



# The Gaza Of Winter

**Frederick Langbridge**



## **The Gaza Of Winter:**

The Gaza of Winter Donald Revell, 1988      Insight Turkey - Winter 2018 (Vol. 20, No. 3): Fault Lines in The European Union , The European Union is a success story It brought enemy countries together combined their powers fostered economic and social development successfully competed with the American market and also resisted against the Soviet expansionism As the most developed supranational international organization in modern history the EU maintained Europe at the center of world politics With the end of the Cold War the member states attempted to transform the organization from an economic institution into a political and military structure having the ultimate goal to create a federal state like institution However after unexpected changes in the global system and the emergence of new political actors the EU began to experience many difficulties As a result today the EU is in a political deadlock and it seems that the continental unity achieved by the EU has begun to shatter The reasons behind this are several First of all increasing illiberalism and authoritarianism in the West began to threaten the main liberal values that provide the expedient environment for social development and also for peaceful coexistence The increase of xenophobia racism fascism ultra nationalism and anti Islamism uncovered the illiberal European traditions As a result we now witness a division not only between Europeans and non Europeans but also between Europeans themselves Namely there are many fault lines which divide and alienate the European countries from one another For instance there is an increasing friction between relatively robust economies of the north and volatile economies of the south Second the member states of the EU have lost their common other enemy Throughout the Cold War most European countries stood behind the U S in order to struggle against all global and regional threats such as the spread of communism and the expansionism of the Soviet Union However today European countries have different national priorities For instance while some European countries have begun to spend more in their defense budget others refuse to increase their defense allocation and continue to prioritize economic development A similar division can be seen in terms of the stance towards Russia Third the future of the EU is closely associated with the future of NATO Maintaining the unity in military and security issues requires cooperation in other sectors especially in the economy Many European countries are not happy with what the U S does regarding NATO The Trump Administration has been following a nationalist unilateral and therefore conflictual economic policy towards Europe Considering the European trade surplus with the U S Trump declared Europe as bad as China These developments have further deepened the gap between the EU and the U S Fourth the EU institutionalization was at its peak after the collapse of the Cold War system and the EU enlargement towards Eastern Europe Nevertheless it faced important challenges stemming from new topics such as defense and foreign policy and the accession of possible new members Following the accession of Eastern European states the gap between the most advanced members and relatively less developed states widened Consequently the EU lost its attractiveness for many European states and the British who did not want to share the burden of other member states decided to leave the EU This

was the first step towards disintegration of the EU and this backward tendency will most probably continue Fifth due to increasing shallowness and mediocrity European politics has lost its visionary outlook and strategic depth The new generation of European politicians on the whole lack the visionary outlook of the previous generations They are trapped in conjuncture and populist policies with short term concerns or gains That is they just try to save the day This new political elite in Europe does not believe in EU values such as pluralism and the win win strategy Some EU members are reluctant to share the burden of other members Southern tier EU countries have been experiencing economic problems and struggling against the influx of refugees but the northern tier countries are relatively free of these problems and do not want to import these issues into their domestic politics Last but not least European countries have been otherizing migrants and foreigners In this context Turkey has been considered as the main other for many years It seems that when it comes to Turkey the EU institutions and member countries freeze most of their differences and problems and prioritize Turkey s domestic and foreign developments The new generation of politicians welcomes the increase of ultra nationalism fascism racism xenophobia anti Islamism and anti Turkism Even mainstream politicians have begun to normalize this tendency and as such the animosity against Islam and Turkey is becoming widespread all over Europe With these in mind this new issue of Insight Turkey aims at providing a general framework regarding some of the most important issues that have a direct impact on the future of the EU including here German hegemony after Brexit cyber security EU relations with Turkey and the U S and the rise of the radical right Simon Bulmer s commentary focuses on the sources of German hegemony within the EU after Brexit to later suggest two possible scenarios namely the Franco German partnership s revival or a form of German hegemony Andr Barrinha in his commentary touches upon a very interesting topic that has gained a lot of importance lately Cyber security has emerged as the focus of many western organizations especially for the EU as they perceive Russia as a direct threat in cyberspace In this context Barrinha analyzes the response of the EU to the Russian threat and its effectiveness Trump s arrival has created a lot of chaos in the world and we witness the decomposition of liberal values every day In such an environment U S EU alliance is facing many difficulties and the cracks are becoming more visible K l Bu ra Kanat has presented a brief analysis on the transatlantic relations and contends that unpredictability is now considered the defining characteristic of the U S attitude toward Europe Remaining within the context of the transatlantic relations afak O uz s article focuses on the missile defense system of NATO entitled the EPAA and argues that it is one of the key regional missile defense projects for the U S which claims to protect Europe from the Iranian ballistic missile threat but actually is designed to protect the American homeland and targets Russian Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles with nuclear warheads The standoff in the Turkey EU relations has been present for some years now By focusing on the topic of the customs union Ci dem Nas and Serdar Altay present a brief analysis and suggestions for a possible new agreement between Turkey and the EU In her commentary i dem Nas contends that the upgrade of the customs union could bring a breath of fresh air to Turkey EU relations and reignite the process of

Turkey's gradual integration into the EU While arguing on the necessity of the upgrade of the customs union Altay states that since membership is no longer an option the sole contractual framework that will bind Turkey and the EU for the foreseeable future will be an upgraded customs union As mentioned above the rise of the far right constitutes a serious threat to European unity and as a result to the EU itself In the light of this Aristotle Kallis addresses the EU's policies toward the rising far right and argues that the EU needs to take into consideration the causes of citizen resentment without adopting the language and logic of the right wing populists The article of Sertan Akbaba provides a more detailed analysis of the now dominant discourses in Europe used by the leaders of the far right parties mainly in Netherlands Finland Italy and Hungary The main targets of these populist discourses have been the Muslim people living in the European countries for this reason in this issue we bring to our readers two compelling perspectives On the one hand Pamela Irving Jackson and Pete Doerschler provide qualitative and quantitative evidence of European identification by Muslims in France Austria and the Netherlands as a response to the far right political mobilization On the other hand Enes Bayrakl Farid Hafez and Leonard Faytre evaluate how the governments in Austria France and Germany have tried to assimilate the Muslims living in these states via specific laws and institutions According to them the underlying message of these policies is the fact that European states consider the Muslims a security threat to the state and society The weakening and defeat of ISIS will ironically have a negative impact on European security This is what Kyle Orton has argued in his article After providing a detailed analysis of the terrorist organization PKK and its offshoots Orton explains how the foreign fighters that fought in Syria against ISIS are now going back in their homelands mainly Europe becoming a serious threat to its security Hakan Samur in his article evaluates the stance of the Kurdish people living in Turkey towards Turkey's membership of the EU Based on the research field that the author has conducted Samur concludes by saying that while the Kurds are somewhat distrustful and skeptical toward the EU they continue to support EU membership The Balkans is one of the most important regions within Europe and it has a direct impact on European security economy and policies However for a long time people living in this region have fought each other In response to this Mirsad Krije torac in optimistic tones argues that in order to move past the enmity that has characterized the Balkans it is necessary to display the region's religious and ethnic diversity as an inherent quality and a building block of cooperation and progress Lastly this issue of Insight Turkey brings an analysis of the June 24 elections in Turkey from the pen of Fahrettin Altun After approximately one year since the Turkish people approved the transition to the presidential system in the April 16 referendum in a consolidated majority Recep Tayyip Erdo an became the first president of the new Turkey For those interested in Turkish politics Altun's commentary provides a general background to the new presidential system the electoral campaign of the parties that participated in the elections and the impact that the results of these elections will have on Turkish politics In conclusion internal and external threats have weakened the EU and its political discourse of pluralism and peaceful coexistence Furthermore continental and global conjunctures are also at work

against the principles of the EU For this reason it is possible that one questions the effectiveness and future of the EU We are confident that this issue of Insight Turkey provides in depth information on important issues that are directly related to the EU and should be read carefully by anyone interested in the EU policies and its future **Insight Turkey / Winter 2021 - New Geopolitics in The Eastern Mediterranean** ,2021-03-01 After being the focal point of the regional and global power competition for centuries the Eastern Mediterranean region has recently re emerged as a point of convergence in international politics Over the last two decades especially many regional and global powers have begun to develop strategies toward the Eastern Mediterranean leading to a fierce rivalry amongst them There are several reasons for the increase in the political strategic and economic importance of the region However four are especially noteworthy and while two are long standing factors there are two significant novel developments that have contributed to the re emergence of the strategic importance of the region First the main deep seated reason stems from its geostrategic and geopolitical importance The Eastern Mediterranean hosts some of the most strategic seaways in the world such as the Suez Canal and the Turkish Straits While the Suez Canal has served as the main sea passage bridging the East to the West since its opening in 1869 the Turkish Straits the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles has for centuries connected the Black Sea with the Mediterranean Sea and so the Atlantic Ocean Second due to its strategic importance the Eastern Mediterranean region has always been one of the most penetrated regions in the world Many global and regional powers such as the U S Russia the United Kingdom Germany France Italy Turkey Israel the United Arab Emirates UAE Egypt and Saudi Arabia continue to intervene into regional affairs resulting in power struggles While the U S is trying to maintain its superiority in the region following the Cold War period Russia aims to reach the warm seas its long time strategic objective On the other hand the UK France and Turkey are working to protect their historical and imperial links with the region Starting with President Obama the U S has followed a retrenchment policy which has resulted in power vacuums in different regions including the Eastern Mediterranean Under these circumstances the Western dominated regional system and political stability has changed dramatically and the power vacuum created after the U S downsized its regional role is filled by many other challenger states One of these states is Russia which seems to have settled itself into the region permanently From now on it will be quite difficult to extricate Russia from the region and without doubt it will continue to pose a threat from the south to European countries China is another actor that has gained a foothold in the region lately by improving its relations with some regional countries and by investing in the control of significant seaports Furthermore Egypt Saudi Arabia and the UAE have also started trying to influence the regional balance of power Consequently all the cards are reshuffled in the Eastern Mediterranean and a new great game is underway in the region Third as the most significant novel development the exploration of natural gas in the region has contributed to its geostrategic importance Considered as one of the richest deposits with approximately 4 5 percent of the total natural gas reserves in the world the Eastern Mediterranean has become of great interest to the energy market The

drilling activities performed to date show that essential portions of the reserves range from the Tamar and Leviathan gas fields where the coasts of Cyprus, Egypt and Israel meet to the West Nile Delta field along the Egyptian coast. Within this framework, the regional and global powers have turned their attention to the region once again as the newly discovered rich energy resources have entered into the equation as a new parameter. Israel is the first state that discovered natural gas in Tamar (318 billion cubic meter) and Leviathan (605 billion cubic meter) fields and began to use and export it to other countries. Egypt and the Greek Administration of Southern Cyprus (GASC) also discovered natural gas in the Zohr (850 billion cubic meter) field and Aphrodite (129 billion cubic meter) field respectively. Furthermore, lately a considerable amount of gas reserves was discovered in the Calypso and Glaucus fields located in the South of Cyprus. As new discoveries continue, other countries such as Turkey have been conducting offshore drilling activities to explore natural gas. All these activities have defrosted the longtime frozen problems of the region. The region is not rich only in terms of offshore natural gas reserves. It is known that some areas within the boundaries of Egypt and Libya are also rich in natural gas. Having the Wafa and Bouri gas fields, Libya is ranked 22nd in the world with around 1.5 trillion cubic meters of natural gas reserves. Egypt ranks as 16th in the world with the Zohr, West Nile Delta and Atoll fields yielding a total of around 2.2 trillion cubic meters of natural gas. It must be said that the reason many global and regional players have become involved in the Libyan civil war is closely related to its abundant energy resources. Furthermore, it is important to state that the Eastern Mediterranean is quite rich in terms of crude oil as well. Considering onshore and offshore reserves together, the region possesses nearly 3.7 percent of the world's total oil reserves with around 64 billion barrels discovered to date. Libya alone has nearly 3.2 percent of the world's oil reserves with roughly 48.4 billion barrels, and Egypt has around 3.3 billion barrels of known oil reserves. Fourth, besides the three protracted crises, namely the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the political crisis in Lebanon, and the Cyprus question, two more recent regional political issues, the Syrian and Libyan crises, have been attracting the attention of many regional and global powers. The external involvement of some new actors in these crises has led to a new power struggle. Turkey and Russia are the two main states that have increased their presence in the region lately by becoming the two main powers involved in the Syrian and Libyan crises. Needless to state, their military intervention in these crises has undermined the status of the traditional Western colonial powers such as France. As a country that has the longest shores in the Eastern Mediterranean and as one of the main players in regional geopolitics, Turkey has begun to increase its military presence in the region in order to deter anti-Turkish developments. The geography has begun to occupy a critical role in Turkey's political security and economic policies and eventually has become one of the most featured parameters in Turkish foreign policy. Turkey's regional policy is shaped by a number of factors. First of all, the Eastern Mediterranean has long-standing importance for Turkey, which has historical ties with almost all regional states. For centuries, the region was ruled by Turkey's predecessor, the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, Turkey's involvement in regional crises such as Libya, Syria, and Palestine can be

partially explained by the historical ties between Turkey and these states. Second, the Eastern Mediterranean plays a crucial role in Turkey's security and as a result Turkey's foreign policy towards the region is highly shaped by its security concerns. Therefore, the policies of global powers such as the U.S., the European Union, and Russia towards the region are intrinsically linked to Turkey's security. As all these actors pursue their own national interests, it has resulted in the U.S., EU, and Russia conflicting with Turkey's policies and expectations in the region. This has become clear on issues such as the Cyprus problem and the attempts of the Greek side to sign international agreements regarding the maritime jurisdiction zones. Both of these developments aim at eliminating Turkey's influence over the island and the region altogether. However, Turkey has made it clear that this is not something that it will accept and has responded by signing agreements with the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) and Libya in 2011 and 2019 respectively. Third, the Eastern Mediterranean is critical both for its abundant energy resources and for the bilateral economic relations between Turkey and the countries of the region; therefore, the economy is another factor determining Turkish policy towards the region. Turkey, an energy-dependent country that expects to discover new resources in its continental shelf, considers the rich hydrocarbon potential of the region as an alternative source of meeting its energy demands. Turkey seeks to both decrease its foreign dependence on energy and to increase its trade first with neighboring countries and then with the world. In this regard, when forming its Eastern Mediterranean policy, Turkey is on the one hand intensely searching for natural gas and oil on its continental shelf and following policies towards transferring the resources found in other countries' maritime zones to the Western markets through Turkey and on the other hand trying to improve its relations with the countries in the region. The developments that threaten Turkey's economic and security interests have urged Ankara to a closer involvement with the region. Tensions have risen with Greece's eagerness to give its islands maritime jurisdiction zones beyond their territorial waters which will cut into Turkey's continental shelf and the GASC's licensing of maritime blocks to international companies for energy research activities. Violating the TRNC and Turkey's rights and with the aim of making their illegal actions permanent, their signing of agreements in close cooperation with Israel, Egypt, and the U.S. as well as conducting joint military operations will not contribute to the resolution of the problems. Within this framework, this issue of *Insight Turkey* highlights different affairs regarding the Eastern Mediterranean region. A number of leading and well-known intellectuals and academicians have contributed to this issue, focusing on political, legal, and energy dimensions of maritime tensions and the rise of a new geopolitics in the region. This issue includes pieces that look at the Eastern Mediterranean tensions through the lens of international law. Ayfer Erdoğdu's research article examines the legal and political dimensions of the disputes by analyzing the standpoints of the main actors in the region. Meanwhile, the commentary written by Serta Hami Baeren reviews their justifications with reference to international law, with particular reference to Turkey's actions. Furthermore, based on the principle that maritime delimitation should be carried out to reach an equitable solution by taking all the relevant

circumstances into account Y cel Acer argues that Turkey has developed a comprehensive legal approach as to the maritime delimitation in the Eastern Mediterranean and even submitted a map to the UN to demonstrate Turkey s claimed continental shelf and Exclusive Economic Zone EEZ areas While keeping up with the recent developments in the United States Nur in Ate o lu G ney and Vi ne Korkmaz s research article examines how and why Washington has come to embrace the logic of Alliance Axis to shape the Eastern Mediterranean and explores the projected impact of the U S initiated Abraham Accords on regional geopolitics Meanwhile Muhammad Soliman Alzawawy s commentary aims to forecast the route and different scenarios that the new American President Joe Biden will take in his foreign policy towards the Eastern Mediterranean region through investigating the content of his speeches and rhetoric before and shortly after taking office Galip Emre Y ld r m highlights the stance of another actor in the region by arguing that France s identification of Turkey as an external enemy reflects the former s political and economic concerns with regard to the Mediterranean gas reserves Sohbet Karbuz gives an overview of the key commercial technical legal and political challenges the East Mediterranean gas faces with a critical eye and proposes possible ways to overcome them Karbuz discusses the challenges facing the monetization of the discoveries by looking at both the commercial challenges hampering the exploration and field development activities and the technical challenges for exporting gas to the immediate and distant markets In addition to these eight pieces focusing on the Eastern Mediterranean there are some insightful manuscripts on a range of topics regarding the recent developments in the international political arena With regard to the recent changes at the level of the white house Inderjeet Parmar analyses President Donald Trump s attempted coup Parmar also questions the political will of the new President to extirpate Trumpism and white supremacy from the U S body politic After three and a half years into the crisis that struck the heart of the Gulf Cooperation Council Marwan Kabalan sheds light on how the 41st Gulf Summit in the Saudi city of al Ula brought the blockade of Qatar to an end From our off topic research articles Nikolay Kozhanov tries to prove the importance of the economic factors for the current development of Russia s relations with the Gulf States He also assesses the prospects for continued economic cooperation between the GCC states and Moscow Ramazan Erda s article concludes this issue with a discussion on why Russia replaced the South Stream project with the TurkStream by changing its route and name and why Turkey is involved in a project on the North South line although it plays a vital role in the Trans Anatolia Natural Gas Pipeline Project in the southern gas corridor While the importance of the region certainly is going to increase in the following years as more regional and global actors will be included in the power struggle it is necessary to analyze and understand the issue from geopolitical economic and legal standpoints With that said we are confident that this issue of Insight Turkey entitled **New Geopolitics in the Eastern Mediterranean** will provide timely studies regarding the Turkish perspective on a complex and increasingly important issue in the global power struggle **Partisan Review** ,1991 **Women and the Politics of Military Confrontation** Nahla Abdo,Ronit Lentin,2002-06-01 As the crisis in Israel does not show any signs of abating this

remarkable collection edited by an Israeli and a Palestinian scholar and with contributions by Palestinian and Israeli women offers a vivid and harrowing picture of the conflict and of its impact on daily life especially as it affects women's experiences that differ significantly from those of men. The autobiographical narratives in this volume focus on some of the most disturbing effects of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: a sense of dislocation that goes well beyond the geographical meaning of the word; it involves social, cultural, national, and gender dislocation, including alienation from one's own home, family, community, and society. The accounts become even more poignant if seen against the backdrop of the roots of the conflict: the real or imaginary construct of a state to save and shelter particularly European Jews from the horrors of Nazism, in parallel to the other side of the coin, Israel as a settler-colonial state responsible for the displacement of the Palestinian nation.

The Art of Attention Donald Revell, 2007-07-24 Using examples from his own poetry, Donald Revell takes the writer beyond the workshop and into the world of vision.

**Winter Series of Programmes of Circular, Single, & Through Tickets from London to France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, etc** Thomas COOK (AND SON.), 1871

**What to read at winter entertainments, ed. and arranged by F. Langbridge. 4pt** Frederick Langbridge, 1890

Rebecca's Journal; Or, How We Made the Winter Beautiful Mary Lansing, 1876

**Winter** Catholic Church, 1908

**The Ibis**, 1919

**Taming of the shrew. Winter's tale. Comedy of errors. Macbeth. King John. King Richard II. King Henry IV, part 1. King Henry IV, part 2. Henry V. King Henry VI, part 1. Explanatory notes** William Shakespeare, 1875

Nelson's History of the War John Buchan, 1917

Africa Pilot Great Britain. Hydrographic Department, 1897

*In a Winter City* Ouida, 1903

**A Winter in North China** T. M. Morris, 1892

*World Authors 1990-1995* Clifford Thompson, 1999

Representing a broad range of ethnic diversity, these in-depth profiles present fascinating accounts of lives and careers, the circumstances under which works were produced, and their literary significance. Each profile also includes critical evaluation, a list of the author's principal works with date first published, a list of major critical works, and a portrait or photograph where available.

**When Winter Comes to Main Street** Grant Martin Overton, 1922

*In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great* Michael Wood, 1997

The story of Alexander the Great's 22,000-mile expedition from Greece to India and his conquest of most of the known world is an extraordinary tale of bravery and cruelty, endurance and excess, chivalry and greed. More than two thousand years later, historian and author Michael Wood endeavours to retrace the conqueror's epic route using only the ancient historians as his guide.

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*The World's Greatest War: The events of 1917 and summary; the events of 1918; the armistice and the peace treaties*, 1921

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