democratic Party in the elections held during the period of Hosni Mubarak, who had to leave the presidency in February 2011 at

the end of the popular demonstrations that started with the demands for democratization against the administration, revealed that the system in the country was a kind of dominant party system. After Mubarak, in the first two rounds of the elections held between November 2011 and January 2012, the Muslim Brotherhood (Freedom and Justice Party), one of the most important political powers of the country, gained a majority and entered the parliament as the first party. In June 2012, the late Mohammed Morsi, the candidate of the Muslim Brotherhood, won the presidential election, which was held for the first time by the people. However, in 2013, a major political crisis erupted in Egypt, with increasing artificial protests and military intervention against Morsi's rule. Sisi was the youngest member of the Supreme Council of the Egyptian Armed Forces. On August 12, 2012, Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi took the decision to replace Tantawi with Sisi as Chief of General Staff of the Egyptian Armed Forces. Mr Sisi also served as “Minister of Defense” in the Egyptian Council of Ministers. On 3 July 2013, Morsi was dismissed and arrested by the Egyptian army under the leadership of General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi. This has led to violent clashes and thousands of deaths across the country. After his arrest, Mr Morsi was tried on a variety of charges, including “terrorism”, “espionage” and “inciting the public to revolt”. Mr Morsi died of a heart attack during a trial in 2019. There have been significant political developments in Egypt recently. In the Presidential elections held on December 10-12, 2023, the current President Abdel Fattahal-Sisi was elected for the third time with 89.6% of the votes. The participation rate in the elections reached the highest level in the history of Egypt with 66.8%. With the constitutional amendment made in 2019, the presidential term was increased from 4 to 6 years and Sisi's term was extended until April 2024. In this context, Sisi's new 6-year term began on April 2, 2024. As a result, political stability is expected to continue in

Egypt as President Sisi begins his third term. The normalization of relations and increased cooperation between Türkiye and Egypt is considered a positive development in terms of regional peace and stability.

- **The Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan al-Muslimin)** is a political organization founded in Egypt in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna. The organization advocates the establishment of a modern society under the guidance of the Qur'an and Sunnah. After the 1952 coup, it was closed and six of its leaders were executed on charges of treason. The civil institutions of the Muslim Brotherhood, which revived after the 1980s, began to be increasingly effective. While he participated in the 2005 parliamentary elections with independent candidates and won 88 seats, he participated in the November 2011-January 2012 elections held after the removal of Hosni Mubarak from power and managed to get the highest vote and enter the parliament as the first party.



Image 3 T.R. President R. Tayyip ERDOĞAN – Lebanese Prime Minister Necip MİKATİ meeting / Ankara – 18.12.2024

- **Lebanon, which gives the appearance of a semi-democratic country, is also a multi-party republic.** According to the 1926

Constitution, Lebanon, a secular Arab state, has a free economic order governed by a parliamentary regime. The country, which has been exposed to the civil war for many years, has been restored to its current political structure with the "1989 Taif Treaty". With these changes, a political structure suitable for the social, religious and demographic structure was established in favor of the majority Muslims in the country. Accordingly, the Prime Minister comes from Sunni Muslims, the President from Maronite Christians and the Speaker of the Parliament from Shia Muslims. The head of state is elected by the parliament for a period of six years. Thus, the government of the country is in the hands of these three religious groups and is ruled by a trio of Sunnis, Shiites and Christians. Western political parties are organized on the basis of religious groups and their leaders are the heads of small political families. The 128-member parliament is determined by elections held every four years based on a general vote. Lebanon is facing deepening political, economic and military crises in recent years. The sectarian-based political system in Lebanon paves the way for instability. The fact that he could not be elected president for two years and was ruled by an interim government caused the state authority to weaken. This increases the influence of armed groups such as Hezbollah. The country has been experiencing a serious economic crisis since 2019. The Lebanese lira lost up to 95% of its value against the dollar; GDP, which was about 55 billion dollars in 2018, fell to 20.5 billion dollars in 2021. This has greatly weakened the purchasing power of the people. Tensions between Israel and Hezbollah increase the risk of conflict in southern Lebanon. Israel's attacks on Lebanese territory negatively affect the country's security.

- **As a result**, political congestion, economic collapse, security and military tensions in Lebanon threaten the stability of the country.

The support of the international community and domestic reforms are critical in solving these crises. In this context, the following sentence expressed by the Lebanese Prime Minister during his visit to Türkiye on 18.12.2024 is very meaningful. In the interview with Prime Minister Mikati: The statement *"We learned that we should trust God first and then Türkiye"* points out that Türkiye-Lebanon relations will rise on the basis of brotherhood.

- **Palestine, the political structure of Palestine, has a rather complex and divided structure. This situation is due to the internal political dynamics of Palestine and the Israeli occupation and massacres.** Palestine is squeezed into two main regions, mainly the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and both regions are under the influence of different political groups and administrations. In this respect, Palestine is far from unity and solidarity. In order to better understand the political structure of Palestine, we should consider the following main elements:
- The **Palestinian Authority** is the official governing body that dominates the West Bank and was established after the 1994 Oslo Accords. The head of the Palestinian Authority is the Palestinian President and the legislative authority belongs to the Palestinian Parliament. Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas has been president since 2005 and continues to hold office after the elections held in 2009. However, since the elections have not been held for a long time, this situation has led to political tensions.
Palestinian Assembly: The Palestinian Assembly is a body that holds legislative power and determines the internal law of Palestine. After the elections held in 2006, there was a serious division between Hamas and Fatah. This limited the effectiveness of the Palestinian Assembly.
- **Hamas and the Gaza Strip are another important component of the political structure in Palestine.** Hamas is an Islamic resistance movement founded in 1987 and is particularly strong in

the Gaza Strip. Hamas won a major victory in the 2006 elections, securing a majority in the Palestinian Parliament. However, following this victory, clashes erupted between Hamas and Fatah, and in 2007 Hamas took full control of the Gaza Strip. Hamas defends armed resistance against Israel. In the West Bank, it is in competition with the Palestinian Authority (Fatah). Hamas does not recognize the existence of Israel and argues that the occupation should be dismantled from all Palestinian territory.

- **Fatah** is considered a secular and moderate movement, founded in 1965 and is the main component of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Fatah has an effective political power in the West Bank, which has turned into a cantonal structure with invasions.
- **The Struggle for International Recognition and Independence**, Palestine, faces challenges to full international recognition as a state. Although many countries recognize Palestine as an independent state, peace negotiations with Israel have still been unsuccessful. Palestine gained observer state status at the United Nations General Assembly in 2012, but its application for full membership was not accepted.
- **Relations with Israel**, the most prominent aspect in the political structure of Palestine, is relations with Israel in terms of foreign relations. Israel's occupation and settlement policies on Palestinian lands directly affect the political structure of the Palestinians. The peace process with Israel in Palestine's struggle for independence does not have the opportunity to yield a positive result.
- **As a result**, the political structures of the Middle East countries vary and a distinction can be made between republican regimes and monarchical regimes. Some of the monarchical systems are constitutional monarchies, and while there are relatively limited and constitutional-based representative institutions, where the people can participate in the political process to a certain extent, there is no participation of the people in the political process in

countries expressed as traditional monarchies and where certain families hold power and dominate the administration. In such countries, governments are limited to traditional structures and institutions, not through the constitution, and there is always a shift of the system to arbitrariness and totalitarianism. In systems that are far from the phenomenon of representation and legitimacy, which constitute the most prominent feature of modern political systems, there is not much effectiveness of institutions operating within a very limited framework and for consultancy purposes in most places. Power in Iraq remained in the hands of the Ba 'ath Party, the country's only political party, until the invasion of the United States and its allies in 2003. In the new period, important steps have been taken towards the establishment of a government based on the will of the people. In Iran, the activities of political parties have not yet been allowed. It is very difficult to say that in each republic in the Middle East countries, the parties are organized according to Western standards, are influential in political life and function in a democratic environment. While the regimes in Syria, Iraq, Egypt are the dominant party system that evokes a kind of one-party system, it is observed that there is a party system organized on the basis of religious communities and certain families in Lebanon.

6.1.3. Demographic Structure of the Middle East

The Middle East is an extremely complex and diverse region in terms of population structure. This diversity is both ethnically and culturally and religiously. Throughout the history of the region, religions, cultures and ancient civilizations were born and spread around the world, and the fact that cultures are transfer places has been effective in the emergence of diversity in the population structure. Islam's tolerance has a great impact on this. In fact, although the social life of the Middle East has been marked by the oasis and the character of tribal life, industrialization and social change in the countries of the region have recently had a transformative

effect on this quality. The population in the Middle East is basically divided into three main ethnic groups: Semites, members of the Indo-European group and those within the Turanian group. The Semites, who constitute the largest ethnic group in the Middle East, are divided into two main branches. These are the Arabs and the Hebrews. Chaldeans, Assyrians, Akkadians, Babylonians and Assyrians are also included in this ethnic group. Arabs constitute the largest ethnic group both within the Semites and in all other groups. In most of the countries in the region, the Arab population constitutes the majority, and non-Arabs represent the majority only in the territories occupied by Türkiye, Iran and Israel. Although the majority of Arabs are religiously Muslim, they belong to different sects from a sectarian point of view. Although the weight is in the Sunni sects, the Shiite ones also form an important total. Most of the Hebrews, representing the second arm of the Semites, were occupiers in the Palestinian territories and came here from countries outside the region. In addition to the Palestinian lands, there are also Hebrews living as a minority in other countries in the region. The Indian European group, which constitutes the second largest ethnic group, includes Iranians, Armenians, Kurds and Greeks and some small groups. These are mainly Iranian and live in Iran and some other countries in the region. The Turks, who constitute the Turani group, represent the second largest ethnic group in the Middle East. Turks, who constitute the majority in Türkiye, constitute forty-five percent of the population in Iran, while they live as a minority in Iraq and Syria.

The conclusions of N. S. Hopkins and S. E. Ibrahim's research on Arab society in the early 1980s can be generalized for Middle Eastern societies. Accordingly, the general characteristics of Middle Eastern societies are as follows:

- A rapid population growth is observed in Middle Eastern societies.
- The proportion of children and young people in Middle Eastern societies is high.
- Middle Eastern societies have various social problems.

- There is no balanced picture in the distribution of the population between and within countries in the Middle East. While the population density in some countries and places is extremely high, it is extremely low in some countries and places.
- Middle Eastern societies are rapidly urbanizing societies and this increase leads to various socioeconomic problems.
- **The population in the countries has a different structure.**

In the Middle East, there is usually an ethnic diversity. Different ethnic groups do not show a balanced distribution in the region. Arabs, who are generally included in the Semitic group, constitute the dominant ethnic group in all countries except Iran and Türkiye. Arabic is not an official language in these countries. In addition to Hebrew, Arabic was also accepted as the official language in the lands under Jewish occupation. In addition to being the most important science, literature and art language of the region, Persian and Turkish are also important languages of Islamic civilization, especially for the rich Islamic literature. In addition to Arabic, Persian and Turkish, which are the most important languages of Islamic civilization, English has gained widespread use especially in the field of trade, education and diplomacy in all parts of the region since the colonial period.

Although Muslims dominate the Middle East in terms of religion, it should be noted that Christians and Jews are also at a considerable rate. Muslims have a clear superiority in all states except the occupied territories. Although it is stated that 100% of the population in Saudi Arabia is Muslim, it is known that there is a significant Christian population in this country. It is impossible for non-Muslims to live in Mecca and Medina, which constitute the Haram region. However, in cities such as Jeddah, Riyadh and Dahrhan, which are important centers of the country, there are people operating in industry, trade and other sectors. It is known that there are minority Christian communities and Jews in Türkiye.

Muslim identity is not a uniform identity. Religious communities are divided into different religious groups, sects and tendencies. In terms of

Muslims, while the majority are Sunnis, Shiites represent the majority in Iran and Iraq. Among the Shiites, there are also those belonging to different branches such as Ja 'fari, Alawites, Ismailis, and Twelve Imams. Sunnis are also divided into different branches of law such as Hanafism, Shafi 'ism, Hanbalism and Malikism. Hanafism is dominant in Türkiye, Hanbalism in the Arabian Peninsula, and Shafi 'ism in Egypt. Only in Iran is Shiism the official belief. In addition, there is a large Shia population in Syria, Iraq and Lebanon, as well as in the eastern provinces of Saudi Arabia and some of the Gulf countries. In particular, Shiites play a very active role in the politics of Lebanon, Iraq and the Gulf countries. Although the **Nusayris** in Syria, which is a branch of Shiism, had 15% of the population, the Nusayri minority ruled until the Assad regime was destroyed. The **Druze**, who also represent a branch of the Shiites, have supporters in Syria, Lebanon and Israel. The Druze played an important role in the political chaos in Lebanon. For a long time, Türkiye was seen as a completely Sunni country. However, in recent years, with the development of democratic institutions, urbanization and social change, Alevis have begun to make their voices heard. While Ibadi, who represent a separate branch of Islam in Oman, constitute the majority, **Zaydis** represent the majority of Muslims in Yemen. A striking feature is that there is no sectarian structure in any country where Muslims are dominant.

This is an important issue to be considered for the Islamic Union.

Although the Christian population is not large in the Middle East, most of them live in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and in small communities in Türkiye, Iran, Iraq and the Gulf countries. The bloody civil war in Lebanon, which continued for many years, greatly reduced the number and power of Christians. There are Christian minorities in Türkiye and Iran. Among the sectarian diversity of Christians, Protestants, Orthodox, and Catholics are the most prominent. With the efforts of American missionaries active in the region in the 19th century, Protestant and Roman-supported missionaries and Catholic groups were formed, and these continued their existence as well as Orthodox churches with a rich diversity.

Although Jews are in a dominant position in the occupied territories, they also live as a minority in Türkiye and Iran. Small Jewish communities are found in Iraq and some Gulf countries. Although the Jews in the occupied territories constitute a religiously homogeneous group, there are serious differences between those from countries such as Europe and America and those from Asian and African countries. The difference between Jews is not in terms of sect but in terms of culture. Significant cultural differences, especially between those from Islamic countries and those from Christian countries in the region, occasionally lead to conflicts.

6.1.4. The Economic Situation of the Middle East

The Middle East has a strategic position in the economic field due to the intercontinental trade routes in history and today due to its rich energy resources. When the terrorist state Israel is excluded, all the economies in the region are in the developing class. However, there are significant differences between countries in terms of total national income and average income per capita. The difference in the natural and demographic structure of the countries is also seen in their economic structures. The most important sector that stands out in the economic structures of the countries in the region is the petroleum and petrochemical industry. 57.3% of the total crude oil reserves in the world are located in this region. Iran, Iraq, Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia are the leading countries rich in oil reserves. Türkiye, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Israel, Yemen and Egypt are considered poor in terms of oil. The high total national income and average per capita income figures of oil-producing Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates are due to oil, which causes great inequalities between the countries in the region. Considering the total export and import figures of the countries, the high export figures of the oil producing countries draw attention. As a matter of fact, it is seen that the total import figures of countries that are not oil producers, such as Syria, Lebanon and Yemen, are higher in terms of the

balance of payments. In terms of economic welfare and development, a distinction between oil-exporting countries and oil-poor countries seems meaningful. The economic structures of the countries where there are rich oil resources and the industry based on them develops, and their social development based on them show different characteristics from the others. The difference observed in the increase in national income between oil-producing and non-oil-producing countries is entirely due to oil, and this situation is also reflected in the development of the countries. In addition, when the foreign trade balances of the countries are examined, it is seen that the oil-exporting countries generally have a positive value and the oil-poor countries have a negative value. Since foreign trade deficits are generally tried to be closed through foreign debt, economic growth poses a serious problem for countries without oil. In this respect, it is not surprising that the richest countries in the world and the countries among the poorest in the world are located in this region. It is possible to see this in the table below. There are two opposite poles in terms of economic wealth in the Middle East, and while the United Arab Emirates stands out as the richest countries in the region with an income above twenty thousand dollars per capita in countries such as Qatar and Kuwait, Palestine and Yemen are among the poorest countries in the region and also in the world with an income per capita below five hundred dollars. The share of agriculture in national income is extremely low in the Gulf countries, while it is high in relatively poor countries. While this rate is 6.5% in the poorest country, Palestine, it is around 17% in Yemen. Syria is one of the countries with the highest share of agriculture, followed by Egypt, Iran and Lebanon. It is observed that the share of the industrial sector in national income is close to 50% in oil-rich countries. Since the industry is less developed in countries with less oil, the industrial sector is in a backward state. In addition, considering the share of the services sector, this rate is quite high in countries where tourism, banking and finance sectors are developed, and there are many countries with more than 50%, although not at the level of developed countries. In relatively

underdeveloped countries based on agriculture, the services sector is more backward.

Table 3 Main Economic Indicators of Middle East Countries/ Source:
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ae.html>;
<http://www.escwa.un.org/>

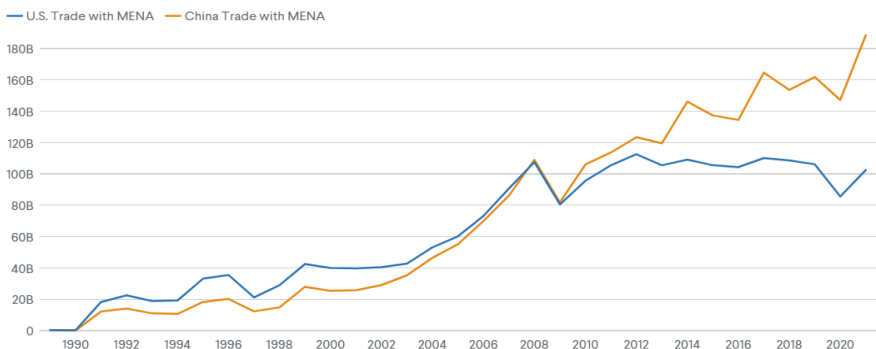
Countries	Total National Income (Billion \$) (at 2010 current prices)	National Income Per Capita (\$)	Sectoral Distribution of National Income Agriculture / Industry / Services	Total Exports (2011) (Billion \$)	Total Imports (2011) (Billion \$)
Bahrain	21902	28240	1/46/53	20.23	16.80
UAE	254394	56722	1/52/47	265.30	185.60
Palestine	4672	1337	6.5/18.4/75.1	0,518*	3,601*
Iraq	89128	2961	6/13/81 (98)	78.38	53.93
Iran	331.0	4580	20/37/43	138.80	76.10
Israel	217332	27170	3/30/67	62.50	70.62
Qatar	100407	78390	0.7/51.3/48	104.30	25.33
Kuwait	147904	50669	1/47/52	94.47	22.41
Lebanon	27195	6485	12/21/67	5411	20.89
Egypt	160582	1970	17/33/50	27.96	57.41
S.Arabia	467601	18555	6/47/47	350.70	106.50
Syria	49277	2321	29/22/49	12.66	13.81
Türkiye	735263	15400	13/30/57	133.00	212.20
Oman	60378	21667	3/45/52	43.53	21.47
Jordan	21259	3465	3/26/72	8066	14.01
Yemen	28748	1254	17/40/43	7127	9183

Over the past two decades, China has quickly become the Middle East's largest trading partner, surpassing the United States. China turned to the region in the early 2000s in search of energy to support the country's economic rise. In 2022, oil and gas accounted for about 83% of all goods China imports from the Middle East. At the same time, China, the world's factory, exports more than \$200 billion in goods to the region, including computers, clothing, and furniture. China is also building comprehensive infrastructure projects across the region as part of the global Belt and Road

Initiative (BRI). These projects include building a new industrial city in Oman, expanding Egypt's Suez Canal waterway, and developing Israel's Ashdod port. China hopes that these projects will increase its political,

China and the United States Trade Heavily With the Region

The total imports and exports between the Middle East and North Africa region and the United States, as well as between the region and China, are measured in thousands of dollars (US\$ thousand) in 2022.



Source: World Bank's World Integrated Trade Solution (WITS). • Get the data

CFR Education
Global Matters

Image 4 Intensive Trade with China and USA with the African Region / Source: <https://education.cfr.org/learn/learning-journey/middle-east-north-africa-essentials/economics-middle-east-and-north-africa>

military and economic influence in the region, as well as expand access to the region's markets and crude oil resources. But as China continues to invest in green energy, the Middle East is once again becoming vulnerable.

Since the region's exports to China are mostly oil and natural gas, falling demand can lead to a decline in prices (CFR, 2024).

6.1.5. Military Situation in the Middle East

With the withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from the stage of history, the Middle East has been remembered for wars between civilizations and states, civil wars, rebellions, revolutions, coups, invasions of foreign powers and ethnic-sectarian conflicts in the last 150 years. For this reason, the Middle East geography can be referred to as the crisis epicenter of the world. If the Middle East is at peace, the world will be at peace. The source of the conflicts is the territorial order built by the colonial states from the beginning of the 20th century to the 1970s as suitable for separation and

conflicts. Borders, artificial states and political regimes have been created by Britain and France in line with their own geopolitical goals. The arbitrary borders of the colonial powers are among the main causes of conflicts in the Middle East geography, leading to border disputes. Examples of territorial disputes between Middle Eastern states include Iran's declaration of sovereignty over Bahrain in 1971 and its occupation of three small islands in the Strait of Hormuz. In Table 5 (Table 2.) Territorial disputes between Middle Eastern states during the Cold War period are shown.

Table 4 Inter-State Territorial Disputes During the Cold War Period/ Source: Modeling Inter-State Military Disputes in the Middle East by Zuhak Çalık Topuz

States	Years
Egypt – Israel	1948 – 1979
Syria – Israel	1948-...
Jordan – Israel	1948-1990
Iran-Iraq	1980-1988
Iraq – Kuwait	1990-1991
Iran-UK/Bahrain	1950-1970, 1979-1990
Iran-UK/UAE	1950-1990
Iran – Saudi Arabia	1950-1968
Jordan – Saudi Arabia	1950-1965
Oman – BAE	1977-1981
Qatar – Bahrain	1867-1990
Saudi Arabia – Iraq	1950-1981
Saudi Arabia – Kuwait	1961-1990
Saudi Arabia – Qatar	1950-1965
Saudi Arabia – UAE	1950-1974

As can be seen in the table above, many Middle Eastern States have experienced many problems with their borders and sovereignty areas. These problems can still cause conflicts today. **Another of the most remarkable features of the conflicts in the Middle East is its perpetual nature.** Despite the negotiations, regime changes and international mediations as a result of the wars between the regional states, competition and conflicts have not ended. Among these conflicts, the Arab-Israeli

conflict has been one of the most permanent conflicts in the international arena, which has evolved into the Palestinian-Israeli conflict since 1973. The Iran-Iraq war is one of the bloodiest and longest-lasting wars in the history of the Middle East. These wars have devastated the regional structure and led to an increase in threat perception and insecurity. In addition to territorial disputes, **another factor of conflicts in the Middle East includes conflicting ideologies, ethnic and religious differences, and superpower competition.** Conflicting ideologies and ethnic-religious differences can be cited as examples of the eight-year war between Iran and Iraq, two regional powers in the 1980s. Although there were many problems that caused the war, after the Iranian Revolution in 1979, Iran's regime export rhetoric caused uneasiness in the security perceptions of the Middle East states due to the effect it could have on the Shia minorities in the surrounding countries.

The main reason for the foreign intervention dimension of the crises in the Middle East is the effort of the colonial powers to keep their oil reserves under control. While the energy resources of the region make it the most important center of attraction in the world, it also causes major conflicts. In this context, the dirty relationship between the wars in the Middle East and the capitalist oil sector emerged in the context of several important events such as the Arab-Israeli wars of 1967 and 1973, the Arab oil embargoes, the closure of the Suez Canal (1967-75).

Regime differences in the Middle East are another cause of conflicts. The Middle East geography is a geography with despotic and authoritarian regimes. This situation causes political, military and economic disputes. In summary, regional disputes in the Middle East played an important role in the escalation of conflicts and accelerated the causes of the conflict. However, territorial conflicts, energy resources, and regime types have an important place under the military conflicts in the Middle East.

Today, there is a competition between countries in the Middle East regarding military expenditures. The revenues obtained from the underground resources of the region are not for the welfare of the peoples,

but for the arms industry of the colonial powers. According to the research of Stockholm University International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), military expenditures in the Middle East reached \$150 billion in 2022. The country with the highest military expenditure is Saudi Arabia with \$75 billion. The purpose of this race is not to oppose Israel and non-regional colonial powers, but for conflicts between countries in the region with artificial conflicts between them. The suggestions and pressures of the colonial powers play an important role in this arms race.

With its historical experience and ancient state tradition among the countries of the region, Türkiye is in a separate position. As a result of domestic and national war industry investments in recent years, Türkiye's defense industry domestic rate has increased to 80%. Thanks to this success, defense industry exporter identity has been added to the traditional military power capacity.

In order to determine the Power Index (PwrIndx) score among the Middle

Table 5 Middle East Countries Military Power Ranking / Source: <https://www.sde.org.tr/haber/orta-dogunun-en-gucu-ordulari-siralandi-turkiye-birinci-iran-ikinci-misir-ucuncu-ve-israil-dorduncu-sirada-haberi-55705>

1	Türkiye	GüçIndx: 0.1697	▲
2	İran	GüçIndx: 0.2269	▲
3	Mısır	GüçIndx: 0.2283	▼
4	İsrail	GüçIndx: 0.2596	▲
5	Suudi Arabistan	GüçIndx: 0.3235	↔
6	Irak	GüçIndx: 0.7441	↔
7	Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri	GüçIndx: 0.8083	▲
8	Suriye	GüçIndx: 1.0026	▲
9	Katar	GüçIndx: 1.0789	▲
10	Kuveyt	GüçIndx: 1.4261	▲

East countries, a ranking was made by the US-based company Global

Firepower by using more than 60 factors such as the technologies, earnings, military unit amounts, financial status, logistics, mobility and geographical location of the countries. According to this ranking, Türkiye ranks first in the capacity ranking. The military capacity ranking of the Middle East countries is as follows.

6.1.6. Causes of Conflicts in the Middle East

There are two obvious reasons for the conflicts in the Middle East. The first is political, the second is economic. In the political dimension, it is the desire of Jews to realize the dream of Arz-ı Mev 'ud with Jewish Nazism Political Zionism and the political turmoil caused by the dictatorial regimes in the countries of the region, and in the economic dimension, it is the desire to make the underground and aboveground resources of the region uninterrupted for the welfare of the west.

With the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which the colonial British and French secretly made among themselves in June 1915 on the wake of World War I, the French aimed to establish a Christian state in Lebanon and the British a Jewish state in Palestine. The common goal of both was to create two boils in the heart of the Islamic World, one Christian and the other Jewish. While the French achieved their goals in part, the British achieved their goals with the support of Jewish capital.

The most important conflict area in the Middle East is the continuous Palestinian lands. Although the Palestinian issue is on the world agenda with the "Aksa Flood" operation on October 7, 2023, its history can be traced back to the 1917 Balfour Declaration. Although it was the scene of political, diplomatic, press and economic initiatives before 1917, occupation, genocide and exile started after this date. With the establishment of the Zionist state in 1948, the Middle East and Palestine became a geography known for occupation and genocide. Since then, Jewish Nazism has followed the barbarism and genocide of Political Zionism in the attacks on Gaza that started in 1948, 1967, 1973, 1987, 1993, 2004, 2006, 2014 and most recently on October 7, 2023.

In the unipolar world order formed with the end of the Cold War, since 1990, the crusades were launched by the POTUS George W. Bush under the leadership of the USA, and Iraq was invaded, followed by Afghanistan in 2001. However, since these occupations caused both material and military losses, they caused objections in the western public opinion. The 'Intra-Civilizational Conflict' thesis put forward by Graham E. Fuller, the permanent political advisor of the American RAND Corporation think tank and former vice president of the National Intelligence Council of the US Central Intelligence Agency, has been implemented through nationalism and sectarianism, which are the two fault lines in the Islamic world. The terrorist organizations established and financed by the West itself have been used as the new means of occupation of the Islamic geography.

In 2011, as a result of the beginning of the events that we call the "Arab Spring" of the West and the "Arab Ordeal" of the West, North Africa was in turmoil and Libya and Gaddafi, who exhibited the harshest attitude towards the West, were made to pay a heavy price. Libya was occupied and Gaddafi was lynched. Syria, on the other hand, was dragged into civil war. The invasion scenario, which was put into effect in Türkiye through FETÖ on July 15, was eliminated by the Turkish nation and strong political will (Özden, N. Milat Newspaper, 2023).

While the region was exposed to external interventions, the domestic political situation of the countries was not very encouraging...

In Tunisia, the Ben Ali regime had a repressive mentality. There were corruption in the administration. This situation led to widespread human rights violations, bribery, and restrictions on political freedoms. In the economic field, serious unemployment rates were seen. This situation had a particularly negative impact on the younger generation. High inflation was causing the public economic distress. The Ben Ali regime had established a system of patronage. In other words, the state offered official opportunities as a blessing to its supporters in order to sustain itself. Therefore, nepotism was at its peak.

When we look at the developments in Bahrain, the Kingdom of Bahrain, which was governed by a constitutional monarchy, gained its independence in 1971, and the first constitution in the country was adopted in 1973. The al-Khalifa family, which holds the government of the country, has had a say in the management of Bahrain since the late 18th century. While the head of the state administration had the title of "Emir" until 2002, with the amendment made, the title of "King" has been used since then. The king has broad powers such as appointing the prime minister and ministers, accepting and dismissing the government, and amending the constitution. The "National Assembly", which was established in the country with the 2002 Constitution, consists of two wings, both of which have 40 members, called the "Council of Representatives" and the "House of Representatives". The members of the Shura Assembly are elected by the king, while the members of the House of Representatives are elected by the people. In Bahrain, which is administratively divided into five governorates, these provinces are Manama, Central Governorship, Muharrek Governorship, Northern Governorship and Southern Governorship.

Although about two-thirds of the Muslim population in the country is Shiite, Sunnis have a dominant position in the state administration. This situation puts Bahrain on a fragile ground politically and socially. The Shiites living in the country occasionally revolt against the state administration on the grounds that they do not have sufficient political representation and cannot benefit from job opportunities equally. The tension that has been going on since the 70s paved the way for the conflict environment in the country in the events that took place in 1979, 1994 and 1997. In the recent past, especially during the "Arab Spring", which erupted in 2011, the tension reached the most dangerous point, a serious chaos prevailed in the country, and the protests continued by the Shiite elements were suppressed by the administration by force. However, this fragility in the social structure in Bahrain strengthens the possibility of the country experiencing similar political chaos in the coming period. While

the Shiite elements in the country are supported by Iran, the administration tries to balance Iran's influence on the country with its close contact with Saudi Arabia.

In **Syria**, the administration based on identity/ethnic/sectarian understanding with separatist tendencies caused sectarian/identity differences in the country. The regime pursued secular, sectarian and discriminatory policies. While Kurds were not granted citizenship rights, dissident Sunnis were mainly excluded from political life. An authoritarian and securitized state apparatus was built. The media and individuals were under constant control by the state and intelligence agencies. In the economic sphere, there was a decline in agriculture and oil production, and there was a drought. This negatively affected economic welfare. There was high unemployment and especially young people had a hard time finding a job. Factors such as deep-rooted corruption, foreign trade deficit, weakness of the financial sector, favoritism, and interest relations between the state and businessmen were other reasons that led the public to unrest. There was the domination of a minority group in the country. There were social and cultural divisions and injustices and injustices against different groups.

On 15 March 2011, thousands of Syrian citizens gathered in Deraa, Syria, to protest the imprisonment and torture of 15 students over anti-Assad regime graffiti. The protesters' main demands were democratic and economic reforms and the release of political prisoners. But the regime's brutal response to these peaceful protests has dragged Syria into civil war. After the attacks of the regime, the armed struggle started with the arming of the rebels. On 29 July 2011, the Free Syrian Army (FSA) was established, including soldiers and commanders from the Syrian army. Violence, which has steadily escalated since then, and claims that began with peaceful protests have turned into one of the most tragic civil wars of the last 13 years. The war left hundreds of thousands dead, wounded and millions of displaced people behind. Since almost the beginning of the crisis in Syria, many external actors have supported the conflicting

parties in the country in various ways. In addition, the fact that Daesh, which emerged in Iraq, was also effective in Syria has led many foreign terrorist fighters to come to Syria and thus the armed conflicts in the country have reached an international dimension. Syria has been turned into a geopolitical “chessboard” used by various powers for their interests and reckoning. Millions of people have been displaced by the conflict in the country. The number of internally displaced people is 6.8 million, and the number of Syrians living outside Syria is around 5.5 million. Türkiye hosted more than 3.5 million of these asylum seekers. Especially recently, the increasing anti-refugee and hate speech on the part of the mother and offspring opposition has led to the emergence of new debates about the return of Syrian asylum seekers in Türkiye. The steps of the Assad regime on "normalization", especially with some Arab countries, the meetings with the United Nations (UN) High Commissioner for Refugees Filippo Grandi and Deputy Secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs Martin Griffiths, and the meetings between Türkiye and Syria at the level of defense ministers and foreign ministers hosted by Russia have not yielded results. Syria is an extremely sensitive region where there are many armed actors, each with their own agenda, and in this respect, there is a tendency for other conflicts to emerge at any moment. After October 7, 2023, Middle East geopolitics entered a turbulent period. In such a period, 61 years of Ba 'ath and 54 years of Assad rule in Syria ended on December 8, 2024. As a result of the brutal policy of the Assad regime against the civilian population, hundreds of thousands of people died, as many people were injured and 13 million people were forced to migrate. Bashar al-Assad's escape to Russia is a turning point for Syria and the region. It is clear that the liberation of Syria will have great consequences politically, militarily and geopolitically. Freedom, which has emerged after 13 years, brings with it various risks and opportunities for Syria's neighboring countries. While Free Syria promises a political solution, it also contains various challenges and risks. There are many issues that need to be resolved, such as the PKK/PYD occupation in Eastern Syria, where the country has energy and economic reserves, especially to restructure the

Syrian state, the establishment of national unity among the opposition forces, the establishment of a new government, the trial of criminals, the country's legal system, Israel's attacks and the positions of global powers such as the USA and Russia. Geopolitically, the Syrian revolution has the potential to have serious effects in the region and beyond, especially in countries such as Lebanon, Iraq, Libya, Yemen and Sudan.

When we look at the situation in Egypt, the Egyptian people, who had three different presidential experiences from the Free Officers' coup in 1952 to the 2011 Revolution, could not express an opinion in the election of these rulers, and they were ruled by the rulers of military origin for about 60 years and with a strong "army" element. First of all, in the political field, the Mubarak administration ruled the country in cooperation with the military sector. While the state could not adequately perform its infrastructure services, it did not allow the opposition to express itself in the political field. The economy, on the other hand, faced serious difficulties. There was a national resource problem. The military had considerable control over the economy. The majority of the population had to live with economic difficulties, and there were injustices in the distribution of income. Despite the growing population, there was poverty across the country. Governments could not fulfill their social responsibilities towards their people. There were ideological and psychological differences between the Muslim Brotherhood and the secular section of society. Egyptians took their share of the freedom and justice discourses that emerged in the region at the end of 2010 and made a radical revolution in 2011. Mohammed Morsi, who came to power under the high expectations of the society and the intense pressure of global actors, tried to pursue a balance policy outside the country while developing some economic policies directly aimed at the people within the country. During his brief rule, the "deep state of Egypt" never sided with Morsi. Morsi, who removed some members of the army and rich elites from the administration, who had established a lot of activity in the administration in the past years, thus took these segments against him.

Moreover, the election of Morsi and the pro-democracy rhetoric of the Brotherhood were perceived as a threat to the countries of the region, each of which was governed by dictatorship. Some Gulf countries, such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), have provided funding to different anti-Morsi factions in Egypt for the overthrow of Morsi. As a result, a new military coup took place in Egypt in 2013. Although Sisi received billions of dollars in economic aid and political support from different countries in the post-coup period, he could not put the country on a positive course. In Egypt, unrest continues to increase recently, especially due to economic reasons.

In **Yemen, where the Shia-Sunni conflict was intense**, political sects were struggling to seize power. There was a broken economic structure. Bribery and corruption were considered ordinary business. There was high unemployment and oil and arms smuggling. The level of education in the country is quite low. A culture based on tribal and tribal rule prevailed in society. The young people were quite anxious about their future. The peaceful demonstrations that started during the Arab Spring brought about a change of power in Yemen. Houthi forces, which supported the anti-regime demonstrations that started in the capital Sana'a in 2011, formed an alliance with anti-regime groups. As large masses of people supported the protests, the Gulf countries increased their diplomatic pressure for Saleh to leave the office voluntarily. On 3 June 2011, as protests continued, an assassination attempt took place against Saleh. Ali Saleh, who was severely injured, was taken to Saudi Arabia for treatment. After the assassination attempt, Salih left the task to his deputy Mansur Hadi on the condition of constitutional immunity. However, in order to come back to power, he supported the military operations launched by Houthi groups against the capital on 21 September 2014. The alliance of the ousted leader Ali Saleh with the Gulf countries and the Houthis against President Hadi has changed all the balances in Yemen. Following the siege of Aden by Houthi forces in March 2015, a coalition led by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) was formed and

military operations were launched in Yemen. As a result, airstrikes and



Map 2 Areas of Dominance in Yemen/ Source: Anadolu Agency

bombings by Saudi Arabia and coalition forces in Yemen have killed thousands of civilians. The attacks have led to increased support for the Houthis by the Zaidi community and a widening response to the Western world. After Saleh's murder, the Houthis managed to establish full control in the northern provinces of the country, including the capital, San. As clearly shown in the map published by the Anadolu Agency, although the Houthis were an active force in the North of the country in the post-Salih period, the forces supported by the UAE in Aden and its surroundings and the forces supported by Saudi Arabia in the south and east of the country, where the oil deposits were also located, managed to establish their local power. Israeli and American forces are also conducting airstrikes in Houthi-affected areas. The continuation of mutual attacks between Israel

and Houthi forces with the Gaza War may lead Israel to open a front in Lebanon and Yemen.

In October 2023, Israel's sweeping Gaza Attacks sparked fierce criticism of the Houthi movement in Yemen. Houthi leaders who criticized Israel's attacks declared that they would be involved in the war if the attacks continued. As a matter of fact, shortly afterwards, Yemeni groups both attacked ships sailing in the Red Sea and carried out missile attacks directly targeting Israel. Although they are not a serious threat to Israel's security, their capacity to prevent international oil trade has drawn the attention of the international public to the Houthi movement. In their statements, Houthi leaders also declared their commitment to the Palestinian cause and threatened Western countries that support Israel, especially the United States, as well as Israel. Following the first attacks in October 2023, US-led coalition forces also launched airstrikes against the Houthis. By 2024, Israel also carried out attacks directly targeting Yemen. At a time when mutual attacks were continuing, Israel's launching a ground operation in Lebanon and direct mutual missile attacks between Iran and Israel also affected Yemen. Yemeni groups have declared that Yemen will not remain neutral in the possible regional war and will participate more actively in the war.

As a result, although Yemen does not pose a serious threat directly to Israel's security in terms of its military capacity, the spread of the war, especially to Lebanon, has made Yemen a military target of Israel after Lebanon or together with Lebanon. The possibility that militias will take part in possible ground operations in Lebanon in Yemen is a development that worries Israel. Therefore, it can be argued that mutual attacks between the Houthis and Israel will continue unless the Gaza War is resolved diplomatically.

In Libya, on the other hand, political human rights violations were widespread throughout the country. Situations such as widespread political corruption, oppressive governance of the people and suppression of freedom of expression were the problems seen in the political sphere.

Libya has the world's few natural gas and oil deposits in terms of hydrocarbon resources. However, only the Gaddafi family and the tribes close to this family kept these riches under their control in the country. Thus, the general public had to live in serious economic difficulties. When we look at social problems, there are around 140 tribes across the country. The Libyan people are closely tied to their tribes in order to survive. In fact, Gaddafi structured his power in accordance with these tribal relations. Gaddafi, who established a patronage regime, appointed his tribesmen to the highest levels of the state. While this allowed the members of the state tribes to survive in very good conditions, others were deprived of such privileges (7).

After 42 years of Gaddafi's rule ended with the February 17 Revolution, Libya was dragged into the civil war. After February 17, efforts were started with the participation of all parties to establish a new will and administration and a transition mechanism was established for the democratic environment. In this sense, the National Transitional Council, which was established in October 2011, transferred its duty to the National General Congress (MGK) with the elections held in July 2012. When the NSC took office, it started to work on the favor of all parties in Libya, but the political disagreements that emerged until 2014 turned the political environment in the country into a crisis. In Libya, tribes have become a country where conflicts formed by certain ideologies and armed groups clash. As a matter of fact, it was the beginning of a second civil war for Libya after 2014. Due to the political divisions experienced in 2014, two different parliaments emerged, the Tripoli-based NSC and the Tobruk-based House of Representatives (HR). On top of this, the coup attempt of the putschist General Khalifa Haftar in Tobruk in May 2014 added a military dimension to the crisis layers in the country. Haftar did not look at the country from a political point of view, but from a military point of view, and as a result, aggressive rhetoric and subsequent military operations emerged. In order to find a solution to the crisis, the Presidency Council (UK)/Government of National Accord (GNA) under the

leadership of Faiz Serrac came to Tripoli in March 2016 with the Libya Political Agreement made under the initiative of the UN in 2015 and started its activities. Although both the NSC and the House of Representatives were the signatories of the UN-led draft, they did not accept the UMH and the chaos in the country entered a different cycle. In the country, which is militarily and politically divided into two centers, on the one hand, the UK and MGK in Tripoli and on the other hand, Haftar and TM in Tobruk have created a three-headed crisis environment. However, with the withdrawal of the NSC from the arena, Haftar and the TM under his control, the Serrac government and the military forces in the west remained on the field as the main actors. Haftar, who made himself mentioned more frequently due to the coup he attempted in 2014, angered the military side of the crisis in Libya with his rhetoric of clearing the country of Islamist groups, which he defined as "terrorists". As a matter of fact, Haftar, who established a so-called Libyan National Army (LUO) but mainly consisted of militia groups, started his attacks on Benghazi in 2015 and then on Derna, and as a result, he gained military control in the eastern region, which is historically called Sirenayka. On the one hand, Haftar met with Serrac under the mediation of various countries in order to gain recognition in the international arena, but on the other hand, he continued his military operations at the table to strengthen his hand against the Ummah, which was seen as a legitimate interlocutor by international actors. Haftar, who exercised great control in the east, started operations against Cufra and Sebhe in the south. Haftar also gained control over Libya's main economic resource, the oil fields. In the internal conflicts in Sabratha, west of Tripoli, in 2017, when the militias close to Haftar took control of the city, two cities such as Tripoli and Misrata, which constitute great obstacles for Haftar, were clamped. As a matter of fact, Haftar, who wanted to come to the table with a strong hand before the Berlin Conference, launched a military operation in Tripoli on April 4, 2019 in front of the whole world. While these conflicts still continue today, the support provided to Coup plotter Haftar, who has no legitimacy, from his regional and international supporters has brought Libya to a dead

end. As stated, in Libya, which does not already have any regular army, militias have been the first tool used by the parties militarily in the process after the revolution. In this sense, the so-called Libyan National Army, which does not consist of regular troops in terms of its structure, consists of militia groups of tribes supporting Haftar, mercenary groups consisting of Sudanese Cancavit militias, Chadian mercenaries, supporters of the Gaddafi regime and militia groups affiliated with the Medhali Salafist ideology. In addition, Russian mercenaries, experts provided by the UAE and France in operational terms are other elements on the Haftar front. In this sense, it is estimated that the Haftar forces, which contain many different components, consist of around 30,000 warriors. Apart from human resources, especially the weapons and military equipment provided by the UAE, France, Egypt and Russia and the fighter jets belonging to the UAE and Egypt, which determine the direction of operations, are other external supports that give Haftar an advantage (8).

6.2. KABİF - Evaluation of the Region of the Federation of Regional Islamic States of North Africa

The Maghreb region, which consists of North Africa, Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia, is geographically located in the north of the Sahara. There is a Mediterranean Sea on the northern border of the region and the Atlantic Ocean on the west. Maghreb means 'al-Maghreb', which is an Arabic word meaning 'west' or 'the place where the sun sets'.

6.2.1. Geopolitical Importance of North Africa



Map 4 North Africa / Source: <https://www.dunyasiyaseti.com/icerik/kuzey-afrikanin-donusen-jeopolitigi.html>



Map 3 Nigeria-Morocco-Europe Gas line / Source: <https://tr.topwar.ru/104924-gazoprovod-nigeriya-marokko-evropa-i-syurprizi-ot-gazproma.html>

Compared to the past, North Africa has a more central position in the Middle East and Mediterranean geopolitics and has increased its importance in terms of energy geopolitics. The North African region, which includes important countries such as Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Sudan, Egypt, is the main gateway to the Mediterranean and an intersection point between Africa, Asia and Europe. In addition to its great wealth, the North African region is of particular importance as it connects the continents of Asia, Europe and Africa and is an important energy corridor in the world. In other respects, North Africa occupies an important place in terms of Mediterranean sovereignty. Especially the Western states, which have turned to absolute imperialism since the middle of the 18th century, have struggled to seize the Mediterranean sovereignty. For this purpose, military and political invasion plans were created during the First World War. After the Second World War, the liquidation process of the colonial administrations formed after the First World War started all over the world. While the countries on the continent began to gain their independence in the 1960s, Britain and France, the two most important former colonial powers on the continent, continued to maintain their relations in line with their interests in the post-war process shaped by the dynamics of the Cold War.

African countries, which gained their political independence but were economically dependent on the former colonial powers, remained between the two poles during the Cold War period. The region was the scene of a power struggle between the US-led Western world on the one hand and the USSR-led Eastern Bloc on the other. However, with the dissolution of the Soviets, new actors began to emerge in the new international system, both as a state and as an international organization. In addition, with the collapse of the Soviets, a multipolar world order began to emerge instead of a bipolar world order, and developing countries began to have a say in the international system with the proliferation of international organizations and the expansion of their spheres of influence. Due to the prolongation of the war that started with

Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the energy embargo imposed on Russia, many European countries have turned to new and alternative energy supply lines and resources to reduce their dependence on Russian gas. **North African resources** are important for Europe's energy needs. In 2022, Morocco and Nigeria have the potential to become Europe's main energy artery instead of Russian gas with Nigeria's large gas reserves by signing a memorandum of understanding with 5 West African countries on the Nigeria-Morocco natural gas pipeline project. Currently, Algeria exports gas to Italy, Portugal and Spain via pipelines. However, after the crisis with Morocco, he decided to stop the supply of gas to the pipeline through Morocco to Spain and Portugal. For this reason, Algeria aims to become an energy hub by expanding its existing pipelines as an alternative to Morocco. In line with this goal, the country has become the main focus of Italy's expanding energy strategies. Before the war, Algeria was Italy's second-largest supplier of natural gas, but last year it rose to the top, replacing Russian gas. Africa is important for Mediterranean sovereignty. Empires or states that dominated the Mediterranean have made maximum use of its geopolitical position by forming strong navies. In this context, the re-development of Türkiye-Africa relations today will provide significant advantages in terms of increasing influence in the Mediterranean.

6.2.2. Political Structure and Governance of North Africa

Independent states that emerged in the post-colonial period in the region were organized as nation states. Although the nation-state structures in the North Africa (Maghreb) region showed different characteristics in the post-independence period, authoritarian and oligarchic political systems were generally built in the hands of a small minority. While a presidential type of republican administration was established in Algeria and Tunisia, a republican administration was established in Libya and a constitutional monarchy was established in Morocco. Oppressive authoritarian regimes have become widespread in countries in the North African region. In North African countries, especially intelligence organizations have

strengthened the authoritarian structure. When the oppressive management approach is combined with socio-economic problems, the popular uprisings in the region, which first started in Tunisia in early 2011 and then spread to Algeria, Morocco and Libya and called the 'Arab Spring', caused the legitimacy of the authoritarian political structure in North Africa to be questioned. As a result, authoritarian governments were overthrown in Tunisia and Libya, and efforts to transition to a multi-party democratic order began in these countries. In addition, political reforms towards political freedom have been carried out in Algeria and Morocco. The political and economic crisis that emerged in the region in the 1980s led the countries of the region to political and economic freedom. Tunisia adopted the multi-party system in 1988, Algeria in 1989 and Mauritania in 1991. In 1988, the king of Morocco allowed opposition parties to be included in the system. Popular uprisings broke out in Algeria in October 1988 and in Morocco in 1990 due to socio-economic problems. In Tunisia, in November 1987, General Zine El Abidine Ben Ali overthrew the president Habib Burgiba with a bloodless coup and took over the administration. However, political freedom has deepened the crisis rather than bringing stability to the region due to unjust administrations. The rapid rise of political Islamic movements in the Maghreb countries and their challenge to the current regime worried the existing regimes, and political freedoms were shelved and authoritarian rule was restored.

After the bloody suppression of the popular uprising that broke out **in Algeria in** October 1988, President Şadli Bencedid undertook a series of political reforms between 1988 and 1992 that paved the way for liberalization and democratization in the country. In particular, with the new constitution adopted in 1989, the word socialism was removed from the name of the state, new rights and freedoms were introduced to citizens, obstacles to multi-party political life were removed and the role of the army in politics was reduced. This process of political freedom and democratization created a suitable ground for the rise of political Islam in

the country with the establishment of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in 1989. The FIS, which won an overwhelming majority in the first round of parliamentary elections held in Algeria in 1991, worried the Algerian administration. In January 1992, against a possible victory of the FIS, President Bencedid resigned and dissolved the parliament. Thereupon, the constitutional council declared that the administration was taken over by the army, the prime minister, the constitutional council and the judicial authorities in the face of this unexpected situation. Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghazali declared that the election process could not continue and the Supreme Council of the State was established and the executive and legislative power was given to this body. On January 16, 1992, Muhammad Boudiaf, one of the founders of the Algerian Liberation Front (FLN), was appointed as the head of the State Supreme Council by the military. Later, a state of emergency was declared in the country, the FIS was closed, and this process started a civil war that would last for many years between the army and the Islamic groups in the country, especially the Islamic Salvation Army (AIS), the military wing of the FIS. The instability and violence experienced in the 1990s decreased after Abdulaziz Bouteflika became president in April 1999 and a period of relative stability began to occur in the country. With the amnesty laws enacted for FIS Mujahideen in 1999, it played an important role in reducing the tension in the country and re-establishing the environment of peace, stability and security. Similar to the popular uprisings in the Maghreb region in early 2011, demonstrations were held against the Bouteflika administration in Algeria due to socio-economic problems. In response to these demonstrations, the Algerian government lifted the state of emergency declared in 1992 on February 24, 2011. Bouteflika, who participated in the presidential elections held on April 17, 2014 as the candidate of the FLN, was re-elected as the president with 81.5 percent of the votes used. Abdulaziz Bouteflika was elected president for the fourth time despite his health problems. However, the fact that he had a stroke and rarely appeared in public raised doubts about his management capacity. In 2019, Bouteflika's announcement of his intention to run for a

fifth term sparked outrage among the public and sparked mass protests. The Hirak Movement, which began in February 2019 and spread throughout the country, was a peaceful popular movement protesting the Bouteflika regime. Under pressure from the protests in April 2019, Bouteflika resigned from his post with the support of the army. However, this has led to criticism that the system has not changed completely, as people from the old regime have led the transition process instead. The economy, based on oil and natural gas exports, was hit hard by falling oil prices in 2014. This led to rising unemployment and economic dissatisfaction among the population. Corruption, mismanagement, and growing discontent with the elites led to a growing backlash against the Bouteflika administration. Former prime minister Abdülmecid Tebbun won the elections held after Bouteflika's resignation in December 2019. However, the Hirak Movement did not consider the elections legitimate and boycotted them. In 2020, a referendum for constitutional amendments was held by the Tebbun government. However, the public participation rate was quite low (23%), which showed the lack of public trust in the political system. The economic crisis has deepened due to falling oil prices, the COVID-19 pandemic and poor governance. This continued to increase public dissatisfaction. In 2021, the government took tougher measures against the Hirak protests. Demonstrations were banned, activists were arrested, and pressure on the media intensified. In the period between 2023-2025, unemployment, high inflation and hopelessness among young people caused mass migration waves. There has been a huge increase in illegal immigration from Algeria to Europe. Algeria has become an important natural gas supplier for Europe due to the energy crisis. Furthermore, the Western Sahara issue and the tension in relations with Morocco shaped the country's foreign policy. While the government increased its pressure on the opposition, it showed a management that was far from meeting the demands for reform. This drew the reaction of international human rights organizations. The 2021 elections were held with low turnout and the ruling parties retained their majority in parliament. Tebbun's government promised economic reforms and new

investments, but no tangible results were achieved. Corruption and authoritarian tendencies of the regime continue to be criticized.

As a result, Algeria is struggling with serious political and economic problems. Although the Hirak Movement put forward the democratic and economic reform demands of the people, the administration did not fully meet these demands. Authoritarian governance structure, low public participation and economic difficulties cause uncertainty about the future of Algeria. However, the country's energy resources and strategic location enable Algeria to maintain its importance in the international arena.

In Tunisia, Ben Ali ended political freedoms when political Islamic parties opposed to the current administration won a significant success in the parliamentary elections held in April 1989. He established an authoritarian police state in Tunisia by taking drastic measures to suppress the Islamic opposition. All political power is concentrated in the hands of Ben Ali. All opposition, whether secular or religious, has been banned, imprisoned or repressed. The twenty-four-year rule of Ben Ali in Tunisia came to an end as a result of the popular uprising called the 'Jasmine Revolution', which broke out in January 2011. Parliament Speaker Fuad al-Mubaza assumed the chairmanship by proxy in place of Ben Ali, who had to leave the country. Elections were held on 23 October 2011 for the election of the members of the National Constituent Assembly who would be obliged to prepare the new constitution in the post-Ben Ali period. The elections resulted in the victory of the Ennahda Party, which is described as a moderate Islamic party. The winner of the election, the Ennahda Party, formed a coalition government with the Congress Party for the Republic and the Ettakatol Party because it could not obtain the absolute majority required to form the government alone in parliament. The leader of the Ettakatol Party, Mustafa Bin Cafer, was elected as the chairman of the Constituent Assembly. In December 2011, the Constituent Assembly elected Monsef Mazruki, the leader of the Congress Party for the Republic, to serve as the president for a one-year period until a new constitution was drafted and the elections were renewed. In accordance

with the agreement reached between the Marzuki coalition partners, Ennahda Party general secretary Hamadi Jibali established the government as Tunisia's new prime minister. A series of political assassinations in 2013 dragged the country into a political crisis, and firstly, after the resignation of Jibali in February 2013, Ali al-Ararryid, the Interior Minister of the Jibali government, was appointed as the Prime Minister; then, after the decision to transfer the power of the National Dialogue Negotiations between the Tunisian Bar Association, the Union of Professional Chambers, the Union and the Tunisian Human Rights Union to the technocrats in September 2013, al-Ararryid also resigned. President Marzuki has tasked Mehdi Cuma, the technocratic Industry Minister of the al-Ararryid government, to form the new government in accordance with the consensus reached in the National Dialogue Negotiations. On 24 January 2014, the Tunisian Parliament adopted the new constitution. The winner of the parliamentary elections held on 26 October 2014 was the Nida Tunisian Party, described as a secular party led by Al-Baci Qaid al-Sebsi. In the presidential elections held in two rounds on November 23 and December 21, 2014, Al-Baci Qaid es Sebsi, the candidate of the Nida Tunisian Party, was elected president. Since 2014, Tunisia's political situation has been shaped by the post-revolutionary democratic transition process. The National Dialogue Quartet, which supported the democratic transition in Tunisia in 2015, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2015. But in the same year, numerous people were killed in terrorist attacks on the Bardo Museum and a seaside hotel in Susa. These attacks severely affected Tunisia's security and tourism sector. Economic and political difficulties experienced between 2016-2019, high unemployment, inflation and public debt increased dissatisfaction among the people. Politically, inter-party divisions and government caused instability. Disagreements within the Nidaa Tunisian Party caused the party's influence to wane. The Islamic Nakhda Movement (Ennahda) began to follow a more pragmatic path and continued to cooperate with secular parties. In 2019, Tunisia held both parliamentary and presidential elections. Independent candidate and law

professor Kays Said won the presidential election. Public discontent with corruption and political elites led to support for Said's populist rhetoric. In 2021, President Qays Said suspended parliament, dismissed the prime minister and gathered executive powers, citing the political crisis in the country. These steps were described by the opposition and some international observers as a “coup”, but Said defended it as a “correction in line with the will of the people”. In 2022, a referendum was held with the constitutional amendment proposal of Qays Said, and a new constitution was adopted that strengthened the executive power. Between 2023 and 2025, Kays Said's expanding powers and oppression of opponents caused concerns at home and internationally. The economic crisis continued to deepen and popular discontent grew. Migrant crises and migration movements to Europe have put Tunisia on the international agenda.

As a result, although Tunisia is seen as the only democratic success story of the Arab Spring, increasing economic difficulties, security threats and authoritarian tendencies since 2014 overshadow this success. Qays Said's governance style and political reforms have led to serious debates about the democratic future of Tunisia.

Although King Hassan II did not take harsh measures against the Islamic opposition in Morocco, there was no real political freedom in Morocco until 2011. Political power in Morocco remained in the hands of the king. Worried that the events in Algeria would happen on their own, the Islamic movement in Morocco tried to be active in the social arena rather than the political arena. It focused on providing social services to the masses of people with poor socio-economic conditions and gained a significant popularity among these segments. After the death of King Hassan II in 1999, he was replaced by his son, Muhammad the Sixth. King Muhammad the Sixth began to take important steps in the development of human rights in the country and turned to reckoning with the years when political opponents in Morocco, which is described as the "lead years", were oppressed and human rights violations were widespread. King

Muhammad the Sixth established the Fairness and Reconciliation Commission to investigate the "lead years" and reconcile Morocco with its past, as he put it. King Muhammad the Sixth dismissed Driss Basri, the Minister of the Interior and Information since 1991, in November 1999, strengthened the Advisory Council on Human Rights and banned torture by amending the criminal code. King Muhammad the Sixth ended the house arrest of Islamist dissident Sheikh Abdussalam Yasin in 2000 and recognized the rising Berber movement by establishing the Royal Institute for Amazigh Culture. The Arab Spring also showed its effects in Morocco, and as a result of the popular uprisings that erupted in February 2011 with demands for democratic reform, King Muhammad the Sixth turned to constitutional reforms that envisaged sharing his powers with other constitutional institutions, the parliament and the prime minister. After the constitutional amendments limiting the powers of the king were adopted by popular vote on 1 July 2011, the Justice and Development Party (PJD), which was described as a moderate Islamic party in the first general elections held on 25 November 2011, came out as the first party by winning 27percent of the votes and winning one hundred and seven deputies in the three hundred and ninety-five-seat parliament. After the election, the PJD formed a coalition government from the Independence Party (PI), the People's Movement (MP), and the Progress and Socialism Party (PPS).

The military-nationalist system established by Muammar Gaddafi, who seized power **in Libya** with a coup on September 1, 1969, continued to exist until 2011. Under Gaddafi, a totalitarian regime prevailed in Libya. Under Gaddafi, all political power remained in the hands of Gaddafi's security organization and the army. Political parties are banned and associations, associations and professional organizations are controlled by the government. Tribalism is also an important part of political life in Libya. Under Gaddafi, the Islamic opposition in the country went underground. Gaddafi tried to control the influence of Islamic groups with a three-stage policy. Firstly, it scythed the religious authority of the ulama;

secondly, it tried to refute Islamic ideas and thirdly, it harshly suppressed the Islamic opposition. As in many Arab countries, the rebellions that started in Libya in 2011 emerged with demands for radical change. Anti-Gaddafi demonstrations spread throughout the country and opposition tribes took control in some parts of the country. Supported by Western countries in the civil war between Gaddafi's opponents united under the leadership of the Benghazi-based National Transitional Council and Gaddafi's forces, the opponents defeated Gaddafi's forces in August 2011 and captured the capital Tripoli, ending forty-two years of Gaddafi rule when Gaddafi fled the city. After the collapse of the Gaddafi regime, the National Transitional Council took over the government in Libya. The process of change that started in Libya from this date can be evaluated in three main periods: The first is the period from the beginning of the riots in February 2011 to November 2011, when Gaddafi was overthrown. The operation of NATO forces against Gaddafi has eliminated the Gaddafi regime in front of the change and opened the door to a new era for Libya. In the new period that started in Libya after this operation, the revolution had to be institutionalized with the steps to be taken, especially the constitution making and elections. The National General Congress (MGK), which was established in this period, became the main actor of the transition period, but could not give the appearance that it successfully managed this process. In July 2012, the Alliance of National Forces, led by Mahmoud Jibril, described as a liberal-leaning party, won 48.8 percent of the votes cast in the elections for the General National Congress, which will be tasked with drafting the new constitution and will consist of two hundred members, one hundred and twenty of whom are independent and eighty of whom are members of a political party. After these elections, the expected stability and normalization did not take place in Libya. Over time, the struggle for political power between different political groups turned into a civil war involving armed forces, which deepened political instability. Despite the 2012 elections and constitutional work, neither stability nor consensus among political actors has been achieved. In the years after the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime in Libya, there were

developments that the groups in the Benghazi region did not accept temporary governments and wanted to establish their own autonomous structures. As a result of the internal conflicts that emerged as a result of Haftar's failure to recognize the Government of National Accord, Türkiye's breakthroughs towards Libya were interrupted. However, with Türkiye's adoption of the Libya resolution in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, it was able to deploy troops to the region in order to protect the current government from the Haftar forces. Of course, although these military and political supports of Türkiye are in support of the independence of the region, it should not be forgotten that the situation is reflected in the international press in the opposite way. This support given by Türkiye to the Libyan government contributed to the fact that Haftar did not repeat the Sisi incident in Egypt, which coped with undemocratic ways after the Arab Spring, in Libya. The maritime jurisdiction boundary agreement signed by Türkiye with the Libyan Government of National Accord in December 2015 is a response to Türkiye's attempts to confine it to the Gulf of Antalya. Türkiye, which wants to protect its rights in the region and is in favor of a fair sharing, has also guaranteed Libya's rights with this agreement. In terms of sharing energy resources in the Mediterranean, there is no natural process as Türkiye tries to protect its geopolitical interests and maritime border rights. Prior to this agreement, various natural gas power line negotiations were held by Israel, the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus (Greek Cypriot Administration), Greece and Egypt, excluding Türkiye, which has the longest coastline in the Mediterranean. These negotiations, which also cover the regions of Türkiye defined as an exclusive economic zone, have not been terminated despite all the calls of Türkiye. Aside from Türkiye's geopolitical gains in the Mediterranean region, it has been seen as justified to make attempts for underground resources worth approximately 3 trillion dollars so far. According to the plan created by Israel, Greece and Egypt, various preliminary tenders and maps have been prepared stating that the entire island of Cyprus belongs to the Greek Cypriot Administration and that the entire island perimeter belongs to the Greek

Cypriot Administration. These preliminary tenders have been opened to American, Israeli, Italian and French companies. Moreover, a similar of these maps has been prepared for Türkiye and accordingly, the nautical mile in the Mediterranean region of Türkiye is less specified in inverse proportion to the length of its long coastline. These maps and agreements prepared in violation of international law caused Türkiye to create its own road map. In line with this roadmap, it signed a maritime jurisdiction boundary agreement with the Libyan Government of National Accord and declared that it would protect its rights under international law in a way. Thanks to this agreement, Türkiye's exclusive economic areas in the Mediterranean are expanding and prevent other countries from extracting natural gas reserves, especially in the Eastern part, unless they have their own permission. Therefore, this move of Türkiye has provided various geopolitical gains not only for itself but also for an important North African country such as Libya. With this Memorandum of Understanding, Türkiye also gave a strong legal and political response to the policies of exclusion and isolation in the Mediterranean. In addition, this Memorandum supports all of Türkiye's legal theses (11).

- Principle of Equity/Fair and Equitable Limitation
- The islands do not automatically form a continental shelf and MoNE
- Consideration of façade lengths
- It is seen that Türkiye's coastal projection and the fact that the continental shelf is not interrupted, Türkiye forms an alliance with Libya in this sense in the region and gives a rapid acceleration to its bilateral relations with Somalia in a short time, encourages other African countries to establish geopolitical relations with Türkiye. So much so that in the official or private press and media of African countries, the maritime jurisdiction boundary agreement signed by Türkiye with Libya has been included as positive and encouraging, unlike the world press.

As a result, the support given by the USA to the regimes in North Africa in the global war against terrorism in the post-9/11 period allowed these

regimes to strengthen their authoritarian and oppressive regimes. In the post-9/11 period, the Bush administration's policy towards North Africa was shaped in accordance with security concerns and the global war on terror. Faced with the fact that democratization in the region would bring anti-American Islamic parties to power, the United States began to support existing regimes in cooperation with moderate Islamic groups that would not threaten its interests in the region. Authoritarian regimes in the region, supported by the United States, have used the war on terror as a tool to silence and suppress political opposition. Existing regimes have used the war on terror to justify their authoritarian regimes. Authoritarian regimes have tended to suppress even legitimate political opposition by calling it terrorist, and the authoritarianism in the region has gradually strengthened in the post-9/11 period. In December 2010, the popular uprisings that first started in Tunisia and then spread to other North African countries after the police seized the car of the Tunisian young Mohammed Bouazizi, where he sold vegetables, and burned himself, had an earthquake effect on the authoritarian governments in the region. While the uprisings that started in Tunisia in the spring of 2011 brought the end of the twenty-four-year Ben Ali administration, the civil war that broke out between the Gaddafi forces and the opposition forces in Libya ended in August 2011 with the overthrow of the forty-two-year Gaddafi administration. While King Mohammed VI in Morocco turned to constitutional reforms that limited his powers, the state of emergency in Algeria, which had been in force since 1992, was lifted (12).

6.2.3. Demographic Structure of North Africa

The demographic structure of North Africa is shaped by historical, cultural and geographical diversity. The region offers a mosaic rich in population density, ethnic groups, religions and languages.

Geography and Population

North Africa usually includes countries such as **Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania, Sudan and Tunisia**. Nearly 200 million people

live in the region (as of 2025). Population density is higher in coastal areas. Deserts in the interior (eg. Sahara Desert) is sparsely populated.

Ethnic Groups

Arabs: It is the dominant ethnic group in much of North Africa. The process of Arabization began with the Islamic conquests in the 7th century.

Berbers (Amazighs): It is considered the indigenous people of North Africa. It has an important place in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya. They speak their own language, the Berber (Amazigh) language.

People of Nubia and Sudan: The Nubian peoples living in Sudan and southern Egypt have an ancient civilization.

European Minorities: In particular, communities of French, Spanish and Italian origin have been settled in the past during the colonial period.

Sub-Saharan Africans: In Sudan and Libya, there are communities from sub-Saharan Africa.

Religion

Islam: It is one of the most common religious and cultural foundations of North Africa.

Sunnism: Dominant sect.

Ībadiyye: It is especially seen in some regions in Algeria and Libya.

Christianity: Coptic Christians, especially in Egypt, have a dense population.

Judaism: Jewish communities in North Africa have existed throughout history, but have declined in the 20th century.

Languages

Arabic: Official language and most common language of communication

Berber Languages: Local languages such as Amazigh are particularly common in Morocco, Algeria, and Libya.

French and Spanish: French: It is widely used in education and official affairs in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. Spanish: It shows its effect in some regions in the north of Morocco. English: It is becoming

increasingly important especially in Egypt and international business environments.

Population Growth and Migration

The population growth rate is high in some countries, for example Sudan and Egypt. Migration to Europe is frequent, especially from North Africa, for economic and political reasons. Rural-urban migration is also common in the region.

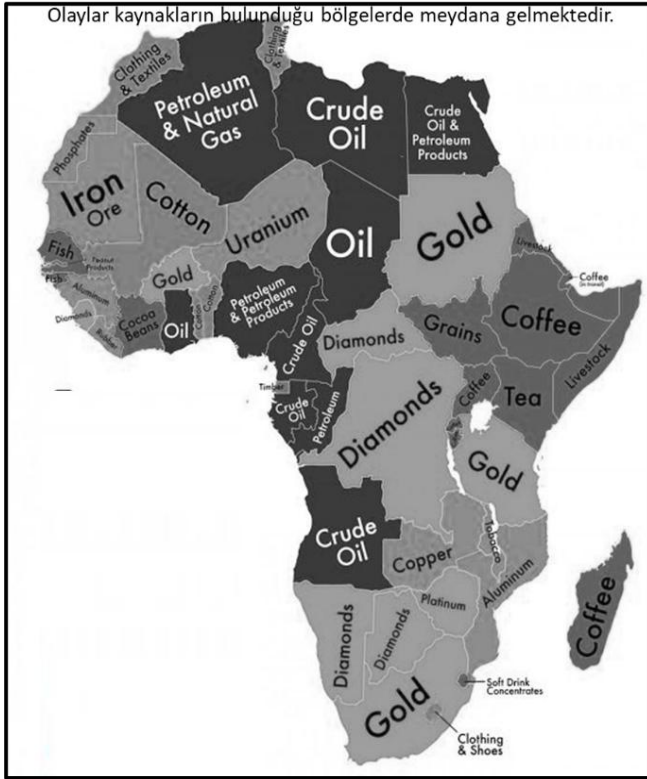
Urbanization

Major cities of North Africa: **Cairo, Algeria, Casablanca, Tunisia, Tripoli**. Modern life and traditional cultures coexist in cities. The demographic structure of North Africa is enriched by conquests, migrations and cultural interactions in historical processes, and this diversity defines the identity of the region.

6.2.4. Economic Structure of North Africa

Socio-economic contrasts prevail in the Middle East and North Africa region. One of the contrasts: countries with flashy, high-tech cities and

war-torn cities. Some countries with excessive wealth can provide education, health care and electricity support for their citizens. But others struggle with inflation, poverty, and high unemployment rates. The reason why there are such big differences is: oil and natural gas. These two sources constitute the richest economies of the region.



Map 5 Map of Natural Resources and Events of Africa/ Source: <https://www.sde.org.tr/afrika-uzerinde-surdurulen-askeri-rekabet-ve-guvenlik-konu-291>

Since **North Africa and the Middle East** is a center where the

world's energy resources are gathered, they are exposed to the hegemonic competition of global powers. While countries that are rich in natural resources are well above the world average in terms of per capita national income levels, countries that are not rich in natural resources have a per capita national income well below world standards. Underground resources such as oil and natural gas have a significant weight in the economy in North African countries. While crude oil exports carry the Libyan economy, both crude oil and natural gas have an important place

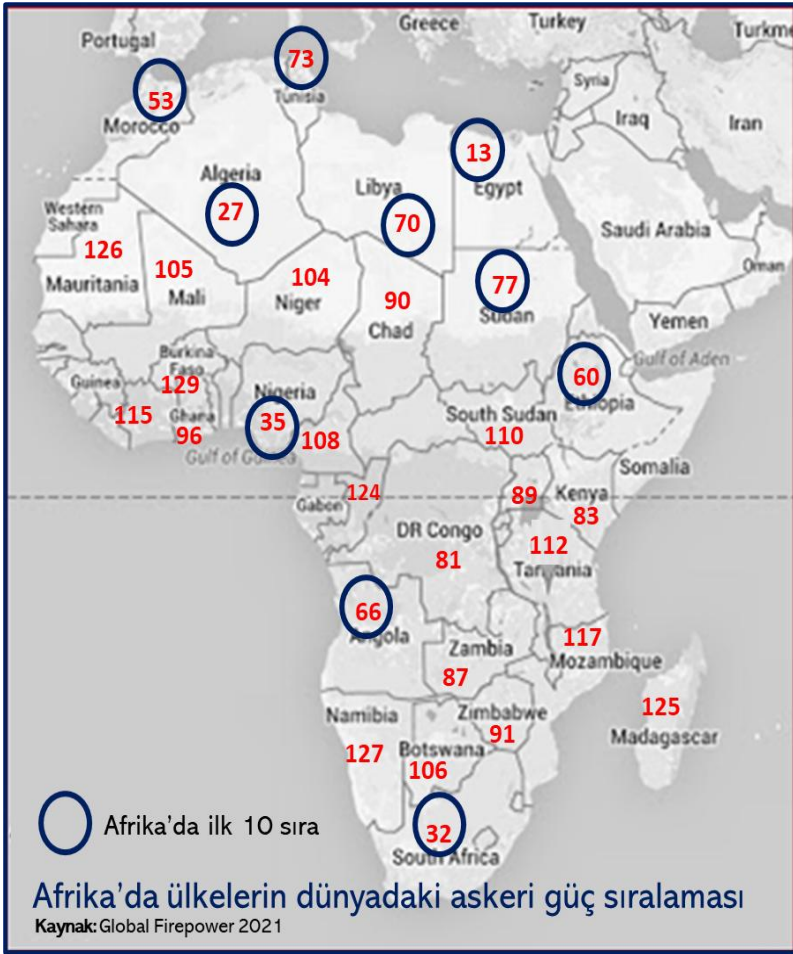
in Algeria. Although crude oil and gold production contributes to economic activity in Egypt, the industrialization rate is higher than the countries in the region. On the other hand, Tunisia and Morocco are poor countries in terms of raw materials. The weight of the manufacturing industry is high in their economy. The fastest growth in North Africa is expected to be in Libya, which entered the recovery process after the civil war, while Libya is expected to be followed by Egypt, Sudan and Morocco. Looking at the region in general, it is expected that North Africa will grow by 5.2% on average in the next 3 years (14).

It is observed that they are high-tech importers, cannot increase their economic and sectoral diversity, cannot develop the private sector at the desired level, cannot provide a positive investment environment for the protection of property rights and cannot create an inclusive institutional structure at a level that will ensure the development of economic actors, and cannot reach sufficient depth and breadth in terms of providing the necessary resources for capital accumulation, ensuring the spread of new technologies among economic actors/elements, channeling internal and external savings to investments, and improving their financial structures and systems, which have become even more important with the globalization process (15).

Political instability prevails in the majority of countries in the region. Authoritarian regimes, unhappy and desperate people dominate the fully liberal or mixed economic systems that are the open market of the West.

6.2.5. Military Situation in North Africa

In the Global Firepower report published every year, the military power ranking of the countries is made by considering various factors. 140 countries in the world and 30 countries in Africa were included in the 2021 report as a power. Accordingly, when the situation of African countries is depicted on a map, their ranking in the world and their situation relative to each other can also be seen (military forces ranked in the top 10 in the African continent are shown in the circle). Accordingly, if an analysis is made, Egypt seems to be the strongest army in the African continent. The Algerian army is in second place. To give an example of some of the equipment of these armies, the **Egyptian Army** has 1,053 aircraft, 91 attack helicopters, 8 submarines, 7 corvettes, 3735 tanks and 11,000 armored vehicles, including 250 attacks. The **Algerian Army, on the other hand,** has 551 aircraft, 45 attack helicopters, 8 submarines, 10 corvettes, 2,024 tanks and 7,000 armored vehicles, 102 of which are offensive.



Map 6 World Power Ranking of African Countries/ Source: <https://www.sde.org.tr/afrika-uzerinde-surdurulen-askeri-rekabet-ve-guvenlik-konu-291>

6.2.6. Causes of Conflicts in North Africa

The innocent face of colonial aims in the North African region at the beginning of the last century was “bringing civilization”. But mainly it was the uninterrupted supply of resources belonging to the region to the prosperity of the West. Today, on the basis of the turmoil in the region, we observe the political, economic and military manifestations of these

colonialist goals. In this context, some countries are trying to gain economic gains from the region, while others are trying to keep their political and military relations tight in addition to the economic field. In this respect, it can be easily predicted that North Africa and the African Continent in general will be one of the areas of struggle not only today but also the future. It is also seen that these countries are economically developed and do not intend to give up Africa's resources for sustainable development. It is known that the military struggle in Africa is generally carried out by methods called "Proxy Wars", in addition to obtaining direct bases or having soldiers. The West owns most of the \$250 billion worth of industry in the world through the military security and consultancy companies it conducts proxy wars with. Apart from hot conflicts, it is seen that communication, social media and internet studies (psychological and sociological occupation) are also very effective. In addition, it is seen that the sociological structure of Africa is used by opposing tribes and countries to each other. In a sense, "Africa is being conquered using Africans." For some reason, while being a colonial country, it is seen that internal conflicts, which are rarely seen, became widespread after gaining their independence and perhaps the most brutal civil wars in the world broke out on this continent. However, Hutus, Tutsis and Twas, three ethnic groups with the same language group, the same lifestyle and the same social formation, had managed to live together peacefully for thousands of years before the 1994 Rwandan Massacre, in which many people lost their lives alongside many tribes. Until French sedition entered the region... **Those who remained in coastal parts of Africa until the 19th century turned to inland areas after this date.** Europe did not fight among itself for a long time after the Napoleonic Wars. During this period, European countries turned to regions other than themselves. The British rarely participated in a war in Europe after the Napoleonic Wars. For this reason, they also headed to other regions. However, it was not easy to enter some resisting regions in Africa. It was easy to rule the colonies in Africa by pitting them against each other. In fact, when there was no resistance in the colonies, small troops were

enough. Local elements in the region were already helping the colonial elements more than necessary.

In the face of events, perhaps it is necessary to remember the famous Ant Theory. According to this theory, when the same number of red and black ants are placed in a jar, nothing happens at first, but when the jar is picked up and shaken by someone, it is seen that the ants, who hold each other responsible for the chaos experienced, are in a fierce struggle to kill each other rather than shaking the jar. While people are already dealing with each other in the chaos, those who shake the jar can seize whatever is heavy at a light cost in cargo such as oil, natural gas, uranium, gold, diamond under the most favorable conditions. As long as this is the case, it is a dream to talk about a real security environment in Africa.

6.2.7. Situation in African Countries Gaining Their Independence

The problems in the African continent increased even more after the countries gained their independence. According to the researches, One of the places where the most armed conflicts took place in the world after World War II is the African continent. The main reason for this is due to the divisions within the former colonial countries, as well as their desire to keep these countries under control and continue to benefit from their economic resources after the decision of independence that they had to recognize. In these divisions, it is known that the conscious efforts of colonialist countries often emerge. Corruption and injustices in these countries are already preferred by colonialist countries as long as resources flow to their own countries. When there is no justice, fair distribution and merit, it is not possible to enter people's hearts.

Sudan Example

Although Sudan is perceived as an Arab country, the accepted identity definition is that the country is an Afro-Arab synthesis; that is, Sudan is the melting pot of some characteristics unique to both the Arab world and

Africa. Therefore, Sudan is mentioned from time to time about the Arab world and from time to time about Africa. Due to these characteristics, the country is a member of both the Arab Union and the African Union. There are aspects of the country that are similar to countries such as Egypt, Libya and Saudi Arabia, as well as some features that are not similar to these countries at all. However, the administrations that took office in the post-independence period chose to polish only one side of the Afro-Arab identity by choosing a narrower reconciliation through Arabism instead of a multi-participation social reconciliation. Issues related to Africanness and African identity have faced attitudes such as exclusion and humiliation. For example, although there are many languages other than Arabic, the fact that only Arabic is accepted as the official language in the country is one of the reflections of this attitude. After the Omar al-Bashir government, which started after 1989, abandoned its claims about Islamism, it succumbed to phenomena such as tribalism and Arabism. The most obvious place where the problems related to Sudan's identity problem are felt is undoubtedly the surrounding societies. Communities that were excluded, marginalized or seen as inferior by the center sought to execute their rights and laws through armed struggle. Experienced between 1955-1972, More than 500,000 people lost their lives in the Sudanese Civil War. Between 1983-2005, Nearly 2 million people died in the war. Then the country fell apart. All the major conflicts that marked the post-independence period, and which can never be lacking, took place in the minority or peripheral communities of Sudan. Therefore, security, weapons, intelligence, and the army have always been in front of issues such as education, infrastructure, and development. Most of the state resources have always flowed to military expenditures, that is, to weapons lobbies. For example, while 14% of the 2018 budget is allocated to the defense sector, the share allocated to the education sector is only around 3%, and the share allocated to the health sector is less than education. In previous years, the situation was even more dire; for example, it is stated that a large part of the budget was allocated to the defense industry in 2016. According to estimates, at least 5 billion dollars are transferred to

the defense industry every year, while the cost of the Darfur crisis alone exceeded 30 billion dollars. Sudan, which has experienced two major civil wars since its independence, is now the scene of its third civil war. Unfortunately, the exact number of people who died in the country, where 25 million people are in need of humanitarian aid, is not known. The devastation caused by the conflicts in Sudan since April 2023 continues to inflict irreparable wounds on civilian lives. Sudan is the scene of violent internal conflicts between the army and the Rapid Support Forces (HDK). Just as the US-Saudi initiatives for mediation have repeatedly failed, the continental African Union (AfB) and the regional Intergovernmental Development Authority (IGAD) have failed to develop effective formulas for solving the problem. As a result, while there were internal conflicts, the humanitarian picture worsened for the Sudanese. Thousands of civilians were killed in Al Jazeera state at the end of last year, with many people killed, including children. Many women who escaped the rape of armed elements affiliated with the Rapid Support Forces (HDK) preferred to end their lives by committing suicide. Considering that news such as rape and suicide are not common in a geography such as Sudan, where Islamic faith is strong, the fact that women are forced to commit mass suicide adequately reveals the level of horror and fear experienced in the country. It is possible to describe the recent disasters in Al Jazeera and other cities as the most severe since the conflicts started in Sudan on 15 April 2023. According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), 135,400 Sudanese (some 27,000 families) have migrated to the cities of Kesele and Gadarif, which they consider safer, from the settlements attacked only after 20 October. In the face of the whole picture, it is essential to take protection measures for civilians to protect the Sudanese people from these disasters, but unfortunately there is no mechanism to do so. While the United Arab Emirates (UAE) continues to support the HDK for the sake of its regional interests, all actors who do not want to take risks, including in the UN, are content to monitor and report what is happening. It is not possible for about 70 non-governmental organizations, including IHH, which strives

to meet humanitarian needs in the field, to protect and protect the people against structures that have weapons in their hands. Sudanese military officials do not only hold the UAE responsible for the support given to the HDK. Sudan, which applied to the Gambia-based African Commission for Human and Community Rights of the African Union, finally accused its neighbor Chad of providing logistical support to the HDK. Risks such as the escalation and prolongation of conflicts between the two sides in Sudan, the involvement of tribes in the war or the involvement of the civilian population in the war, and even the involvement of neighboring actors such as Eritrea and Chad in the conflicts still remain valid. The east of the country, which has remained calm so far, has now become militarily active because the armed militias of different ethnic groups cooperating with the army have started to appear in the east, where the Beja people are concentrated, and moreover, the camps of people who took refuge in Sudan from Eritrea around Kesele complicate the balances and equation here. Tragedies in the humanitarian field are also reflected in the figures, as the number of people displaced in Sudan has exceeded 11.3 million in the last 18 months. Of these, close to 2.3 million people have sought refuge outside the country - mostly in neighbouring countries such as Chad and Egypt - while around 8.1 million Sudanese have had to relocate within the country. Unfortunately, the exact number of people who died in the country, where 25 million people are in need of humanitarian aid, is not known. While Sudanese youth, chronic patients, children and pregnant women are suffering due to the collapse of the education and health sectors, food shortages, fuel shortages, floods and cholera epidemics make the humanitarian situation even more dire. Unfortunately, this bitter picture has made Sudan the center of one of the biggest humanitarian crises of our time, while calls and mediation attempts to end the conflicts have not yielded results. The most dangerous scenario for Sudan in the face of the failure of the parties to gain superiority and the failure of mediation initiatives will be the country's entry into the Balkanization spiral (17).

There is still a US-China competition in the region.

France is the biggest mass murderer in Africa

France is one of the countries most directly or indirectly responsible for the massacres in Africa. He committed great atrocities in Africa in the historical period. Algeria's population dropped from 8 million when the French arrived in 1830 to 6 million when the French left the country in 1962. Nearly 2 million people were massacred in Algeria during the 132-year French occupation. So much so that even unarmed civilian people were scanned with machine guns and planes. After France recognized its independence, it wanted to maintain its influence over Algeria, and more than 200,000 people lost their lives in the internal conflicts in Algeria in the name of religion in the 1990s. In order to maintain its sovereignty on the African continent, France has also made history and continues to make history as the force behind the killing of tens of thousands of people in African countries such as Gabon, Senegal, Benin, Tunisia, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Chad, Cameroon and Djibouti. No region where France goes sees peace. So far, there is no region that France has gone and developed or brought peace to. No matter where you look in Africa, the turmoil created by the French seems to be the idea of opposing each other and controlling in this way. Mitterrand said the Rwandan massacre was "too insignificant to dwell on". For the interests of Mitterrand and France, which had specialized in massacres throughout its history, the slaughter of 800,000 people was too insignificant to dwell on. Since then, France has continued its operations on the African continent. France uses terrorist organizations as an excuse for these interventions. On the other hand, the confusion and emptiness built by France is the main cause of violence. Today, France has military activities in countries such as Mali, Niger, Chad, Sudan, Eritrea, Senegal, Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Central African Republic, Democratic Congo and Djibouti. French

soldiers are actively participating in operations in Burkina Faso, Niger and Mauritania, especially in Mali. France, which wants to keep control in countries such as Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, is also very active in the structuring in Libya! France hurriedly bombed this country after agreeing with Gaddafi and receiving money. The location of Libya's \$150 billion funds is unknown. **Africa feeds France.** France thinks that if it loses this region, it will enter an economic crisis and wants to keep it at all costs. He uses the activities of terrorist organizations in this region as an excuse and takes advantage of the enmities between the tribes. However, in these regions, France is also criticized for not providing security.



Map 7 Africa Central Sahel Region / Source: https://www.sdeakademi.org/orta-sahel-bolgesinin-guvenlik-dinamikleri_4-218

One of the countries that has the most share in turning the country into a ruin by supporting the Haftar forces in the Libyan civil war is France. Libya is extremely important for the future of France. France will do its best not to lose the region. France's dirty activities against the governments against it on the African continent have also caused fear in

everyone. France, like other imperialists, has a bad image in this region and no public support. It has recently increased the number of soldiers in the Sahel region from 4,000 to over 5,000. That's not enough. It does not seem possible for France to win in this geography where it consumes its resources. On the other hand, France faces a power like China on the African continent. Russia, on the other hand, wants to return to the African continent, as in the Cold War Period. France, which has been indisputably the only power in the region until today, now sees that its power is exhausted and is very uncomfortable with the entry of other powers into this region. France is struggling and being ostracized to dominate the Sahel region. He has difficulty in giving his say to the senior management of these regions. He is in fear of losing control, which he has long held in Mali and Chad. For this reason, after the murder of Idris Deby, who has ruled Chad since the 1990s, Macron rushed to this country and stated that they would not allow anyone to disrupt Chad's security and stability.

6.2.8. Competition of Other Military Powers in Africa

The country with the most military power in France and Africa is the USA. Areas of US military activity are generally intended to control critical points. The US is located in critical regions of Africa, as well as the Middle East region. In this respect, Africa and the Middle East are evaluated together. The US has military elements in 50 out of 54 countries on the continent. Seeing the continent become a competitive space, the United States established the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) in October 2007. The map shows Egypt excluded from AFRICOM.

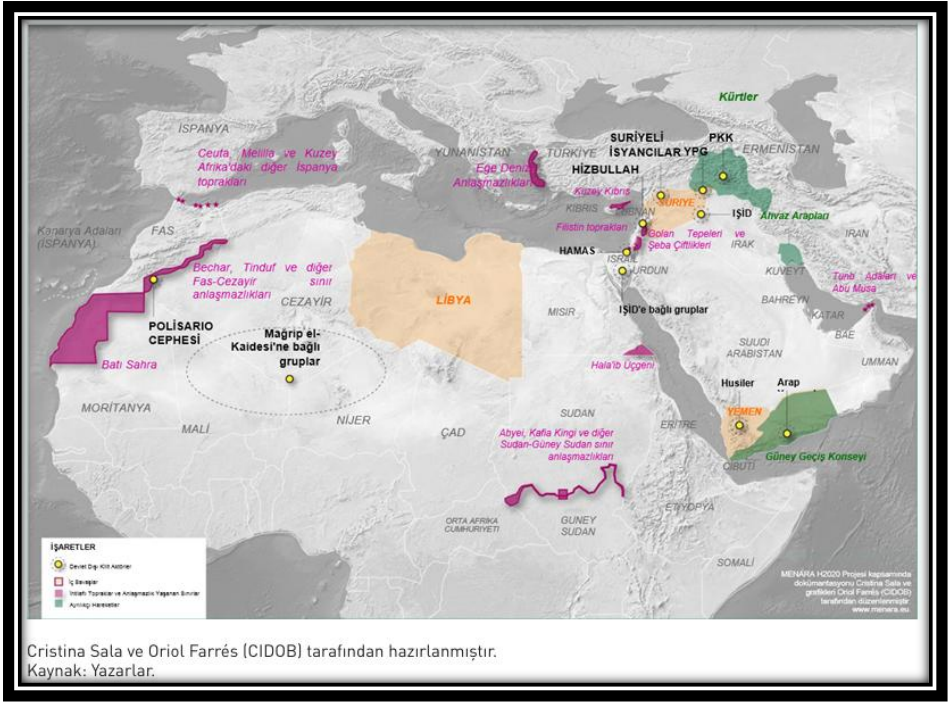


Map 8 US Command Zones of Responsibility/ Source: <https://www.sde.org.tr/afrika-uzerinde-surdurulen-askeri-rekabet-ve-guvenlik-konu-291>

The US can use the airports, ports or military bases of countries that do not have bases on the African continent when necessary by making bilateral agreements with them. Its largest base is in Djibouti, which controls the Red Sea, and it acts jointly with France in this region. AFRICOM is headquartered in Stuttgart, Germany. It has more than 7,000 troops based in countries such as Somalia, Libya, Niger, Nigeria and Cameroon. It is mainly organized around North Africa, the Sahel and the Red Sea. 800 troops and a drone base are stationed in the Niger region, while 4000 troops and a large drone base appear to be stationed in Djibouti to control the Red Sea entrance. Operations in and around this region are also managed from here. In addition to the countries that have recently entered the African continent, it is seen that two more emerging powers are in competition in Africa. These are China and India. Russia is among them. Italy, on the other hand, is more about North and East Africa. In the meantime, Israel should not be forgotten. India, which is interested in the African continent, has been strongly present on this continent since the cold war years. It is one of the countries that sells the most goods to Africa. India also has military facilities in regions such as Madagascar and

Mozambique on the African continent. First, a naval base was opened when the Indian navy assumed responsibility for Mozambique's maritime security at the African Union Summit in 2003. Its second base is in Madagascar and again predominantly in the form of a naval base. There is also an observation base here and the other base is located in Seychelles (20).

China's interest in the African continent is increasing. China's exports to the African continent have increased rapidly since the early 2000s, exceeding 200 billion dollars. As a result, it provides economic resources to countries in need in the region. But when they had difficulty repaying it, they allegedly confiscated some entities. China has been expressing its intention to strengthen cooperation with African countries on peace and security for a while. Another issue that China has officially announced is the determination of African countries to actively participate in security problems (21).



Map 9 Conflicting Groups and Conflict Areas in Africa/ Source: <https://www.sde.org.tr/afrika-uzerinde-surdurulen-askeri-competition-and-safety-subject-291>

According to Forbes magazine, China's strategic base in Djibouti is large enough to deploy large warships and even aircraft carriers, and is designed to withstand any attack from outside. China, just like the USA, has recently started to send troops to different operations under the name of "Peacekeeping". In addition to providing security in the Gulf of Aden, China is the country that sends the most personnel to peacekeeping operations in Africa and allocates the most share of the budget. This means that China will be on the African continent, not only in the economic field, but also in the military field (23).

Russia, which played an active role in Africa during the Cold War, is determined to return to the region. It wiped out \$20 billion of debt owed by African countries during the Cold War. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, he wants to return to the region. But relations are far from being as ideological as they used to be. Nevertheless, at the Russia-Africa

Summit held in October 2019, the President of Russia announced that they aim to double the trade volume with African countries in 5 years and signed major agreements with many countries. Most of them are related to the sale of weapons. Niger, for example, received 12 Mi-35s at this summit. Russia sells around \$15 billion in military supplies and food to Africa. Apart from this, Guinea-Bissau, Zambia, Kenya and South Sudan have been determined as the countries where cooperation will be developed (24).

7. WAYS OUT OF CRISES IN THE MIDDLE EAST-NORTH AFRICA

There are social and economic problems caused by administrative problems in Muslim countries. In order to overcome these problems, it is extremely important for peace and stability to be managed with the political systems reflected in Islamic Law and the existence of administrations on the basis of integrity and honesty. On the other hand, it is a necessity for Muslim countries to establish, maintain and substitute a union in all administrative, political, economic and military fields by establishing an Intracivilizational Alliance, Islamic Union 2.0 on the axis of common civilization against the attacks of global racist imperialism.

7.1. Islamic Union (2.0) Against Imperialism is a must

Islamic Union 2.0 concept: The Islamic Union was realized when the great Islamic States conquered and annexed the geographies and countries to their own lands. In the Umayyad, Abbasid, Seljuk, and Ottoman examples, the Islamic Union was possible when the victorious state took the defeated countries under its rule as a result of the wars. In fact, the belief that today's Islamic Union will be realized with conquests as in history is common among Muslims. However, what is intended to be expressed with the ASRICA Islamic Union (2.0) model is envisaged as the inclusion of Islamic countries under the umbrella of the Union with their own consent, without fighting according to their ethnic and geographical proximity. In this respect, the concept of Islamic Union (2.0) was used to distinguish our vision of the Islamic Union in history and the future Islamic Union from one another.

Islamic geography is a geostrategically troublesome geography. That's why we need to ***“keep the magazine full and the finger on the trigger”***. The main actor of the tears shed in the fertile crescent and the surrounding geography is Zionist Israel. It's time to wake up and unite. Enough comfort

for Israel. After the end of the Cold War in 1990, the United States under the command of Zionism and POTUS (President of the United States) George W. Bush launched Crusades by invading Iraq and Afghanistan. However, since these occupations caused both material and military losses, they caused objections in Western public opinion. Famous theorist Graham E. Fuller, who is a permanent political advisor to the American RAND Corporation think tank and a former deputy chairman of the National Intelligence Council of the US Central Intelligence Agency, put forward the thesis of **‘Conflict Within Civilization’** through nationalism and sectarianism, which are two fault lines in the Islamic world. Terrorist organizations established and financed by the West itself have been used as new means of occupation in the Islamic geography. In 2011, as a result of the beginning of the events that we call the **"Arab Spring"** of the West and the **"Arab Ordeal"** of the West, North Africa was in turmoil and Libya and Gaddafi, who exhibited the harshest attitude towards the West, were made to pay a heavy price. Libya was occupied and Gaddafi was lynched. Syria, on the other hand, was dragged into civil war. The scenario in Türkiye was eliminated by the people and strong political will on July 15. In this period, while the West attacked the Islamic world with empires, there were invasions and fragmentations that resulted in heavy defenses and defeats, as in the case of Islamic countries Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Afghanistan. Our resources are exploited by racist imperialism. Therefore, the Islamic world is under the clear threat of the **‘Sick West’ in terms** of its geopolitical value, underground and aboveground resources. With the intra-civilizational conflict initiated by the West through the clash of civilizations, there is only one way to stop the invasions it has substituted and sustained. It is the establishment and maintenance **of an ‘intra-civilization alliance 2.0’** by the Islamic world. What happened is not a coincidence but a planned result, a result that has been achieved step by step for centuries. What is happening today is undoubtedly the result of the geopolitical philosophy **of "Jewish Nazism-Political Zionism"**, which turned the world into a Jewish prison. It is the duty of all Muslims

to fight against this order of oppression. **The basis of the Idea of Islamic Union** is the commandment "*Muslims are only brothers*", which is one of the basic assumptions of Islam. The model of society proposed by Islam is to be an ummah. It is a recipe for liberation from the traps of imperialism and exploitation. It is the confrontation of the Global System, Racist Imperialism and the G-7s with a just world order in which everyone is prosperous. **The Idea of Islamic Unity** is the search for salvation and resurrection from the weakness, helplessness and inferiority complex of the Islamic world against the Westerners. In this respect, the Islamic Union or in other words, the "Union of Islam" proposal is an alternative to the existing order in one aspect and reactive in the other. It aims to improve the situation of Muslims in the face of the West. It must be carried out. Our proposal for the solution of the problems in the Middle East and North Africa is as follows; A regional federation of Middle East and North African Islamic countries should be established and a unity of power should be established (25).

7.2. Collaborate with Anti-Zionist Jews

Sevsen Ebdah, Professor of Arabic Language and Literature at the University of Lebanon, said, "Israel and Zionism are a danger to Jews. Zionism has led to a totally disgusting Apartheid regime based on the systematic lie of the state and is already turning against Israel and the Jewish people." "As a Jew, I believe Israel is now putting my life in danger. Because it fuels hatred against me and ignites the fires of anti-Semitism around the world." These words belong to Rony Brauman. Among the Jews there are people who come from the Zionist family, but whose conscience is shaken by the suffering of the Palestinians and who suddenly think that everything they believe are deceptive stories within the Jewish community. Zionism is also seen and questioned by Jews as a threat and danger. For this reason, cooperation should be made with Anti-Zionist Jews in the fight against Zionism. Although the ongoing crimes against humanity in Gaza since 7 October 2023 have not been condemned

by the current world order, they have already been condemned by the conscience of humanity. However, while the Zionist atrocity causes governments all over the world to question the policy of Gaza, it also turns into a flood of hatred against Jews. Jews who are afraid of this flood are worried about their future (26).

7.3. Node Strategy Should Be Applied in the Fight Against the Zionist State

The social, economic, political and military powers of the nations are interdependent. In short, the elements of national power are dependent on each other.

Therefore, if the national power elements of the Zionist State are targeted, the nodes that will constitute the key elements of national power, which will have the greatest effect in total and will ensure the dissolution of the society and shake the authority of the government, should be determined. The detected lock may not always require physical destruction in order to have an impact on the nodes. For example, success is achieved in societies whose morale becomes fragile by causing social turmoil or shaking the economy.

Israel has political, sociological and demographic nodal points. There was an early election in Israel in 2019. 29 parties participated in the elections. 9 parties exceeded the election threshold of 3.25. Interestingly, although he was in second place, the fascist and murderer Netenyahu was given the task of forming the government. It is very, very interesting that there are so many political parties in Israel with a population of 8.5 million. Of course, this is directly related to the sociology of Israel. Today, there is a serious Arab population in Israel, and the growth rate of this population is 3.5 percent, while the increase rate of the Jewish population is around 1.4 percent. There are also Jews of African descent who are not considered to be Jews. There are also European and US immigrant Jews who moved to Palestine before and after the second world war. This

landscape shows that beside the radicals, there is a mass of voters with liberal, socialist and other ideologies. This is the soft belly of Israel . In Israel, the ideas, factions and separations to be confused and confused actually constitute a serious majority and sensitivity. However, the Islamic World is far from benefiting from this sensitivity. We do not turn to our real opponent from dealing with Israel and Jewish supporters among us. Not that, we are experiencing internal conflict. While Israel is enjoying comfort and expanding its territory with new occupations step by step, the geography around it is experiencing destruction. Another election was held on November 1, 2022, are the elections that have determined the 120 new members of the Knesset. While the election is normally expected to be held in 2026 , it was postponed due to the 2018-2022 Israeli political crisis. The participation of 1.5 times as many political parties in this election shows the political instability and sociological confusion in Israel. As can be seen, Israel's politics and sociology are disorganized. This mess can lead to great chaos and turmoil in Israel (27).

7.4. Palestine Must Have Its Own Army or Be Protected by Islamic Countries

Our late Adnan Tanrıverdi Pasha, the Founding President of ASSAM, stated in 2009: “The Palestinian people have proven that Islam is the Army in Gaza. States whose nation is Muslim should either protect Palestine with their own armed forces or create a modern armed force for Palestine that can cope with Israel. "Today," GAZA "would not have become a cemetery. In the Middle East and North Africa, the main purpose of the fire lit by the Zionists and their supporters is the "Greater Israel" delusion. The measure to be taken against this is the establishment of two separate regional federations under the Asian Axis Islamic Union Confederation proposed by Assam in the fields of political, military, economic, defense industry and foreign policy of the Middle East (ODBİF) and North Africa (KABİF) countries without changing their national borders (28).

7.5. Authority Exchanged in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Libya, Türkiye May Block Imperialism by Increasing Its Influence in the Region

The strategic partnership between the United States and Türkiye is over. Now is the time for Türkiye to create a strategy. The establishment of the PKK and its staging against Türkiye, the dirty game staged in Syria after Iraq, Operation Euphrates Shield, Spring Shield, Olive Branch and Peace Spring, and the disruption of this game by Türkiye helped us understand the US perspective on Türkiye. The US announced its national security strategy in November 2017. (20) Accordingly, while Russia and China are opponents that challenge US values (exploitation), Egypt and Saudi Arabia are stated as friends and allies (slaves). In this document, Türkiye is neither a friend nor an ally. This means that the Turkish nation and state have been freed from "strategic slavery". In this way, Türkiye will be able to turn to advanced targets. Essentially, 'something is either the same or better in terms of its consequences'. Türkiye's military operations to prevent the establishment of a terrorist in Syria in the regional occupation movement attempted by the US, the gendarmerie of Zionism, turned the 'Greater Israel' delusion into a nightmare. August 24, 2016 Operation Euphrates Shield is a milestone for Türkiye. Like Augusts in history. It is not only a milestone to be written in gold letters in the history of Turkish warfare, but also the milestone of independent and Greater Türkiye, where Türkiye regained the burdens it lost to the USA. These moves made by Türkiye in Syria are of historical importance not only to remove and discard the BOP, but also to increase Türkiye's effectiveness in the region. The continuation must be sustained. (29)

8. MODEL ASRICA CONFEDERATION – ROAD MAP

1) Measures to be taken by the Islamic World

- a) The Islamic World, where the ethnic and sectarian elements of its geography within the unitary structures of the countries are made to fight each other, the undeclared, secret, insidious, dirty and asymmetrical 3rd Should realize that it has become the site of world war.
- b) In order to emerge victorious from this war, Islamic Countries;
 - i. It should understand the weakness of the dominant powers and plan and execute initiatives that will increase their sensitivity.
 - ii. It should ensure the justice of the right.
 - iii. Guarantee the fundamental rights and freedoms of people,
 - iv. In order to increase the percentage of the educated population, educational mobilization should be implemented, in order to integrate young generations, the student quotas related to Muslim countries in higher education institutions should be increased just as in Türkiye (by the end of 2024, the number of foreign students is -340 thousand, YÖK) and the Ummah should declare fraternity.
 - v. Ensure and maintain political and economic stability,
 - vi. In Muslim countries, for whatever reason, the people should not rebel internally.
 - vii. Governments should initiate initiatives to ensure the gathering of Islamic countries under a will after ensuring justice, personal rights and freedoms, political and economic stability in their countries.
 - viii. For this;
 - I. Non-Governmental Organizations, Opinion leaders, Higher Education Institutions should include the necessity of the Islamic Union and the procedures and principles of its establishment in the first items of their agenda.

- II. The idea of Islamic Union should be embedded in Muslim nations.
- III. Islamic scholars of different sects should find solutions to resolve conflicts and disputes through meetings and consultations.
- IV. The leaders and managers of the countries should have an examination and research made in the procedures and principles of the establishment of the Union, and ensure that the first agenda item of the Islamic Countries meetings attended by representatives at all levels is the establishment of the Islamic Union.
- V. After the Hajj worship, which is performed every year, a global congress should be held in which the problems of Muslims are discussed and remedies are produced.

2) The need for Islamic Union and the 'ASSAM VISION' for the Union
 ASSAM Imagination in the Muslim solution of the Civil War and turmoil in Islamic Countries: Islamic Countries can get rid of the blood, tears, conflict and humiliation they are in by uniting. The model of society ordered by Islam is to be the 'Ummah'. Islamic Countries should not wait for the initiatives of Global Powers, the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation or international organizations other than Islamic Countries to unite their individual interests in Muslim countries where political, social, economic and military crises prevail and investigate the possibilities of joint action. It should establish and maintain an intra-civilizational alliance (Islamic Union 2.0) on a voluntary basis. The Islamic World urgently needs a new organization that will work independently of the United Nations and certain power centers to help restore stability in Islamic Countries where internal and external security, economic, social and political crises prevail. There is a need for a different power from the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), which is formed by the States that

undertake to comply with and contribute to the rules, have the characteristics of being an Islamic country, have operational opportunities and powers. The turmoil prevailing in Kashmir, Afghanistan, East Turkestan, Arakan, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan and Palestine can be resolved by an organization to be formed by the Islamic World without confusing anyone else. This organization can also be the core for the Islamic Union. Its name may be **"Crisis Management Confederation of Islamic Countries"**.

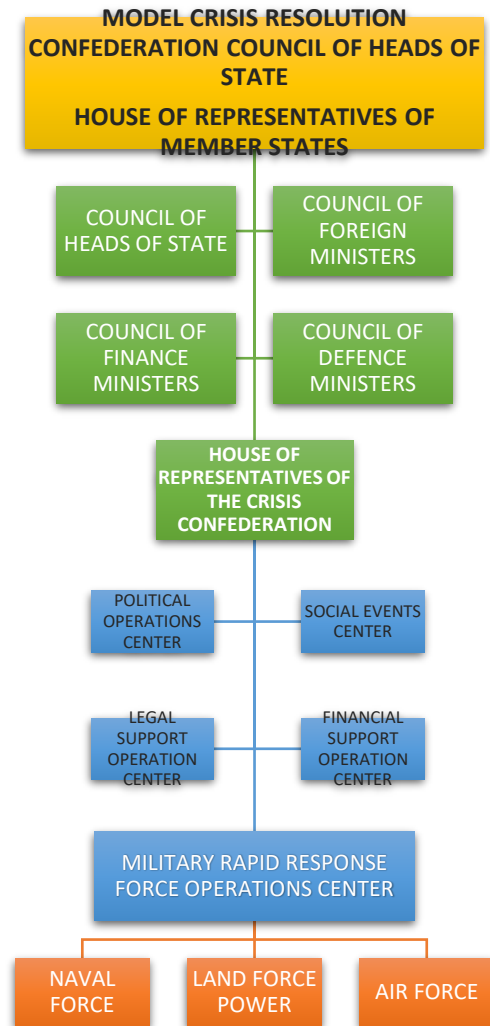


Figure 1 Model ASRICA Confederation Crisis Management Confederation Organization Chart

- a) It should consist of voluntary states that meet the criteria sought.
- b) States should be able to join and bind to this organization through agreements.

- c) There should be a parliament of representatives consisting of representatives of the member countries, working permanently, to ensure that decisions suitable for the purpose are taken and implemented.
- d) The House of Representatives should serve the purposes of its establishment with the will of the member states.
- e) When necessary, the parties in the crisis regions should be able to be represented in the parliament of representatives within the ratio if they apply.
- f) A crisis center affiliated with and accountable to the House of Representatives should be established.
- g) Within the crisis center, there should be operational centers that can manage military, political, legal, economic and social operations.
- h) Member countries should provide the necessary financial support.
- i) It should also have a military force that acts under the control of the crisis center and will be formed with the contributions of the member states.
- j) The center of activity should be determined by the parliament of representatives, taking into account the proposals of crisis regions and member countries, and can be changed when necessary.
- k) The Model Confederation's approach to the sides of crises should be constructive, peaceful, equitable, fully respectful of fundamental human rights and freedoms, unifying, protective of the social fabric, helpful and compelling when necessary.

If the Islamic World could have such a Confederation, without the coups and revolutions of Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, Syria, Sudan and Afghanistan, without Iraq being invaded by the United States, Afghanistan being invaded by Russia and the United States and turned into a terrorist base, these countries

could have been turned into an area of internal conflict and turned into a fair form of administration without entering an environment of turmoil and being destroyed and ruined.

3) 'ASSAM VISION' in the Union of Islamic Countries Process

In order for Islamic Countries to gather under a will;

First of all:

Establishment of the "Confederation of Islamic Countries" by the permanent establishment of the "**House of Representatives of Islamic Countries**", whose authority, facilities, power and structure are specified by the constitution, laws and regulations and where the common will of 57 **Islamic Countries** is represented;

Then:

- a) While the Confederation of Islamic Countries continues to work to determine the procedures, principles and principles of justice, security (*internal and external*) and common foreign policy, which are the main duties of states,
- b) Ethnically and geographically, the "**House of Representatives of Regional Islamic Countries**", where the common wills of close Islamic States are represented, should be formed, (*Islamic Countries can be grouped in 9 different geographies. Middle East [12], Central Asia [8], Near East [4], South East Asia [4], North Africa [6], East Africa [6], North West Africa [7], South West Africa [6], Muslim States of Europe [4]*);

Subsequently:

The central administrations of the "**Regional Islamic Countries Federations**" should be strengthened and transformed into Federations and each of them should be connected to the "**Islamic Countries Union**" as a Confederated Union;

Ultimately;

- The joint wills of the regional formations should be represented in the "**Assembly of Representatives of the Federation of Regional Islamic Countries**" and the wills of these Central formations should be represented in the "**Assembly of Representatives of the Confederation of Islamic Countries**";
- "**Executive bodies**" affiliated to the councils of representatives should be established;
- "**Rapid Intervention Forces**" **should be established to ensure the implementation of the decisions of the "Courts of Justice " and the Courts of Justice under the control of the central and regional executive bodies;**
- It should be organized to **ensure "public order and internal security"**;
- In order to ensure external security, "**defense industry production cooperation**" should be established and "**defense alliance**" should be organized;
- It should be organized for the determination and implementation of "**common foreign policies**";
- "**Economic cooperation**" should be established;
- An independent "judicial system" consisting of "**Human Rights**" and "**Criminal Courts**" should be established for the Confederation of Islamic Countries and Regional Islamic Countries Federations.

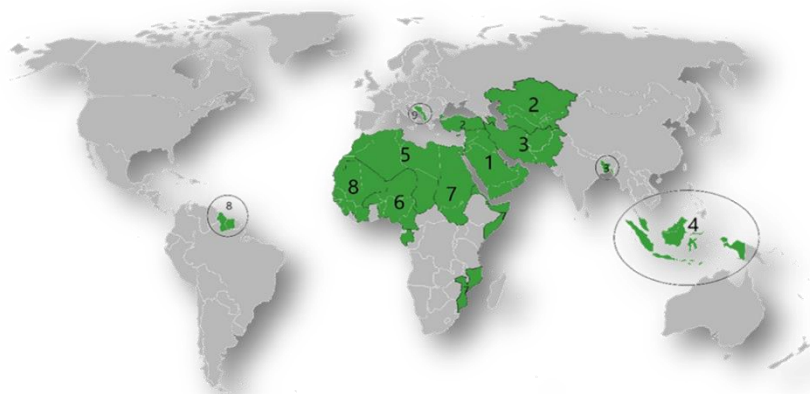
4) Steps to be taken by national States for the establishment of model ASRICA confederation

At this stage, the following steps should be taken by the National States to create the necessary conditions for the establishment of the Model ASRICA Confederation;

- a) Islamic countries should move from authoritarian structures that justify foreign intervention to fair and transparent administrations with high representation power of the people. Governments without public support are doomed to collapse. This is a prerequisite for lasting and sustainable stability.
- b) Economic and Commercial cooperation between Islamic Countries should be increased and trade should be liberalized, financial cooperation between free market institutions, inter-sectoral cooperation and direct investments should be gradually increased and efforts to reduce poverty should be increased.
- b) With the awareness that one of the prerequisites for being independent and sovereign is independence in the defense industry, joint defense industry production opportunities should be investigated by cooperating with Islamic States.
- c) Islamic Countries should make defense cooperation agreements with neighboring Islamic countries, aware that the real threat comes from global powers rather than each other.
- d) Islamic countries should fight for the separation of foreign military bases, private military companies and their military assets from their countries.
- e) Islamic Countries should ally in the principles and principles of foreign policy that they will follow to be implemented in Islamic Countries that are experiencing crisis with internal and external influences.
- f) In order to prevent discrimination against the Muslim minority in non-Muslim countries and violation of their fundamental rights and freedoms, every Islamic country should establish cultural centers to promote Islam to the extent possible and engage in activities. It should be believed that the citizens to be sent to foreign countries should be selected meticulously with the awareness that the most appropriate communiqué will be with an exemplary lifestyle.

8.1. Model ASRICA CONFEDERATION – Middle East (ODBIF) and North Africa (KABIF) Regional Islamic Federations Our Proposal

It is essential to organize ISLAMIC countries within the framework of the ASRICA ISLAMIC Union Model. ASSAM considers it possible to create the Islamic Union by gathering under a will with a confederal structure formed by NINE REGIONAL Federations and these REGIONAL Islamic Federations according to their ethnic and geographical proximity, without changing the national borders and structure of 57 Islamic countries in the axis of ASRICA.



Map 10 Model Asrica Islamic Union Confederation Map / Source: ASSAM

Table 6 Model Federal States Affiliated to the ASRICA Confederation/ Source: https://www.assamcongress.com/download/ASSAM_2017-2023_KONGRE_SERISI_SONUC_RAPORU.pdf

Abbreviations	Region	Abbreviations	Region
1. ODBIF	Federation of Middle Eastern Regional Islamic States	6. GBABIF	Federation of South West African Regional Islamic States
2. OABIF	Federation of Central Asian Regional Islamic States	7. DABIF	Federation of East African Regional Islamic States

Abbreviations	Region	Abbreviations	Region
3. YDABİF	Federation of Near East Asian Regional Islamic States	8. KBABİF	North West Africa Regional Islamic States Federation
4. GDABİF	Federation of South East Asian Regional Islamic States	9. ABİF	European Federation of Territorial Islamic States
5. KABİF	Federation of Territorial Islamic States of North Africa		

8.2. Model ASRICA CONFEDERATION – Administrative Organization of Confederation, Federation and National States

The model ASRICA Islamic Union Confederation consists of nine

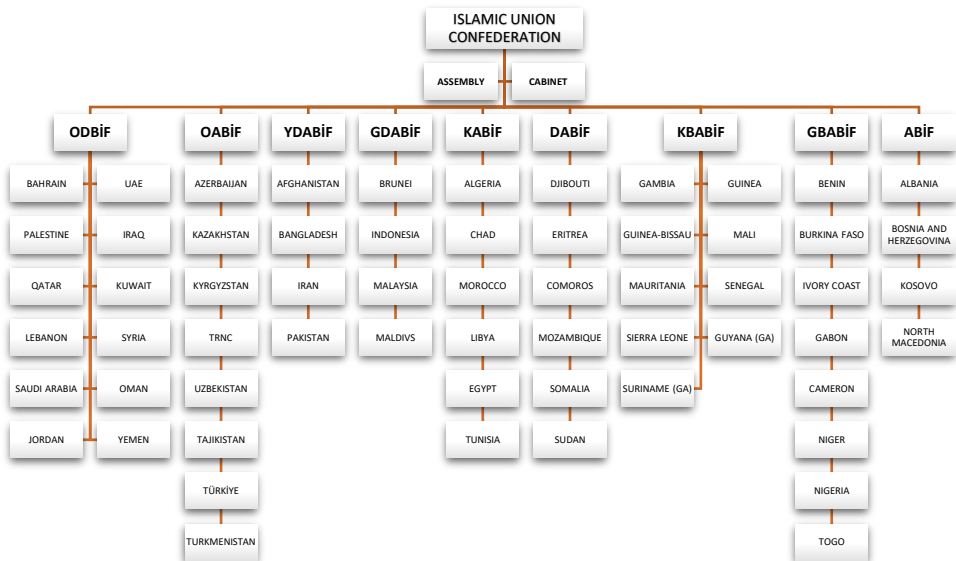


Figure 2 Model Regional Federal States Affiliated to the Confederation of Islamic Countries of Asia

regional federations. The 1st Region of the Confederation consists of ODBİF-Middle East Regional Islamic Federation countries. There are 12

Islamic countries under the roof of ODBİF; Bahrain, UAE, Palestine, Iraq, Qatar, Kuwait, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Jordan, Yemen. It is envisaged that if these countries gather in a way that includes political, foreign affairs, military, economic, defense and defense industry cooperation under the umbrella of ODBİF-Middle East Regional Islamic Federation without changing their national borders, occupying Zionist Israel and its supporter global imperialists who dare from the disorganization of the countries in the region can be eliminated. Likewise, a total of 9 regional federations such as ODBİF are envisaged, taking into account geographical proximity, geopolitical characteristics, etc.

In order for the Islamic Union to be formed;

- 1) The Islamic Creed should be the basic basis of the Central Will to be formed.
- 2) In order to serve for the establishment of the Islamic Union, it should be accepted that the establishment of "Islamic Union Ministries" in the councils of ministers of the countries willing to establish the Islamic Union is essential.
- 3) The necessity of the formation of the "Parliament of Islamic Countries" as the first step of the Islamic Union should be believed.
- 4) With the common will of one STATE from each of the nine geographical regions envisaged to have a federal structure, the "ASRICA Islamic States Union" should be established.
- 5) The acceptance of new states that will request to join the Islamic Union should be decided by the absolute majority of the Parliament of Islamic Countries.
- 6) Muslim states should be able to decide on the decision to join the "Union of Islamic Countries" by a majority vote of their parliaments or by an absolute majority vote in the referendums to be held.
- 7) Issues related to the Name, Management Type, Status and Election Type of the President of the Union, Official Language, Flag, Capital of the Islamic Union to be established; Legislative, Executive and

Judicial Authority; Formation of Legislative, Executive and Judicial Bodies of the Union; Election Procedures and Principles of Members of Parliament, Budget and Procedures and Principles of Meeting by Member States; Formation, Powers and Responsibilities of Regional Structures, Powers and Responsibilities of Member States should be implemented with the decisions of the "Parliament of Islamic Countries" in accordance with the member states.

8.3. Model ASRICA CONFEDERATION – Areas of Activity of Confederation, Federation and National States

It is envisaged that an Islamic Union can be established to be responsible for five main fields of activity (Justice, Defense, Defense Industry, Interior, Foreign Affairs), six fields of activity of Regional Islamic States Federations (Customs and Trade, Transport and Maritime, Economy, Science, Industry and Technology, Development, Culture and Tourism), and ten fields of activity of National States (Education, Finance, Energy and Natural Resources, Health, Agriculture and Livestock, Youth and Sports, Forestry and Water Affairs, Labor and Social Security, Social Policies, Environment and Urbanization). With the Confederative Islamic Union Model, it will be possible to fulfill the duties and responsibilities of institutions and organizations with state authority whose unity principles have been established.

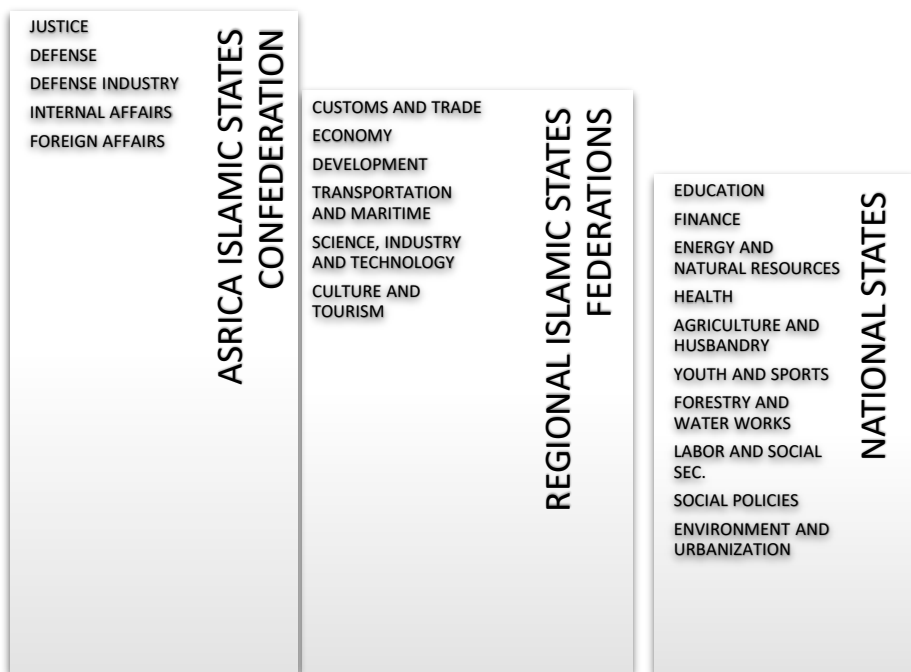


Figure 3 Model ASRICA Confederation Fields of Activity Distribution Scheme

8.4. Model ASRICA CONFEDERATION – Middle East and North Africa Regional Islamic Federations (ODBIF-KABIF) Economic Vision

Principles and Procedures of Islamic Economics and Economic Cooperation of Islamic Countries

We consider it necessary to establish an Islamic economic system as a second step towards the Islamic Union, which uses the technology of the age, encourages production, is based on the exchange of goods and services, is interest-free, protects labor, capital, consumers, provides fair income distribution, is not affected by the fraudulent directions of global powers, and has an autonomous money circulation system in order for

Islamic countries to reach a level of prosperity above world standards and gain their economic independence.

For this;

- a. Establishment of a customs union between Islamic countries,
- b. Establishment of a common market between Islamic countries,
- c. Adoption of monetary union between Islamic countries,
- d. Establishment of free trade zones among the members of the Union,
- e. The institution of zakat acquires an institutional identity under the control of the states and this is collected and evaluated as a common fund,
- f. The establishment of the Chamber of Commerce, Commercial courts, Foundations among the Islamic countries affiliated to the Federal or Confederal Union, the establishment of the Islamic electronic dinar currency (eg. ASRICA Dinar),
- g. Establishing a common market and a common production and R&D incentive fund in the state budget of each Islamic country in line with the goals of the Federal or Confederal Union,
- h. Conducting resource planning work with the joint investment fund against the exploitation of the resources of Muslim states in the ODBIF-KABIF Regions,
- i. Establishing projects that will reduce foreign dependency by establishing a joint organization for R&D and Innovation activities,
- j. Development of models and programs for the development of existing tourism potential, health tourism and other tourism activities among Islamic countries in ODBIF-KABIF regions,
- k. Meeting the needs of people living on the border of hunger in many regions of Africa, ensuring economic development and supporting capacity building in management mechanisms,
- l. Establishing cooperative cooperation systems between Islamic countries in the mining, energy, agriculture, transportation and

- telecommunication and food sectors of Islamic countries in ODBİF-KABİF regions and informing and supporting financial institutions operating with Islamic banking,
- m. Establishment of a joint financial institution operating in accordance with Islamic rules and swift (transfer and recording of money between accounts in electronic environment) system,
 - n. Taking measures to increase the volume of foreign trade between member countries by following a common strategy against industrialized countries,
 - o. Establishment of trade centers between Islamic countries affiliated to the Federal or Confederal Union, making and developing bilateral or multilateral preferential trade agreements,
 - p. Dissemination and development of "Barter Trade, Participation Banking, Hand Union System and Foundations" among Islamic Countries affiliated to the Federal or Confederal Union,
 - q. Increasing economic and commercial cooperation and trade liberalization, financial cooperation between free market institutions, increasing inter-sectoral cooperation and direct investments, and increasing efforts to reduce poverty,
 - r. Improving the investment environment and increasing competitiveness in international markets,
 - s. Despite the wide range of potential cooperation areas between Islamic countries and the availability of socio-cultural structure, the elimination of a number of political obstacles, economic system differences, domestic and inter-country instabilities and economic problems that are the basis of the lack of good use of this potential and the inadequacy of bilateral and inter-institutional cooperation between Islamic countries
 - t. Developing the cultural closeness formed in the combination of language, religion and history among the elements that can improve the economic integration between the regions, creating a strong political will,

It is considered necessary and indispensable.

8.5. Model ASRICA CONFEDERATION-Common Defense Industry Production Vision Surah Al-Anfal, 60th verse;

“Prepare as many horses of strength and war as you can against your enemies and those who are behind them, but you do not know, in order to frighten and deter those who know God. Everything you spend in the way of Allah will be fully paid to you without being wronged in the least, "and the development of war industry and technology is encouraged, and it is emphasized that the defense elements act in coordination with each other.

In the Cabinet of the Confederation of Islamic States of Asia, it is appropriate for the Ministry of Defense Industry to be one of the five ministries in order to carry out the determination, production, storage, distribution, maintenance-repair renewal, modernization and removal of the needs of Defense Industry Products from the inventory. "DEFENSE INDUSTRY Presidencies" should be established in the Nine Regional Islamic Countries Federations and "DEFENSE INDUSTRY PRESIDENCIES" should be established in the National States affiliated to each "Regional Islamic States Federation" depending on the Ministry of DEFENSE INDUSTRY within the Confederation of Asrica Islamic States. MAIN CONTRACTORS related to the production of Land, Sea, Air, Air DEFENSE, Space, Cyber and Electronic Defense Industry products should be allocated to "Regional Islamic States Federations" by the Ministry of Defense of the Confederation of Islamic States of Asia; SUBCONTRACTORS should be allocated to the National States affiliated to them (related to the allocated Defense Industry Products) by the "Regional Islamic States Federations".

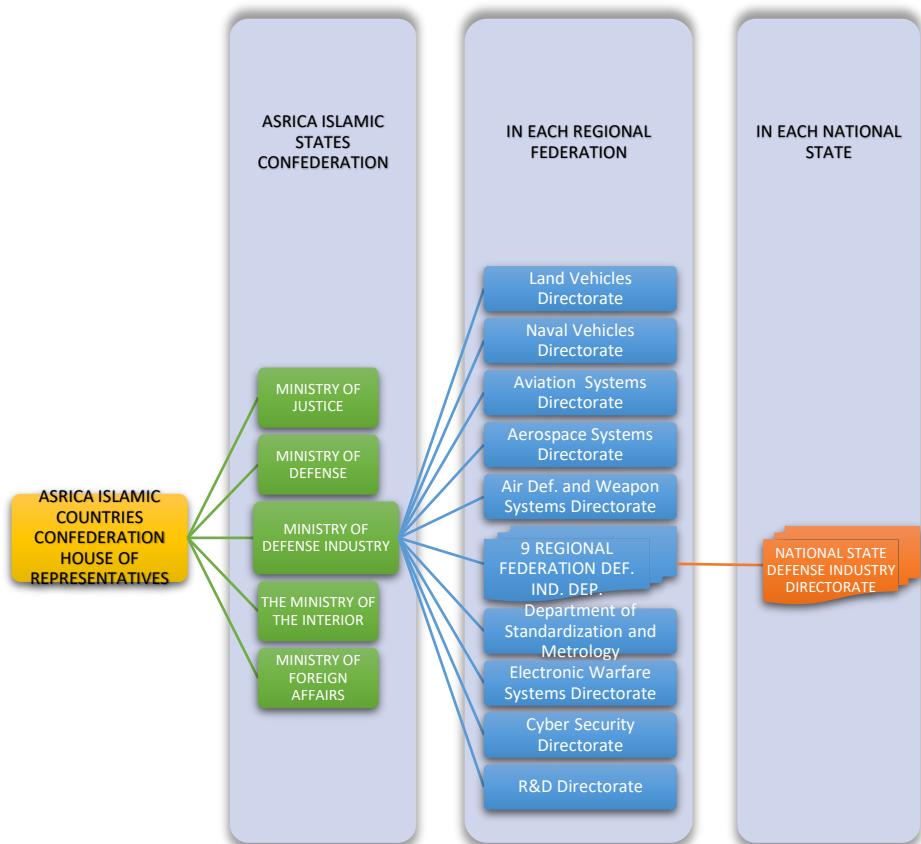


Figure 4 Model ASRICA Confederation Ministry of Defense Industry Organization Chart

Inventories of Defense Industry Presidencies of Regional Federations and National States, defense industry production facilities and heavy industry production systems within them should be drawn up. R&D, STANDARDIZATION, CERTIFICATION, ACCREDITATION, CODIFICATION and MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR centers related to the Defense Industry Production it produces should be established in the Main and Subcontractor Regions of Defense Industry Production. ASRICA Joint Defense Industry Production Support Fund, Joint Space Technology Center and Particle Acceleration Center should be established within the scope of scientific research and discount quotas should be applied on the basis of customs union in the use of energy and raw

materials required in defense industry production. Vocational High Schools, Vocational Schools and Departments in Universities related to Defense Industry products allocated to Regional Islamic Federations and National States, which are assigned as Defense Industry Main and Subcontractors, should be established. Defense Industry Product inventory, Determination of Needs, Storage and Distribution and Renovation, Modernization, Separation into HEK-MAL (Scrap-Wreckage-Degraded Material), Recycling and Recycling Activities should be managed from the Center by the Ministry of Defense Industry.

8.6. Model ASRICA CONFEDERATION – Common Defence Vision

According to the **ASSAM** concept, **DEFENSE** activities constitute **one of the five areas of activity** to be carried out centrally by the Confederation.

MINISTRY OF DEFENSE;

It is envisaged that the Chief of General Staff at the Confederation Center will consist of Land, Sea, Air, Air Defense and Missile, Cyber and Electronic Security Commands and "**Joint Operations Commands**" at the Army Level, located at the center of each of the Nine Regional Federations.

Draft Islamic Countries Confederation Model Constitution 117. Confederal Republic Vice Presidents, Regional Federal Republic Presidents, Justice, National Defense, Interior, Foreign Ministers, Chief of General Staff, Land, Sea, Air and Joint Force Commanders are envisaged to be formed under the Presidency of the President of the **Confederal Republic**.

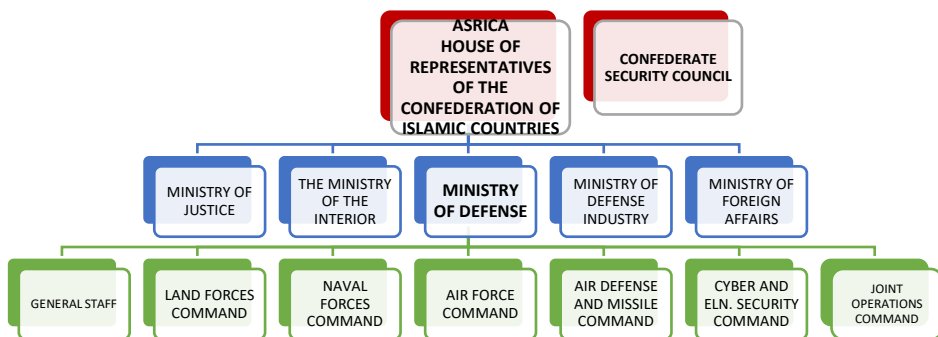


Figure 5 Model ASRICA Confederation Ministry of Defense Organization Chart

It has been assigned to the Operation Control of **JOINT** Operation Commands and deployed in the Centers of National States;

a. AS A COMBATANT AND COMBAT SUPPORT ELEMENT;

- 1) **36 Corps** Command in Land Forces,
 - 2) In the Navy: **Three Naval, Three Fleets and Three Straits Command**,
 - 3) **Nine Strategic, Nine Tactical Air Force Command and Nine Missile Command in the Air Force**,
 - 4) In the Air Defense Command; **Nine Radar Base Command and Nine Air and Missile Defense Command**,
 - 5) In Cyber and Electronic Security Command; **Nine Cyber Security and Nine Electronic Warfare Command**,
- is envisaged to be established.

b. AS A COMBAT SERVICE SUPPORT ELEMENT;

- 1) **Nine Logistics Support** Commands for Land, Sea, Air, Air and Missile Defense and Cyber and Electronic Force Commands,
- 2) **Nine Training Commands for each of the Force Commands other than the Navy and four Training Commands for the Navy**,

3) Nine Base and Port Command in the Naval Forces Command, Nine Base and Square Command in the Air Forces Command,

is envisaged to be established.

c. FORCES, INSTITUTIONS AND TROOPS AFFILIATED TO THE JOINT OPERATIONS COMMAND IN FEDERAL REGIONS

Combatant, Combat Support, Combat Service Support Commanders and their affiliates in each Regional Federation Geography should be allocated to the operational control of Regional Islamic Federations Joint Operations Commanders.

8.7. Model ASRICA CONFEDERATION – Homeland Security Vision

The **Ministry of Interior**, which is responsible for ensuring public order and internal security, constitutes one of the five areas of activity to be carried out centrally according to the **ASSAM** vision. The Minister of the Interior is responsible to the President of the Confederation for ensuring public order and security in the entire Confederation geography from the center of the Confederation to the villages and neighborhoods of the national states, and for securing the land borders and the open and inland sea coasts. The Minister of Interior is authorized and responsible to the President of the Confederation for the training, equipment, appointment, dismissal, personal rights of the Confederation's security and public order forces, their referral and administration; the assignment and management of regional federations and their civilian administrative superiors within the national states. The **Minister of Interior** is a natural member of the "**Confederal Republic Security Council**" and the "**General Assembly of Heads of States**". The **Ministry of Interior** is envisaged to consist of the **General Directorate of Security, Gendarmerie General Command, Border and Coast Guard General Command under the "General Directorate of Joint Public Security and Security of the Confederation"** at the center of the Confederation and the "**Joint Public Security and Security General Commands**" located at the center of each of the Nine Regional Federal Republics and the "**Joint Public Security and Security Presidencies**" at the centers of the national states.

Figure 7 Model ASRICA Confederal Republic Ministry of Interior Organization

MODEL CONFEDERAL REPUBLIC ORGANIZATION OF THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR	
SERVICE AND PLANNING HEADQUARTERS AND INSTITUTIONS	PUBLIC ORDER AND SECURITY FORCES AND INSTITUTIONS
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Directorate General of Migration Management, 2. General Directorate of Population and Citizenship Affairs, 3. General Directorate of Legal Services, 4. General Directorate of Highways, 5. General Directorate of Provincial Administration, 6. Disaster and Emergency Situation Management Directorate, 7. General Directorate of Press, Civil Society and Public Relations, 8. General Directorate of Information Technologies, 9. General Directorate of Research and Strategy Development, 10. General Directorate of Inspection and Evaluation, 11. General Directorate of Personnel, 12. General Directorate of Intelligence, Evaluation, Analysis and Coordination, 13. General Directorate of Smuggling, Intelligence, Operations and Information Gathering, 14. General Directorate of Security and Emergency, 15. General Directorate of Equipment and Support Services, 16. Ministry Chief of Staff, 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General Directorate of Joint Public Security and Security of the Confederal Republic; <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. General Directorate of Security, B. Gendarmerie General Command, C. Border and Coast Guard General Command, D. General Directorate of Educational Services, <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Police Academy and Training Center 2) Gendarmerie Academy and Training Center 3) Border and Coast Guard Academy and Training Center 2. 9 Regional Federal Republic Joint Security and Security General Command; <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. 9 General Directorate of Security of the Regional Federal Republic, B. 9 Regional Republic Border and Coast Guard General Command, C. 9 Regional Republic Gendarmerie General Command, D. 9 General Directorate of Regional Federal Republic of Education Services, <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) 9 Police Academy and Training Center 2) 9 Gendarmerie Academy and Training Center 3) 9 Border and Coast Guard Academy and Training Center 3. 57 National State Joint Heads of Public Security and Security; <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. 57 General Directorate of Security of the National State, B. 57 National State Border and Coast Guard General Command, C. 57 Gendarmerie General Command of the National State, D. 57 General Directorate of Education Services of the National State, <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Police Academy and Training Center of 57 National States 2) Gendarmerie Academy and Training Center of 57 National States 3) Border and Coast Guard Academy and Training Center of 57 National States E. 57 Provincial Local Administrative Authorities of the National State (Governorships)

it is envisaged that it may be in the form of

8.8. Model ASRICA CONFEDERATION – Foreign Affairs Vision

1) **Model ASRICA Confederation Organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:**

Model Confederation Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

- Central Organization Department
- Directorate of Overseas Representations
- Directorate of Domestic Representations
- Administrative Affairs Department
- Strategy Department
- Higher Islamic Council

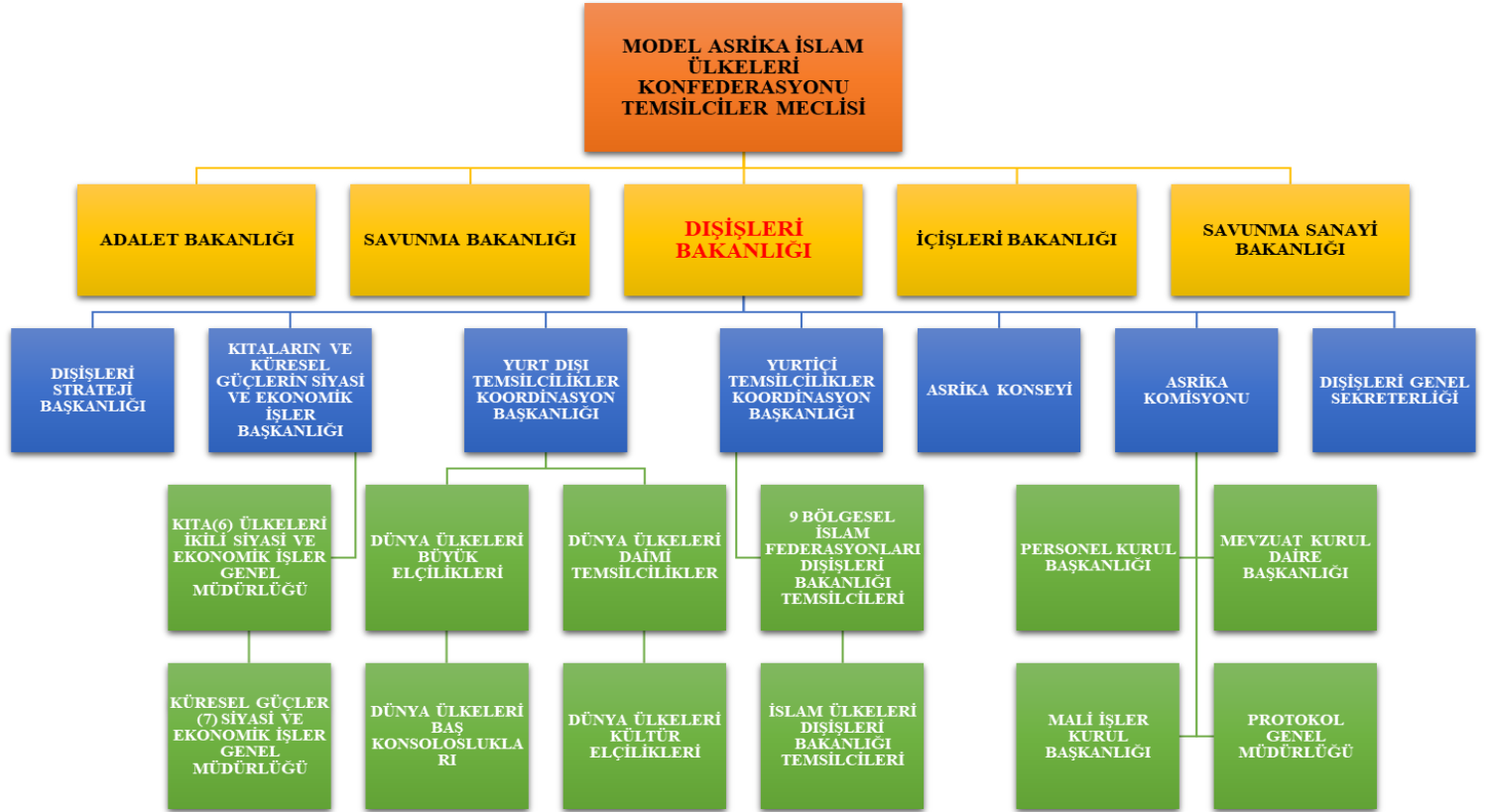


Figure 8 Model ASRICA Confederation Ministry of Foreign Affairs Organization Chart

- a)** In order for the model Confederation Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be able to centrally monitor and coordinate the activities of its diplomatic missions in states on the continents and states with global power, it should establish authorized units in the CENTRAL organization for each continent and global power.

I. Units of the Central Organization of the Ministry related to GEOGRAPHICAL CONTINENTS;

- i.** General Directorate of multiple political, economic and socio-cultural Affairs OF ASIAN COUNTRIES
- ii.** General Directorate of multiple political, economic and socio-cultural Affairs OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES
- iii.** General Directorate of multiple political and economic Affairs OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
- iv.** General Directorate of multiple political and economic Affairs OF NORTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES
- v.** General Directorate of multiple political and economic Affairs OF SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES
- vi.** General Directorate of multiple political and economic Affairs OF AUSTRALIAN COUNTRIES

II. Units of the Central Organization of the Ministry related to Global Powers;

- i.** Directorate General of bilateral political, economic and socio-cultural relations of the United States
- ii.** General Directorate of bilateral political, economic and socio-cultural relations of Germany
- iii.** General Directorate of bilateral political, economic and socio-cultural relations of China
- iv.** General Directorate of bilateral political, economic and socio-cultural relations of France
- v.** General Directorate of bilateral political, economic and socio-cultural relations of the UK

vi. General Directorate of bilateral political, economic and socio-cultural relations of Russia

vii. General Directorate of bilateral political, economic and socio-cultural relations of India,

It is deemed appropriate to organize it in the form of above.

b) Model Confederation Ministry of Foreign Affairs Representations ABROAD;

On the basis of reciprocity, the Model ASRICA Confederation should be represented by Embassies, Chief Consulates, Permanent Representations and Cultural Centers in the World Countries other than the countries that are members of the Confederation.

c) Model Confederation Ministry of Foreign Affairs DOMESTIC Representations;

Ministry Representatives should be established in the Regional Federation Centers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in the centers of the National States on the outer borders of the Model Confederation in a way that ensures communication and coordination with the representatives of the foreign countries to be assigned to the Model Confederation before the Regional Federations and National States.

The Model Confederation Ministry of Foreign Affairs should establish appropriate representation units in the following centers at a minimum, taking into account the diplomatic missions of foreign States.

I. Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federation of Middle Eastern Regional Islamic States

II. Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federation of Central Asian Regional Islamic States

III. Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federation of Near Eastern Regional Islamic States

- IV.** Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federation of Regional Islamic States of South East Asia
- V.** Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federation of Regional Islamic States of North Africa
- VI.** Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federation of East African Regional Islamic States
- VII.** Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federation of North West African Regional Islamic States
- VIII.** Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federation of Regional Islamic States of South West Africa
- IX.** Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federation of Regional Islamic States of Europe
- X.** 57 The Ministry of Foreign Affairs should also have Representatives for the National Islamic States.

2) Islamic countries have been subjected to falsification in their religious beliefs and lives as a result of the asymmetric and proxy wars they were exposed to after the First World War. In order to eliminate this negativity, a Higher Council of Science should be established within the body of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Model ASRICA Confederation in order to explain and place the understanding of Islam, this council should be within the body of the Model ASRICA Scientific Studies Assembly and should consist of an equal number of representatives to be sent from the Federations. The organization and structure of the Assembly should be determined by the Model ASRICA House of Representatives.

3) Principles and principles related to Fundamental Rights and Freedoms;

In the eyes of Allah, all people are equal and they are equal in terms of basic human rights no matter in which geography they are born. Therefore, the Islamic Religion has struggled against all kinds of discrimination since its emergence. Although people deserve to be

treated with equality regardless of language, religion, race and gender in terms of fundamental rights and freedoms, the implementation of these rights and freedoms with justice should be accepted as the basic principle in all Model ASRICA Confederation Geography.

- 4) The Prophet (pbuh) gave very important messages about fundamental rights and freedoms with the principles he put forward for all humanity in the Farewell Hajj;

➤ *“You are all children of Adam. The Arab has no superiority over the non-Arab. Superiority is only with PIETY.*

➤ *Your lives, property and honor are sacred and protected from all kinds of rape. Whoever has a relic with him should definitely give it to its owner.*

➤ *I recommend that you take care of women's rights and fear Allah in this regard. You have rights over women and they have rights over you.*

➤ *All kinds of interest have been removed, it is under my feet. However, it is necessary to give the original debt. You have neither been oppressed nor will you be persecuted.*

➤ *The feuds motivated during the period of ignorance were completely abolished.*

➤ *Violation of any right belonging to your religious brother is not lawful to anyone else.*

➤ *Do not persecute yourself. Your soul has a right over you.”*

A formation similar to the Hulful Fudul (Oath of the Virtuous) established during the Mecca period should be established not only for the Union of Confederate States of Model Asia but also for the protection of the rights of the oppressed all over the world.

- 5) Model ASRICA Union of Confederate States should establish relations with neighboring countries and nations with an approach required by Islamic provisions, establish diplomatic relations that ensure peace and tranquility with close and distant neighboring

states, and establish contacts in these relations regardless of religion, language, race, gender and lineage.

6) Relations with Global States and World Giants;

The latest technological developments in the world and the increase in the communication network and the fact that our world has become a small global village have brought the globalization process to the forefront and have transformed the network of relations between states and nations in the world into a network of intertwined relations. In such a case, states with global influence came to the fore with their powers and started to affect developing countries. For this purpose, the "Model ASRICA International Relations Coordination Presidency" within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of States of the Model ASRICA Confederation is responsible for coordinating the diplomatic process with the global powers.

7) The agreements for the establishment and use of Land, Sea and Air Bases belonging to foreign States in the Geography of the Model ASRICA Confederation should be terminated.

8) It should be ensured that the military forces of the countries are deployed within their own borders in peacetime and that they are used in the defense of land, sea and air areas with international agreements.

9) Utilization of Inland Seas;

The road map to be followed for the provision of the rights and benefits of the maritime areas within the boundaries of the Model ASRICA Confederation and the straits and canals connecting these seas to the open seas should be presented to the benefit of equity according to the "Model ASRICA Maritime Law Agreement" to be prepared by the "Model ASRICA Council" to be established under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

10) Benefiting from Oceans;

The maritime jurisdictions of the Oceans (*Terrestrial Waters, Continental Shelf and Exclusive Economic Zone*), which are the border of the Model ASRICA Confederation, are taken as a precedent and the rights and benefits of use are determined according to the "Model ASRICA Maritime Law Agreement" to be prepared by the "Model ASRICA Council".

- 11) It should be ensured that the Model ASRICA Confederation is made in accordance with the provisions of the **"Model ASRICA Air and Space Law" to be prepared by the Model ASRICA Council regarding the height of the airspace and** the control of foreign satellites passing over it with the fir line.
- 12) With the sub-committees to be established within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Model ASRICA Confederation, economic and commercial relations should be strengthened on a regional and global scale by activating the dynamics of our historical and cultural partnerships in international relations.
- 13) Regional and global approaches required by Islam and Islamic values should be preferred instead of Western-compatible-defensive strategic culture. In this context, a "pro-western" foreign policy based on EU-US foreign policy and the understanding of modernization that ignores 19th-century humanity should be abandoned as the "level of contemporary civilizations", and a new multi-dimensional/multi-track foreign policy approach should be adopted towards the Caucasus, Central Asia and Africa regions, especially the Middle East, which is turned away with security concerns and regime protection concerns.
- 14) A foreign policy that does not see the Islamic Countries in the geography of civilization and its neighbors as a threat should be developed and a foreign policy that establishes peace and justice not only for the Muslims of the world but also for all humanity should be adopted.

- 15) Since the technological developments that emerged with the globalization process accelerate the interaction between nations and states, global economic crises and regional conflicts constitute the agenda of international politics. For this reason, Islamic countries should develop their cooperation in the political and diplomatic fields and establish an inclusive relationship without marginalization.
- 16) The "pro-active" foreign policy approach put forward by Türkiye, which adopts an active foreign policy towards becoming a regional and global power, should be adopted by the Model ASRICA Confederation; it should develop political relations in accordance with our own cultural and moral understanding due to the unity from the historical process by developing economic and cultural relations in the civilizational geography, especially in neighboring countries, in the regional and global area.
- 17) The understanding that the Middle East is seen as a possible conflict and problem area should be abandoned, the problems in our region should be evaluated in line with the existence of "historical and cultural ties" and initiative should be taken. With this understanding, a diplomacy that brings together and reconciles the parties of other problematic regions such as Israel-Lebanon, Israel-Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, East Turkestan, Kashmir, Myanmar and all problematic regions of Africa, especially the Palestinian problem, should be developed.

8.9. Model ASRICA CONFEDERATION – THE VISION OF JUSTICE

First of all, we should state that we adopt this as the most basic principle, that the truth of Islam is a value above all politics. All politics can only be a servant of Islam. For this reason, it is not the duty of any politics to

impart Islam to itself. The idea of Islamic Union should only be developed in the context of this upper value.

The main source and source of the hierarchy of norms of the Islamic Union is the Qur'an-ı Hakîm, Sunneti Seniyye, İcma-i Ummah, and Kıyası Fukahası. The basic value of these main references of Islam is human. Islam guarantees to protect the human being, human life, religion, mind, property and generation.

The value of "right" is one of the basic issues of the Islamic Union justice system. The Prophet made a special emphasis on human rights in his Farewell Sermon. Therefore, the Islamic Union justice system will consist of institutions and norms that guarantee the protection of human rights.

Both the institutional structuring of the Islamic Union justice system and the determination of its norms will be realized retroactively from the goal of human value and fundamental rights and freedoms related to the protection of this value.

Within the framework of these main principles, it is deemed appropriate to establish the Model ASRICA Confederation Islamic Union Justice System as follows.

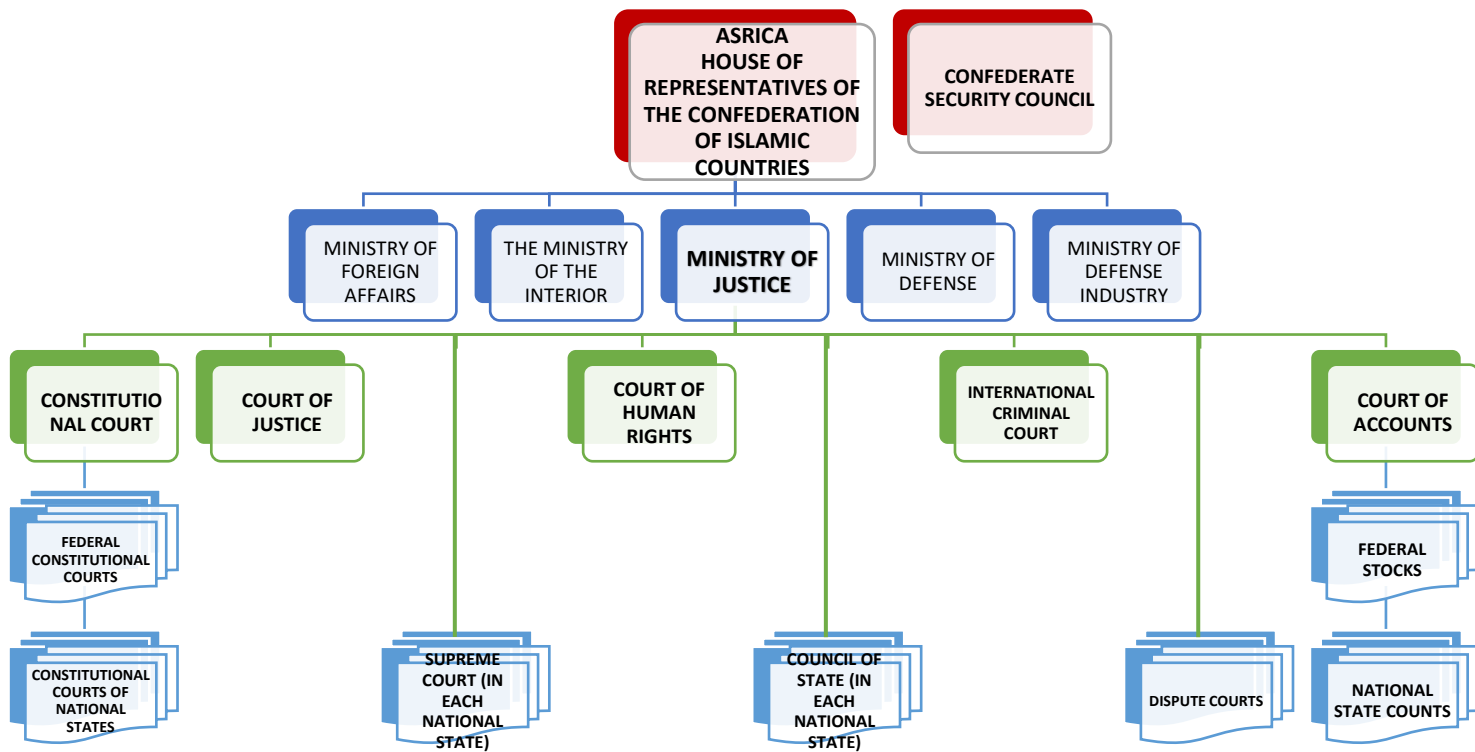


Figure 9 Model ASRICA Confederation Ministry of Justice Organization Chart

8.9.1. Main Bodies of the Justice System

Establishment of the Constitutional Court

A Constitutional Court is established by the Confederal Republic in each of the Confederal Republic, Regional Federal Republics and National States. Constitutional Courts are established from fifteen members. The Confederal and Regional Federal Republics and the National State Assemblies elect two members from among their own presidents and members of the General Assembly of the Court of Accounts at all levels, from among three candidates to be nominated for each vacancy, and one member from among three candidates to be nominated by the bar presidents at all levels from among freelance lawyers. In these elections to be held in the assemblies, two-thirds of the total number of members shall be sought in the first vote for each vacant membership and the absolute majority of the total number of members shall be sought in the second vote. If an absolute majority cannot be obtained in the second vote, the third vote is held for the two candidates who receive the most votes in this vote; the candidate who receives the most votes in the third vote is elected. The Confederal and Regional Federal Republics and the Heads of National States elect three members from a total of twelve members; three members from among three candidates to be nominated by the Supreme Court, the General Assemblies of the Council of State for each vacancy among their presidents and members; three members, at least two of whom are lawyers, from among three candidates to be nominated by the Council of Higher Education from among the faculty members working in the fields of law, economics and political sciences of higher education institutions that are not its members; four members from among senior executives, freelance lawyers, first-class judges and prosecutors and rapporteurs of the Constitutional Court who have been rapporteurs for at least five years. In the elections to be held to nominate candidates for the membership of the Constitutional Courts from the General Assemblies of the Supreme Court, the Council of State and the Court of Accounts and the Higher Education Councils at all levels, three persons with the highest

number of votes are deemed to have been nominated for each vacant membership in each Constitutional Court. The three people who received the most votes in the election to be held for the three candidates to be nominated by the bar presidents among the freelance lawyers are deemed to have been nominated. In order to be elected as a member of the Constitutional Courts, provided that the age of forty-five is completed; first-class judges and prosecutors must have worked for at least twenty years, including candidacy, must have earned the title of professor or associate professor of higher education institutions, lawyers must have practiced law for at least twenty years, senior managers must have received higher education and have worked in the public service for at least twenty years. One President and two Vice-Presidents shall be elected from among the members of the Constitutional Courts for a period of four years by secret ballot and by an absolute majority of the total number of members. Those whose term has expired can be re-elected. Members of the Constitutional Courts cannot take any official or private duties other than their primary duties.

Members' Term of Office and Termination of Membership

Members of the Constitutional Courts are elected for twelve years. A person cannot be elected to the Constitutional Court twice. Members of the Constitutional Court retire when they turn sixty-five. Members whose term of office expires before the mandatory retirement age are required to work in another position and their personal affairs are regulated by law. Membership of the Constitutional Court automatically ends if a member is convicted of a crime that requires dismissal from the judiciary profession; if it is definitely understood that he/she cannot fulfill his/her duty in terms of health, it ends with the decision of the absolute majority of the total number of members of the Constitutional Court.

Duties and Powers

The **Constitutional Courts at all levels** supervise the conformity of the laws, the decrees of the Confederal and Regional Federal Republics and

National Heads of State and the Rules of Procedure of the Confederal, Regional Federal and National State Assemblies with the Constitution in terms of form and substance and decide on individual applications. It examines and supervises constitutional amendments only in terms of form. However, a lawsuit cannot be filed in the Constitutional Court on the allegation that the decrees of the Confederal, Regional Federal and National Heads of State issued in emergency and war situations are unconstitutional in terms of form and substance. Supervision of the laws in terms of form is limited to whether the final vote is made with the stipulated majority; In constitutional amendments, it is limited to whether the proposal and voting majority and the condition that cannot be discussed immediately are complied with. Inspection in terms of form may be requested by the Confederal and Regional Federal Presidents and the Heads of National States or by one-fifth of the members of the Assemblies of the Confederal, Regional Federal and National States. After ten days from the date of publication of the law, no action for annulment based on malformation can be filed; nor can it be asserted through DEFI. Everyone may apply to the Constitutional Courts of the National State, the Regional Federal Republic and the Confederal Republic, respectively, claiming that any of his fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution has been violated by public power. In order to apply, ordinary legal remedies must be exhausted and the order of application to the Constitutional Court must be observed. In the individual application, no examination can be made on the issues to be taken into consideration in the legal way. The procedures and principles regarding the individual application are regulated by the laws of the Confederal Republic.

Constitutional Courts judge the Presidents of the Confederal Republic, Regional Federal Heads of State, National Heads of State; Presidents of Confederal, Regional Federal Republics and National State Assemblies, Presidents and Members of the Council of Religious Affairs, Deputy Presidents of the Confederal and Regional Federal Republics and Deputy National Heads of State, Ministers, Chief of General Staff and Force

Commanders, Constitutional Courts, Court of Justice and Human Rights Courts, Supreme Court, Council of State Presidents and members, Chief Prosecutors, Deputy Chief Public Prosecutor of the Republic, Council of Judges and Prosecutors and Court of Accounts Presidents and members of the Supreme Court for crimes related to their duties. In the Supreme Court, the Chief Public Prosecutor or the Deputy Chief Public Prosecutor performs the duty of prosecutor. An application for re-examination may be made against the decisions of the Supreme Court. The decisions taken by the General Assembly as a result of the re-examination are final. The Confederal Republic Constitutional Court, as the Supreme Court, is the highest judicial body of the Confederal Republic. Constitutional Courts also perform other duties assigned by the Constitutions.

Working and Judicial Procedure

The Constitutional Courts operate in two sections and the General Assembly. Departments convene with the participation of four members under the chairmanship of the vice chairman. The General Assembly convenes with at least ten members under the chairmanship of the President of the Court or the deputy President to be determined by the President. The Departments and the General Assembly take their decisions by absolute majority. Commissions may be established for the admissibility review of individual applications. Lawsuits and applications related to political parties, annulment and objection cases and trials to be carried out in the capacity of the Supreme Court are examined by the General Assembly, and individual applications are decided by the departments. Two-thirds of the votes of the members attending the meeting are required in order to decide on the cancellation of the constitutional amendment, the closure of political parties or the deprivation of State aid. Annulment cases based on deformity are first examined and decided by the Constitutional Courts. The establishment of the Constitutional Courts, the procedures of the General Assembly and the departments, the disciplinary affairs of the President, the deputy presidents and the members are regulated by the laws of the Confederal,

Regional Federal and National States; the working principles of the Court, the formation of the departments and commissions and the division of labor are regulated by the Rules of Procedure to be made by them. The Constitutional Courts examine the works other than the cases they handle in the capacity of the Supreme Court on the file. However, it may be decided to hold a hearing in individual applications. Courts may also call on those concerned and those with knowledge of the subject to listen to their oral explanations when they deem necessary, and in cases regarding the closure of political parties, they listen to the defense of the chairmanship of the political party requested to be closed after the Chief Public Prosecutor of the relevant Supreme Court or a deputy to be appointed.

Action for Annulment

The right to sue the Constitutional Court directly for the unconstitutionality of the laws, Confederal and Regional Federal Republic and National State Presidential decrees, Confederal, Regional Federal and National State Council Bylaws or certain articles and provisions thereof belongs to the Confederal and Regional Federal Republic and National State Heads, two political party groups with the highest number of members in the Confederal, Regional Federal and National State Councils and members with at least one-fifth of the total number of members.

Term of Litigation

The right to file a lawsuit for annulment directly with the Confederal, Regional Federal Republics and National State Constitutional Courts shall expire sixty days after the publication of the laws enacted by the Confederal, Regional Federal and National State Assemblies, the decrees of the Confederal, Regional Federal and National Heads of State or the Rules of Procedure in the Official Gazette.

Claiming Unconstitutionality in Other Courts

If the court hearing a case finds a law of the competent Assembly to be applied in the case or the provisions of the competent Confederal, Regional Federal or National State Presidential decree to be contrary to the Constitution or if it concludes that the allegation of contradiction made by one of the parties is serious, it shall postpone the case until the relevant Constitutional Court decides on this matter. If the court does not consider the allegation of unconstitutionality seriously, this claim is decided by the appeal authority together with the main judgment. The competent Constitutional Court renders and announces its decision within five months starting from the arrival of the work. If no decision is made within this period, the court shall conclude the case in accordance with the provisions of the applicable law. However, if the decision of the competent Constitutional Court comes until the decision on the merits is finalized, the court must comply with it. Unless ten years elapse after the publication of the rejection decision of the competent Constitutional Court on the merits of the work in the Official Gazette, an application cannot be made again with the claim that the same provision of law is unconstitutional.

Resolution of Constitutional Courts

The resolutions of the Constitutional Courts are final. Annulment resolutions cannot be disclosed without writing the justification. When the competent Constitutional Courts annul a law or all or any provision of the Confederal, Regional Federal and National Presidential decrees, they cannot establish a judgment that will lead to a new application by acting as a legislator. The relevant Law, Confederal, Regional Federal and National Presidential decrees or the Rules of Procedure of the Confederal, Regional Federal and National State Assemblies or their provisions shall be repealed on the date of publication of the cancellation decisions in the Official Gazette. If necessary, the competent Constitutional Court may also decide on the date on which the annulment provision will enter into

force. This date cannot exceed one year starting from the day the decision is published in the Official Gazette. In cases where the entry into force of the annulment decision is postponed, the Confederal, Regional Federal and National State Council primarily discusses and decides on the law proposal that will fill the legal gap created by the annulment decision. Cancellation decisions do not go backwards. The decisions of the competent Constitutional Court shall be published immediately in the Official Gazette and shall bind the relevant legislative, executive and judicial bodies, administrative authorities, natural and legal persons.

Islamic Union Court of Justice

"Islamic Union Court of Justice" is established within the Confederal Republic. The Court of Justice performs the functions of ensuring respect for law in the interpretation and application of Islamic Union law, regulating the relations between the legal order of the Confederal Republic and the legal orders of the National States, legal supervision, interpretation, dispute resolution, creating law and filling gaps. The Court of Justice is the final reviewing authority of the Supreme Courts within the National States. It also treats certain cases indicated by the law as courts of first and last instance. The members of the Court of Justice are elected by the Confederal Council of Judges and Prosecutors of the Republic by an absolute majority of the total number of members and by secret ballot among the judicial judges and Confederal Public Prosecutors of the first class and those from this profession. The First President of the Court of Justice, the first deputy presidents and the heads of departments are elected by the General Assembly of the Court of Justice from among their members by an absolute majority of the total number of members and by secret ballot for four years; those whose term has expired can be re-elected. The Chief Public Prosecutor and the Deputy Chief Public Prosecutor of the Court of Justice are elected by the President of the Confederal Republic for four years from among five candidates to be determined by secret ballot from among their members by the General Assembly of the Court of Justice. Those whose term has expired can be

re-elected. The establishment and functioning of the Court of Justice, the qualifications and election procedures of the President, deputy presidents, heads and members of departments and the Deputy Chief Prosecutor and Deputy Chief Prosecutor shall be regulated by the law enacted by the Confederal Assembly of the Republic in accordance with the principles of the independence of the courts and the guarantee of judiciary.

Islamic Union Human Rights Court

"Islamic Union Human Rights Court" is established within the Confederal Republic. The Court of Human Rights is the final review authority of the judgments rendered by the Councils of State of National States. It also deals with certain administrative cases indicated by the Confederal Republican Laws as a court of first and last instance. The Court of Human Rights is responsible for hearing cases decided in the Councils of State, expressing its opinion within two months on concessions, conditionality and contracts related to public services, resolving administrative disputes and performing other works specified by law. Three-fourths of the members of the Human Rights Court are elected by the Council of Judges and Prosecutors from among the first-class administrative judiciary judges and prosecutors and those listed in this profession; one-fourth is elected by the President of the Confederal Republic from among the officials whose qualifications are specified in the law. The President of the Human Rights Court, the Chief Prosecutor, the deputy presidents and the heads of the departments are elected by the General Assembly of the Human Rights Court from among its members for four years by an absolute majority of the total number of members and by secret ballot. Those whose term has expired can be re-elected. The establishment, functioning, qualifications and election procedures of the President, Chief Prosecutor, deputy presidents, heads of departments and members of the Human Rights Court are regulated by the laws of the Confederal Republic according to the principles of administrative jurisdiction, independence of the courts and judicial guarantee.

Supreme Court

Supreme Courts are established by the Confederal Republic for each national state as the last examination authority of the courts of justice in the National States. The Supreme Court is the final examination authority in the National States of the decisions and judgments rendered by the courts of justice within its jurisdiction and which the law does not leave to another judicial authority. It also treats certain cases indicated by the law as courts of first and last instance. The members of the Supreme Court are elected by the Confederal Council of Judges and Prosecutors of the Republic by an absolute majority of the total number of members and by secret ballot from among the judicial judges and Confederal Public Prosecutors of the first class and those from this profession. The Presiding Judge of the Supreme Court, the first deputy presidents and the heads of departments are elected by the General Assembly of the Supreme Court for four years with an absolute majority of the total number of members and by secret ballot; those whose term has expired can be re-elected. The Confederal Chief Public Prosecutor and the Deputy Confederal Chief Public Prosecutor of the Supreme Court are elected by the President of the Confederal Republic for four years from among five candidates to be determined by the General Assembly of the Supreme Court from among its members by secret ballot. Those whose term has expired can be re-elected. The establishment and functioning of the Supreme Courts, the qualifications and election procedures of the President, deputy presidents, department heads and members and the deputy Confederal Chief Public Prosecutor and Confederal Chief Public Prosecutor shall be regulated by the law enacted by the Confederal Assembly of the Republic in accordance with the principles of the independence of the courts and the guarantee of judiciary.

Council of State

A Council of State for each national state is established by the Confederal Republic as the last examination authority of the administrative courts in

the National States. The Council of State is the final examination authority of the decisions and judgments given by the administrative courts in its jurisdiction and which the law does not leave to another administrative judicial authority. It also deals with certain cases shown by the Confederal Republican Laws as a court of first and last instance. The Council of State is responsible for hearing cases, expressing its opinion within two months on concession clauses and contracts relating to public services, resolving administrative disputes and doing other work prescribed by law. Three-fourths of the members of the Council of State are elected by the President of the Confederal Republic from among the first-class administrative judiciary judges and prosecutors and those from this profession; one-fourth of them are elected by the President of the Confederal Republic from among the officials whose qualifications are specified in the law. The Presiding Judge of the Council of State, the Chief Public Prosecutor, the Deputy Presidents and the Heads of Departments are elected by the General Assembly of the Council of State from among their members for four years by an absolute majority of the total number of members and by secret ballot. Those whose term has expired can be re-elected. The establishment, operation, qualifications and election procedures of the Presiding Judge, Chief Prosecutor, deputy presidents, heads of departments and members of the Council of State shall be regulated by the laws of the Confederal Republic according to the principles of administrative jurisdiction, independence of the courts and judicial guarantee.

Dispute Court

A Dispute Court is established by the Confederal Republic for each national state to resolve disputes between judicial and administrative judicial authorities. The Court of Dispute is authorized to definitively resolve disputes between judicial and administrative judicial authorities regarding duties and judgments. The establishment of the Court of Dispute, the qualifications and elections of its members and their functioning are regulated by the laws of the Confederal Republic. The

Presiding Judge of this court shall be the member appointed by the relevant Constitutional Court among its members. In disputes between other courts and the Constitutional Court, the decision of the Constitutional Court shall prevail.

8.9.2. Other Bodies of the Justice System

Council of Judges and Prosecutors

The Council of Judges and Prosecutors is established and acts on the basis of the independence of the courts and the guarantee of judiciary. The Council of Judges and Prosecutors consists of the Presidential Council and nine chambers attached to the council, each chamber consisting of a board of the number of National States within the Regional Federal Republic, and each board consists of two committees consisting of thirteen members and a chairman and four members. Each board consists of the citizens of the National State where they will serve. The President of the Council of Judges and Prosecutors is the Minister of Justice of the Confederal Republic. The Undersecretary of the Ministry of Justice is a natural member of the Council. Six of the members of each Board, which is a sub-organization of the chambers affiliated to the Council; first-class judges and prosecutors of the judiciary who have not lost the qualifications required to be allocated to the first grade, first-class administrative judiciary judges and prosecutors who have not lost the qualifications required to be allocated to the first grade, are elected by the President of the Confederal Republic from among three times the candidates proposed by the Heads of National States; seven of the members of each Board, which is a sub-organization of the chambers affiliated to the Council; members of the Supreme Court, members of the Council of State, faculty members working in the legal branches of higher education institutions whose qualifications are specified in the law, and lawyers are elected by the Confederal Republic Assembly from among three times the candidates proposed by the National State Assemblies. At least one of the members selected among the faculty members and lawyers must be a faculty

member and at least one of them must be a lawyer. Proposals of the National Heads of State regarding the membership of each Board, which is a sub-organization of the departments affiliated to the Council, to be elected by the President of the Confederal Republic, are made to the Ministry of Justice of the Confederal Republic. The applications of the National State Assemblies regarding the memberships to be elected by the Confederal Assembly of the Republic of each Board, which is a sub-organization of the departments affiliated to the Council, are made to the Presidency of the Confederal Assembly. The Presidency of the Confederal Assembly sends the applications from the Members of the Constitution and Justice Commissions to the Board Joint Commission. The Commission shall nominate three candidates for each membership by a two-thirds majority of the total number of members. If the candidate selection process cannot be finalized in the first vote, a three-fifths majority of the total number of members is sought in the second vote. If the candidate cannot be determined in this vote, the nomination process is completed by drawing the name between the two candidates who received the most votes for each membership. The Confederal Assembly of the Republic elects from among the candidates determined by the Commission by secret ballot separately for each member. In the first vote, a two-thirds majority of the total number of members is sought; if the election cannot be finalized in this vote, a three-fifths majority of the total number of members is sought in the second vote. In the second vote, if the member cannot be elected, the election of the member is completed by drawing the name between the two candidates who received the most votes. Members are elected for five years. Expired members can be elected once again. Each election of a member of the Board, which is a subsidiary body of the Chambers attached to the Council, shall be made within thirty days before the expiry of the term of office of the members. In the event that the membership of the Board is vacant before the expiry of the term of office of the elected members, the election of new members shall be made within thirty days following the vacancy. The members of the Council, other than the Minister of Justice of the Confederal Republic

and the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Justice, cannot take any other duty other than those specified in the law or cannot be appointed and elected by the Board. The President of the Council shall be responsible for the management and representation of the Council. The President of the Council may not participate in the work of the boards. The General Assembly of the Council elects and appoints the Presidency of the Council and its deputies, heads of departments and heads of departments, and boards and delegations affiliated to their departments among its members. The President of the Council may delegate some of his powers to the Vice-Presidents and Heads of Departments. The Council carries out the procedures of admitting, appointing and transferring judges and prosecutors of judicial and administrative jurisdiction to the profession, granting temporary authority, promotion and first class classification, distributing staff, deciding on those who are not deemed appropriate to remain in the profession, imposing disciplinary penalties, dismissal; deciding on the proposals of the Ministry of Justice on the removal of a court or changing the judicial environment; and also fulfills other duties given by the Constitution and laws. The duties of judges and prosecutors; to check whether they perform their duties in accordance with the law and other legislation (administrative circulars for judges); to investigate whether they have committed crimes due to their duties or during their duties, whether their acts and actions comply with the requirements of their titles and duties, and when necessary, the examination and investigation procedures about them are carried out by the Council inspectors with the proposal of the relevant department and the approval of the President of the Council of Judges and Prosecutors. Investigation and investigation procedures can also be carried out by a more senior judge or prosecutor than the one to be investigated and investigated. Judicial authorities cannot be appealed against the decisions of the Council other than those regarding the dismissal penalty. The General Secretariat of the Council is established. The Secretary General is appointed by the Minister of Justice of the Confederal Republic from among the three candidates proposed by the Council from the first-class

judges and prosecutors. The power to appoint Council inspectors and judges and prosecutors to be employed temporarily or permanently in the Council shall rest with the Council with their consent. The authority to appoint judges and prosecutors and justice inspectors to be employed temporarily or permanently in the headquarters, National States, affiliated and related institutions of the Ministry of Justice of the Confederal Republic, and internal auditors from the profession of judge and prosecutor, with their consent, belongs to the Minister of Justice of the Confederal Republic. The election of the members of the Council, the formation and division of labor of the chambers, boards and delegations, their duties, the quorum of meetings and decisions, the working procedures and principles, the objections to be made against the decisions and transactions and the procedure for examining them, and the establishment and duties of the General Secretariat shall be regulated by the laws of the Confederal Republic.

Court of Accounts

The Court of Accounts is established within each of the Confederal and Regional Federal Republics and National States. The Court of Accounts is responsible for auditing all incomes and expenses and goods of public administrations and social security institutions within the scope of the central government budget in which it was established on behalf of the Confederal, Regional Federal Republic and National State Assemblies and for finalizing the accounts and transactions of those responsible and for examining, auditing and adjudicating by law. Regarding the final provisions of the Court of Accounts, those concerned may request a one-time correction of the decision within fifteen days from the date of written notification. Administrative justice cannot be applied due to these decisions. Relevant and competent decisions of the Council of State shall be taken as a basis in disputes between the relevant and competent decisions of the Council of State and the relevant and competent decisions of the Court of Accounts regarding taxes, similar financial obligations and duties. The audit and final judgment of the accounts and transactions of

the local administration are carried out by the relevant Court of Accounts. The establishment, operation, audit procedures, qualifications, appointments, duties and powers, rights and obligations and other personal affairs of the Court of Accounts, the guarantee of the President and members of the Court of Accounts shall be regulated by the laws of the Confederal Republic. (26)

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