



Assoc. Prof. Bekir GÜNAY

Gökhan TÜRK

## **THE ALEVI OPENING: DEEPENING of DEMOCRACY in TURKEY**



**WISE MEN CENTER  
FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**

**REPORT NO: 22**

**ISTANBUL**

**2010**

# **THE ALEVI OPENING:**

## **DEEPENING of DEMOCRACY in TURKEY**

Prepared by:

Assoc. Prof. Bekir GÜNAY

Gökhan TÜRK

REPORT NO: 22



**WISE MEN  
CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**

# THE ALEVI OPENING:

## DEEPENING of DEMOCRACY in TURKEY

Prepared By:

Assoc. Prof. Bekir GÜNAY

Gökhan TÜRK

BILGESAM PUBLICATIONS



### Wise Men Center For Strategic Studies

Mecidiyeköy Yolu Caddesi No:10

Celil Ağa İş Merkezi Kat:9 Daire:36-38

Mecidiyeköy / İstanbul / Türkiye

Tel: +90 212 217 65 91 Faks: +90 212 217 65 93

Atatürk Bulvarı Havuzlu Sok. No:4/6

A.Ayrancı / Çankaya / Ankara / Türkiye

Tel : +90 312 425 32 90 Faks: +90 312 425 32 90

[www.bilgesam.org](http://www.bilgesam.org)

[bilgesam@bilgesam.org](mailto:bilgesam@bilgesam.org)

Copyright © 2009

All rights reserved.

This shall not be copied without the permission of  
Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies (BILGESAM).

## **FOREWORD**

When Turkish history is analyzed, it is seen that there are well educated wise men that stand behind the achievements. Though, the multi-dimensional development of the events and the complexity of the issues lead some wise people or intellectuals to have some difficulties in correctly perceiving the events on time and produce alternative policies. Following the improvements closely, making realistic previsions about the future and producing the right policies necessitate the gathering of wise people from various fields and who have different views, with young dynamic researchers in order to provide a synergy between them in flexible organizations.

BILGESAM (the Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies) was founded to make predictions about the future by following external and domestic developments; to make scientific researches about Turkey's bilateral and multilateral international relations and security strategies; domestic, political, economic, technological, environmental, and socio-cultural problems, and to present realistic and dynamic solution-oriented proposals for decision-makers. This center's vision, purpose, structure methods, and publications are presented on the web site <http://www.bilgesam.org/tr>.

The report named: "The Alevi Opening: Deepening of Democracy in Turkey," which was prepared by Assoc. Prof. Bekir Günay with Gökhan Türk's contributions, is composed of the following subtitles: "A Few Words on Changing Turkey," "Understanding and Perceiving Alevism," "General Suggestions about Alevi Opening," "Special Suggestions about the Alevi Opening." I trust that the report will contribute to opening the way for the development of Turkey, and I extend many thanks to Assoc. Prof. Bekir Günay who prepared this report and Gökhan Türk for his contributions.

Assoc. Prof. Atilla SANDIKLI  
President of BILGESAM



## **THE ALEVI OPENING: DEEPENING of DEMOCRACY in TURKEY**

### **A FEW WORDS ON CHANGING TURKEY**

The development process of people and the development of social identities of societies resemble one another. The main goal of a child between the ages of 0-1 years old is to survive. In this phase, the primary fear of parents is the worry that “something will happen to the child.” 13-21 years old are the adolescence period , and in this phase, the youth wants to shape his/her own identity by looking for an answer to the question “who am I.” Besides the thought of “am I a kid or adolescent”, there are attempts towards imposing his own identity. This is the “figure template” phase, which is dominated by shapes, symbols and slogan-like attitudes, instead of conscious behaviors or a wide perception of world. In this phase, the child has two souls. After the age of 21, the identity problem terminates and the transition towards being a mature person begins. The phase of maturity is the process in which a the person leaves their mark on the world. In the phase of senility, there is the worry of “Oh! What if something happens grandfather and he breaks his bones,” similar to concerns during the childhood phase.

The development process of people and that of societies are similar. Just like a newborn baby or the old people who live out the last days of their lives, the basic fear of the state also concerns their livelihood during their initial and last phases. In the mind of a newly established state, the feeling that neighbors are coming together to subvert it preoccupies the state. Particularly if it is a state that was founded as the result of a war, in the establishment logic of the new state, the threats coming from neighbors are more dominant in the state’s security perception. As a result, in the establishment phase, states are centralist since a system is being constructed and this is the ideal path of development. This development pattern, which was based on the centralism within the first ten years of the Turkish Republic, was effective.

When the first ten years of the republic is evaluated as the country's establishment phase, a model of Turkey that enters in the regional power period is seen es during the Atatürk reforms between 1933-1938. The Treaty of Sadabad and Balkan are the applications of this model. By correctly evaluating the international agenda, the Hatay region was added to the national territory with the discourse of "peace at home, peace in the world." However, state development perceptions of Recep Peker and İsmet İnönü, who were controlling the inner bureaucratic structure in this phase, were different from the perceptions of Atatürk. Atatürk's discourse in the regional power phase was abandoned after his death. One see that the general perceptions in the state re-enter into 0-1 yrs oldage syndrome, which was called the first phase. In this period, besides not showing respect to different identities, the process of decreasing the differences starts. With the Wealth Tax and the September 6-7<sup>th</sup> events, the situation of the non-Muslims in Turkey's political, economic and social life started to be questioned.

In the post-1945 period of the Cold War, the basic parameter which defines Turkish inner politics are the foreign political developments. In a parallel fashion, all the periods (including the coups period after 1960, the period after 1970 in which many right and left-wing groups went into conflicts, also the period commencing with the coup d'état and maintaining up to date) could be identified with the aforementioned "adolescence period.". In Turkey, various figures and slogans are dominant in these periods, and the Turkish state system still looks for an identity for itself.

When one looks at the political and social developments in Turkey in the post-1989 period, it is evident that a Turkey entering a new phase as a result of the end of Cold War, approaching to a decision phase. On this level, it is incumbent upon Turkey to solve its identity problem and problems. Turkey should pass to the maturity phase in which the nation will leave its' mark on the world by ending identity problems of the state during its' juvenile period. The "identity conflict and figure template" that is seen during the adolescence period is natural, tracing back to 1970s and also maintaining its presence. Therefore, in order to be effective in such a century, Turkey has to adopt a model in which it can settle its own domestic problems.

If one thinks in this general framework in Turkey, the moves towards the democratic opening, which were made on the axis of inner political arguments, are late. Therefore, where should the Alevi opening be placed amongst these openings? It will be beneficial to look at the breaking points that were experienced in the Republic Era besides in addition to the historical formation of the Alevi problem.

## UNDERSTANDING AND PERCEIVING ALEVISM

To have a better understanding of Alevism, the anecdotes from the works of Hajji Bektashi Wali should not be overlooked. The tale of 'Can Baba' from the master's *Velayetname* is the process in which Alevism experienced or will experience its last fruitful period. The story details Emperor Kavus' venture to come occupy Anatolia. The army is about to enter into Anatolia when Hajji Bektashi Wali gives a task to Can Baba, saying "Go and convert Kavus to Islam." Can Baba goes without hesitation. Among all those soldiers, he fearlessly declared to see the Emperor. He comes to the presence of the emperor, when the Emperor asks: "why did you come?" Can Baba says, "I am inviting you to faith and Islam." The Emperor first laughs and then calls his priest.

The emperor asks his priest how to proceed. The priest's answer was, "let's put Can Baba through an examination. If he passes, we will accept what he said." Can Baba says he is ready for the examination. He was put in a boiling furnace for three days and nights by closing its cover. Three days after the cover is opened, and Can Baba is found alive. He invites the Emperor to Islam with self-confidence. This time, Emperor's wife tests Can Baba. She poisons him for three days and nights. At the end, Can Baba still manages to stay alive. He then invites the Emperor to Islam again. Lastly, the Emperor gives an order that a fire is lit. He wants Can Baba to enter into it with the priest. Can Baba says he will, but has a condition: he will hold the hand of the priest while entering the fire. Meanwhile, the priest whispers to Can Baba's ear that, "I cannot survive this fire, my children are consigned to you. After three days and nights, Can Baba returns from the fire alone. The Emperor asks, "Where is the priest?" The lesson of the story is hidden in Can Baba's words. He first opens his palm, and shows the fingers of the priest. Then he says, "as Muslims, we started this journey irrespective of our lives, but the priest..." He invites the Emperor once more to Islam. The Emperor finally becomes a Muslim.

This anecdote best explains both the Alevi opening and the process that Turkey passed through with Alevism. As understood from the anecdote, Alevism cannot be separated from Islam, as it should be defined within Islam. The power struggle that was started between Sultan Selim I and Shah Ismail (by using the beliefs following the activities of the Erdebil Dervish Lodge in Anatolia) caused breaking points between Sunni and Alevi faiths. After this fundamental schism in the history of Alevism, another breaking point can be seen with the closings of Janisarry Association and the dervish convents, which belonged to Bektashi Association and the banning of Bektashism. These events that were experienced in the Ottoman Empire era formed the idea that the Ottomans do not approve of these policies of Alevis (in the memories of Alevis which had problems with the state in Ottoman era). Later, they possessed a statist identity structure with the value that was attached to them by Atatürk during the Independence War and Republic periods. Since Selim I,

misunderstandings and ossifying beliefs have started to be formed with the concepts of “Alevi – Redhead (Kızılbaş)” in Sunni culture world.

Although Alevism is the most rooted problem in the framework of democratic opening discussions and activities, it is also the closest one to the solution. It is atypical that Alevism is used as a political disintegration tool. Through the suffering created in both Armenian and Kurdish societies in the starting phase of Armenian and Kurdish Problems in Turkey, discourses and activities containing animosity and hate were created. As a result, in 1980s, when the Kurdish Problem was associated with PKK, the Armenian Problem was perceived as an outer political issue; the massacre of Alevs in Çorum and Maraş is no coincidence. The similarity between the development process of the Armenian Problem and the development process of the Kurdish Problem show to which level this Alevism issue might come.. When the Maraş, Çorum and Madımak events are thought as the tools which were exploited in order to make Alevism problematic, this makes the events during the terrorization process easier to understand.

All the individuals who live within the borders of the Turkish Republic should be accepted as a member of a ‘big family’ without making separations on religious, language, racial or sect lines. Turkey can solve its problems within “democracy” instead of “dialogue of deaf” by empathy in the family. As a society which solves its problems within the family, Turkey should ask itself a question: whether Turkey should come out advantageous at the end of this century or spend its’ energy on internal problems. The recommendations towards the solution of the problem, on the axis of these discussions, are below.

## **GENERAL SUGGESTIONS ABOUT the ALEVI OPENING**

- The widest participation and support must be given to the Alevi opening process. However, any kind of activities and discourses that can harm the process should be avoided.
- The process which includes the works about Alevi opening should be separated into stages; only the target and policy of the first stage should be explained and implemented.
- The targets and policies of the following stages should be determined according to the results of the first stage.
- The borders of the process should be determined, overexpectations such as everything could be implemented in a short time should be prevented.
- Existing connecting components and contemporary values should be come into prominence.
- The richness of the cultural diversity should be supported with connective components.
- Differences are richness; they should not be seen as the reason for disintegration.
- The perception of “us” should be taken into consideration instead of “the other.”
- The phenomenon of “living together,” which has existed in Anatolia for centuries, should be accepted as a reference in further studies.
- Rules that will make it easier to live together should be determined and facilitated to be applied.
- Things that were experienced in the past should be evaluated with an objective viewpoint and placed on the right basis.
- While solving the problems, one should not be obsessed with the past, but should understand by empathizing with the experiences of the Alevis and evaluate them objectively.
- Negative events and sufferings that were experienced in the past have become effective on the changes of the perceptions of the future happenings and posterity. That is why

lessons should be drawn from past events towards the future and necessary works should be done in order for them not to be repeated.

- Solutions should be produced together in the framework of common understanding.
- All the institutions of the state should play a solvent role about the results that come out of the decisions of the meetings, which are organized to find solutions to the problems, the works of the state institutions should be backed by the political will.
- Decisions that were taken should be put into practice without any secrecy and by considering social conditions.
- The addressee for the implementation of the decisions that were taken should be people themselves; the Grand National Assembly of Turkey should play a key role.

## **SPECIAL SUGGESTIONS ABOUT ALEVI OPENING**

- On the contrary to the claim of some circles, Alevism is *not* a separate religion from Islam. It accepts the basic sources of Islam.
- Alevism should be introduced objectively in a society which has insufficient knowledge of its' religious exercises, symbols and rituals.
- In Alevi society, there are different Alevism perceptions that came from the past and show their impact today; but these differences should not encumber the development of such works.

These are the factors that are seen at the basis of the problem in defining Alevi identity:

- a. With the beginning of the migration from village to city, Alevis have experienced cultural shocks and loss of memory, with their belief system being improperly defined with urbanization.
  - b. Traditional Alevism not being known by the urbanized Alevis and being forgotten over time, creating another problem.
  - c. The insufficiency of research done on Alevis, and those works not being objective and scientifically enlightening for readers.
  - d. The orientation of the Alevi public opinion directing associations and foundations established with different targets towards their own aims.
- Historical breaking points in the memories of the societies are important in terms of the marks they left behind and towards shaping the future. These breaking points have deep traces in the social identities and doctrines of the Alevis.

It is necessary to deeply examine and objectively analyze events like the tracing the struggle between Yavuz Selim and Shah Ismail (which was seen in Alevism history), the closing of the Bektashi Association as a result of abolishment of the Janissary Association and prohibition of Bektashism; the Sivas, Maraş, Çorum events, Sivas Madımak Hotel and the information obtained should be shared with the society. For this, a Common History commission that include academicians should be established.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> (It is also be underlined that the Alevi-Bektashis have not always been turned against the Ottomand, until the Sultan Selim I period, the Alevi – Bektashi dervishes played an active role, and they took a part in the Islamization and retaining of the Balkans. But the war of Shah Ismail – Selim I should be evaluated as a

- Common commission should answer all the questions that will help to solve the problems by determining all the breaking points in an academic fashion by investigating the whole history.
- The results to be determined as a result of the commissions' studies should be explained to the public. The results that come out of the commission should be put into the schoolbooks and ensure that future generations understand the events correctly.
- Similarly, theology commissions, which are composed of Alevi and Sunni ecclesiastics, should be established.
- Wrong doctrines that are placed in the Sunni and Alevi discourses should be corrected.
- By forming common education commissions, related mistakes in the Sunni and Alevi schoolbooks should be identified and replaced with the correct information.
- In Alevism, the role of "senior dervishes" (or 'dede') is important. In 1960s, parallel to the urbanization in Turkey, Alevi society was also affected by the immigration from villages to cities. Given the scientific level and city experience of the senior dervishes, their insufficient knowledge of religious information make these dervishes inadequate; the existence of adequate central institutions (municipalities, courts, law-enforcement officers) that conduct the activities of the senior dervishes also narrowed the scope of the senior dervish institution (dedelik kurumu).

The regulating functions that the senior dervishes traditionally inherit fail against the problems that the aspirants' (talip) experience when they begin to live in cities, different countries, and integrate differently in economic terms with modern society.

In the Cemevis (gathering house) that were constructed in the cities, the relation between the senior dervishes (who were charged with a duty by the administrators) and the community that comes to the Cemevi shifted into a more complicated fashion, from the relation between the senior dervishes (that traditionally came from the dervish convent to the association) and the aspirant who live in these places.

Alevs who were urbanized parallel to the urbanization of Turkish society, the senior dervish and aspirant relationship gets its share from the social relations which changed parallel to

---

hegemony struggle of two big Turkish states instead of declaring the Ottomans as 'us,' Shah Ismail as 'the other.')

this urbanization. In the changing social relations, both senior dervishes and aspirants found themselves in a continuously alternating complex situation.

In the Alevi community, unlike the a mass of people who approves every word that the senior dervish says or accepts as correct, another crowd emerged that criticizes or finds the senior dervish's words insufficient. This challenging mass is the young generation who mostly completed secondary education, high school, even university education and does not easily embrace every piece of information offered to them.<sup>2</sup>

After the 1980s, leaders of the associations became effective in the Alevi movement, taking the place of senior dervishes. Senior dervishes are requested to give the religious services in line with the desires of the leaders; furthermore, they are kept from being effective, especially at the decision-making process. At this point, senior dervishes were tasked on salary in dervish convents and cemevis, and they became similar to officers who are obliged to conform to the decisions of the leader.

- He senior dervish institution should once again come to the place that it deserves in the Alevi community. Senior dervishes should be educated in theology faculties. But the curriculum and the academicians who will educate these people should be selected carefully.
- Belief literature that belongs to the Alevis should be introduced to every part of the society and thus the prejudices should be demolished.
- It is possible to transfer and convey all the understandings, creeds, and works of Alevi – Bektashi elderly; especially Hajji Bektashi Wali's to Alevi-Bektashis and the world without distorting them. In this respect, the works should be transported to all the places – dervish convents, cemevi, even to villages where Alevi–Bektashis mostly go and read these works should be ensured.
- One of the problems of Alevis today is perceiving 'cems' as folkloric instead of rituals, resulting from not having the complete knowledge of cem worships or not being familiarized with them. As a result, cem worship should be evaluated en bloc and should be introduced.

---

<sup>2</sup> For the new generation that needs new comments, new ideological views which are appropriate to the level of conscious and to the new period, traditional rituals have become an area of discussion; the effectiveness of senior dervishes who cannot maintain traditional knowledge with contemporary ones has been reduced.

- Alevi and Sunni children in secondary education should be taken to both mosques and cemevis within the framework of a program and by watching the worship services, prejudices that have been formed hitherto should be perished.
- Alevi Research Institutes should be established within universities. Post graduate and doctorate subjects should be determined, and scholarships should be provided to the students who are educated in these programs. Courses should be jointly prepared. Alevi and Sunni academicians should give common lessons; some lessons should be applied in Cemevis.
- The support that is provided to other places of worship by the local administration and the state should be provided to Cemevis as well.
- There should be projects about the problems of Alevi society supported by TÜBİTAK (the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey). The results of these projects should be discussed in conferences, symposiums and workshops with the academicians.
- There is no need to build mosques in the villages which are composed solely of Alevi population.
- The Department of Religious Affairs should become completely independent and should remain at an equal distance to all beliefs and embrace them entirely.

## **BILGESAM PUBLICATIONS**

### **Books**

**China: a New Superpower? Dimensions of Power, Energy and Security**

*Edited by Assoc. Prof. Atilla SANDIKLI*

**Turkey's Strategy in a Changing World**

*Edited by Assoc. Prof. Atilla SANDIKLI*

**Turkey's Today and Tomorrow**

Ret. Minister/Ambassador İter TÜRKMEN

**Middle East Policy of the Republic of Turkey**

Ret. Minister/Ambassador İter TÜRKMEN

**Turkey's Vision: Fundamental Problems and Solution Proposals**

*Edited by Assoc. Prof. Atilla SANDIKLI*

**Workshop and Exhibition on High Technologies (İTÇ 2010) Information Book**

Prof. Dr. M. Oktay ALNIAK

**4th National Hydrogen Energy Congress and Exposition Information Book**

Prof. Dr. M. Oktay ALNIAK

**Selected Articles of Hydrogen Phenomena**

Prof. Dr. M. Oktay ALNIAK

**Liberal, Democratic and Secure Elections**

Kasım ESEN, Özdemir AKBAL

## Reports

### **Report 1: Global Developments and Characteristics of the International System**

Prof. Dr. Ali KARAOSMANOĞLU

### **Report 2: Changing Security Perceptions and Turkey's Security Strategy**

Assoc. Prof. Atilla SANDIKLI

### **Report 3: European Union and Turkey**

Ret. Ambassador Özdem SANBERK

### **Report 4: Turkish-American Relations in Recent Period**

Prof. Dr. Ersin ONULDURAN

### **Report 5: Turkish-Russian Relations: Problems and Opportunities**

Prof. Dr. İltar TURAN

### **Report 6: Effects of the Plausible Developments in the North of Iraq on Turkey**

Ret. Ambassador Sönmez KÖKSAL

### **Report 7: Turkey and Democratization in the Globalizing World**

Prof. Dr. Fuat KEYMAN

### **Report 8: Perception of Nationalism and Independence in Turkey**

Assoc. Prof. Ayşegül AYDINGÜN

### **Report 9: Secularism,**

### **Its Implementations in Turkey, Comparison with Europe and Policy Proposals**

Prof. Dr. Hakan YILMAZ

### **Report 10: Amendment of the Judiciary**

Prof. Dr. Sami SELÇUK

### **Report 11: Constitution:**

### **Perpetual Symphony of Turkey**

Prof. Dr. Zühtü ARSLAN

### **Report 12: 2013 Technical Vision of Turkey**

Prof. Dr. M. Oktay ALNIAK

### **Report 13: Turkey-Middle East Relations**

Ret. Ambassador Güner ÖZTEK

**Report 14: Political Stability in the Balkans and Its Future**

Prof. Dr. Hasret ÇOMAK-Assoc. Prof. İrfan Kaya ÜLGER

**Report 15: The Caucasus from the Perspective of International Politics**

Assist. Prof. Fatih ÖZBAY

**Report 16: Vision Document of Africa**

Hasan ÖZTÜRK

**Report 17: Terror and Counter Terrorism**

M. Sadi BİLGİÇ

**Report 18: Global Warming and Its Effects on Turkey**

Assoc. Prof. İrfan Kaya ÜLGER

**Report 19: Sociological Analysis of the Southeast Problem**

M. Sadi BİLGİÇ

Dr. Salih AKYÜREK

Assoc. Prof. Mazhar BAĞLI

Müstecep DİLBER

Onur OKYAR

**Report 20: Democratization, Political and Social Solidarity Opening for the Settlement of Kurdish Problem**

Ret. Ambassador Özdem SANBERK

**Report 21: Regionalization of Turkish Foreign Policy**

Ret. Ambassador Özdem SANBERK

**Report 22: Alevi Opening, Deepening of Democracy in Turkey**

Assoc. Prof. Bekir GÜNAY-Gökhan TÜRK

**Report 23: Republic, Modern Democracy and Turkey's Transformation**

Prof. Dr. Sami SELÇUK

**Report 24: Compulsory Military Service and Professional Army**

Dr. Salih AKYÜREK

**Report 25: Turkey-Armenia Relations**

Wise Men Board Report

Assist. Prof. Fatih ÖZBAY

**Report 26: What are Kurds and Zazas Thinking About?**

**A Look to Shared Values and Symbols**

Dr. Salih AKYÜREK

**Report 27: Geopolitics and Turkey: Risks and Opportunities**

Assoc. Prof. Atilla SANDIKLI

**Report 28: Perception of Turkey and the Turks in Egypt**

M. Sadi BİLGİÇ-Dr. Salih AKYÜREK

**Report 29: Withdrawal of the US from Iraq and Its Effects on Turkey**

Assoc. Prof. Cenap ÇAKMAK-Fadime Gözde ÇOLAK

**Report 30: Democratic Opening and Social Perceptions**

Wise Men Board Report

Dr. Salih AKYÜREK

**Report 31: Revolutions in the Middle East and Turkey**

Assoc. Prof. Cenap ÇAKMAK-Mustafa YETİM-Fadime Gözde ÇOLAK

**Report 32: Secure Elections: Problems and Solution Proposals**

Kasım ESEN-Özdemir AKBAL

**Democratization and Social Solidarity Opening**

Wise Men Board Report

**Workshop and Exhibition on High Technologies (İTÇ 2010) Results Report**

BILGESAM

## **Journals**

Wise Strategy Journal Vol. 1, No 1, Fall 2009

Wise Strategy Journal Vol 1, No 2, Spring 2010

Wise Strategy Journal Vol 1, No 3, Fall 2010

Wise Strategy Journal Vol 2, No 4, Spring 2011

## **Wise Talks**

**Wise Talk-1: Turkish – Azerbaijani Relations**

Interview with Assoc. Prof. Atilla SANDIKLI

Elif KUTSAL

**Wise Talk -2: Nabucco Project**

Interview with Arzu Yorkan  
Elif KUTSAL-Eren OKUR

**Wise Talk -3: Nuclear Iran**

Interview with Ret. Minister-Ambassador İler TÜRKMEN  
Elif KUTSAL

**Wise Talk -4: European Union**

Interview with Dr. Can BAYDAROL  
Eren OKUR

**Wise Talk -5: Constitutional Change**

Interview with Assoc. Prof. Atilla SANDIKLI  
Merve Nur SÜRMEİ

**Wise Talk -6: Turkey- Israel Relations in Recent Period**

Interview with Ret. Ambassador Özdem SANBERK  
Merve Nur SÜRMEİ

**Wise Talk -7: UN Sanctions and Iran**

Interview with Assoc. Prof. Abbas KARAAĞAÇLI  
Sina KISACIK

**Wise Talk -8: Missile Defense Systems and Turkey**

Interview with Assoc. Prof. Atilla SANDIKLI  
Eren OKUR

**Wise Talk -9: Today's and Tomorrow's Developing and Changing Turkish Navy**

Interview with Ret. Admiral Salim DERVIŞOĞLU  
Emine AKÇADAĞ



