

MURCIR Bulletin is the bi-annual newsletter of Marmara University Research Center for International Relations.

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Dear Friends,

We wish you all a happy and productive new year!

This fourth issue of MURCIR's newsletter is addressed from our new but temporary lodgings at Anadoluhisarı Campus of Marmara University. Please note the information for communication in the adjacent column and an orientation map on the last page.



MURCIR will continue its activities with its renewed board of directors and advisors announced on 2nd page. We hope to enhance the scope and content of our information sharing for which we deem your feedback is very precious.

In this bulletin you will find as usual information on our past activities and academic accomplishments of the members of the Department of Political Science and International Relations of Marmara University in 2010. We also bring to your attention, as a novelty, a "perspective paper" on the topic of "youth and politics

in Turkey" by Yüksel Taşkın (p.3). Secondly, a brief assessment of the United Nations Climate Change Conference held in Cancun at the end of 2010 is provided by Rana İzci (p.6), who had participated in the conference as an



observer for Marmara University, which through MURCIR's application had become the only university from Turkey accredited as an observer organization to United Nations Framework Convention for Climate Change (UNFCCC).

MURCIR is at the planning stage of an international conference titled "Alternative Approaches to International Relations: Turkey and Beyond" to be held in November, 2011, for which preliminary information is to be found on p.10.

MURCIR PANELS

May 25, 2010

Moderator:

Nurşen Gürboğa (Marmara University, Department of Political Science and International Relations) ngurboga@marmara.edu.tr

Panelists:

Demet Lüküslü (Yeditepe University, Department of Sociology) dlukuslu@yeditepe.edu.tr

Emin Alper (İstanbul Technical University, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences) alperem@itu.edu.tr

Ayşenur Ordulu (Student, Marmara University, Department of Political Science and International Relations)



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THURSDAY SCREENINGS

(Coordinator: Nurşen Gürboğa) Two Locks of Hair - The Missing Girls of Dersim (İki Tutam Saç - Dersim'in Kayıp Kızları)

May 27, 2010

Director: Nezahat Gündoğan (Turkey / 2010 / 55')

In the documentary titled 'Two Locks of Hair: The Missing Girls of Dersim,' which sheds light on the painful incidents of the 1938 Dersim Operation, four 80-year-old women tell of the trauma they experienced during the tragedy. The documentary focuses on the background of the military operation against Alevis in the eastern province of Tunceli (formerly known as Dersim) in 1938 by tracking down the girls who were sent into exile after the events. After 72 years of waiting, four 80-year-old women who experienced the incidents first hand, finally broke their silence on their trauma for the

Marmara University Research Center for International Relations (MURCIR) held its second panel on the "Problems of Youth and Political Participation" at Mustafa Necati Conference Center, Göztepe Campus, on May 25, 2010, succeeding the first panel on the same topic on January 13, 2010 at İbrahim Üzümcü Conference Center, a brief summary of which can be reached at http://murcir.marmara.edu.tr/announce/20100113-panelen.html





To offer a brief recitation of the participants' thoughts and views, Ayşenur Ordulu summarized the problems of the youth and asked for active participation of youth especially in politics to overcome all these problems. Ordulu also criticized the passive notion of youth that the education system inculcated into her generation. Demet Lüküslü criticized the imposition of top-down definitions of youth from elsewhere and explained the contextspecific nature of youthness. She also reviewed some findings of a recent research on the Youth and Political Participation in Turkey. The research was composed of a quantitative and a qualitative stage held in 2007 and 2009. Lüküslü introduced her observations drawn from the focus groups that she organized within the scope of the research held in 2009. She did not share the general criticism of depoliticized youth. Instead, she highlighted alternative means of engagement in social issues that are increasingly becoming attractive to the youth rather than the conventional ways of participating in politics. Emin Alper presented a comparative insight on the student movements of 1968 in Turkey and in the world. In addition to some similarities, he focused on the vital differences between the 68 movement in Turkey and both the West European and American experiences in particular. He also criticized certain continuities with the 1970s' student movement that put significant obstacles for the current student activism to establish a solid political culture as well as strong ties with the society at large.

Below is a "perspective paper" penned by Yüksel Taşkın reflecting on the political behaviour of the youth in Turkey based on some quantitative and qualitative research done in Turkey in the previous years.

<u>CLICK ONLINE:</u> http://murcir.marmara.edu.tr <u>DEPARTMENT of PSIR:</u> http://iibf.marmara.edu.tr/ index.php?bolum=11&dil=en



YOUTH AND POLITICS: WHERE YOU LOOK FROM IS WHAT YOU SEE!

In the previous weeks university students in various cities of Turkey have suddenly attracted the attention of the public opinion as several student protests and "the ordinary" violence they met from the security forces have become the focus of controversial media coverage. While some circles continued their tradition of criminalizing the protesters as "the alleged fifth column of external forces" or "agents provocateurs" activated by the opposition, the others saw in them a hope of extensive societal protest that could remind the vanguard role of the students that they played in the 1970s. In short, wishful or alarmist thinking seem to cloud once again moderate efforts to understand the relationship between the youth and politics in today's Turkey.

At this point, some findings of a two-legged research organized by TÜSES¹ can be utilized to provide further questions and hopefully some tentative conclusions on the rather controversial nature of the relationship. First, an Urban Youth Survey (Kentsel Gençlik Araştırması)² was held in 2007 on the urban youth under the supervision of Yılmaz Esmer which included 1203 people between the ages of 16 and 29. Based on some findings of this survey, a second qualitative research titled as The Youth Debates: Political Participation, Problems and Prospects (Gençler Tartışıyor: Siyasete Katılım, Sorunlar ve Çözüm Önerileri) was realized in 2008 with 26 focus groups that were believed to have a representative nature.³ The participants of a panel on "Youth and Politics" organized by MURCIR at Marmara University, Göztepe Campus on January 13, 2010, also largely benefited from the findings of the aforementioned research.

One of the significant findings of the survey is the absence of a meaningful difference between the values of youth and their parents. This means that, generally speaking, political socialization mechanisms in Turkey seem to be successful in transmitting the values of parents to their children. In the left-right spectrum, 45 per cent of the respondents placed themselves in the center while 34 per cent on the right and 21 per cent on the left. While 9 per cent are closely interested in politics, 60 per cent do not have any interest in it. There is a coincidence between the figures designating those who are closely interested in politics (9 per cent) and those that are active and passive members of political parties (9 per cent). 43 per cent of the respondents believe that "working in the political parties would not solve any problems." This percentage is very close to that of the cluster that did not vote in the last elections (48 per cent). While only 4.4 per cent of the youth were members of civil society organizations having political ends-- apart from the parties--this rate rises to 7.2 per cent when they were asked whether they participated in any protest agenda circulating in the internet. In terms of these quantitative data, the findings bear a strong resemblance to those of several researches conducted by other groups in the last ten years.

For the qualitative research, three general groups and several sub-groups within them were determined: Those who are actively working in the political parties, those who are actively working in the civil society organizations and those who are not active in any of them. I had assumed the task of organizing focus groups with the members of the parties' youth branches. Specifically, I organized focus groups with the members of Istanbul branches of AKP (Justice and Development Party), BBP (Party of Great Unity), CHP (Republican People's Party), DTP (Party of Democratic Society), DP (Democratic Party), EMEP (Party of Labour), MHP (Nationalist Action Party), SP (Felicity Party), ÖDP (Freedom and Solidarity Party) and TKP (Communist Party of Turkey). My

¹ TÜSES-Türkiye Sosyal, Ekonomik, Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı (The Foundation for Social, Economic and Political Research).

² For Urban Youth Survey, see http://www.sodev.org.tr/genclik/AnketCalismasi.pdf

³ For detailed analyses of the research held by various scholars, see Cemil Boyraz (ed.), Gençler Tartışıyor: Siyasete Katılım, Sorunlar ve Çözüm Önerileri (The Youth Debates: Political Participation, Problems and Prospects), İstanbul: TÜSES Publishers, 2009.



main concern was to understand those factors that motivated them to be active members of political parties.

Table I: Determinants of Political Participation	Percentage (2008)
Voting	48.0
Membership in youth branches of a political party	9.0
Active participation in the election campaign of a political party	5.0
or a candidate	
Participation in a political demonstration	11.3
Drawing up a petition to the municipality or the related	8.3
institution about a local problem	
Participation in a boycott	6.3
Participation in any protest agenda circulating in the internet	7.2
Membership of civil society organizations having political ends	4.4

It is important to note that parents' political affiliation is still an important determinant of their children's ideological preferences. In this regard, some parents actively encouraged their children to attain membership in such center parties as AKP and CHP. While this encouragement is partially relevant for SP and MHP, some other parents seem to be concerned for their children's affiliation with such parties as BBP on the right and TKP on the left. When we compared politicization stories of those on the right and the left, it is interesting that many right-wing university students in Istanbul had their first political experience in such radical nationalist institutions as Ülkü Ocakları (Idealists' Hearths), Anadolu Gençlik Derneği (Anatolian Youth Association) close to the Milli Görüş (National Outlook) movement. However, for those on the left, it is not legitimate or practically possible to have their first political engagement in Anatolia. They have to wait until they come to the urban milieus such as Istanbul to start their party activism. Another interesting conclusion was the fact that many on the right and left had a previous contact with certain religious communities, particularly Fethullah Gülen Community. For instance, members of the DTP stated that they have poor Kurdish friends staying in the private dormitories of Gülen Community. Politically, however, they were critical of the movement. Similar stories were also put forward by members of the BBP and MHP indicating the extensive nature of such religious networks.

Ideologically, a common denominator of the interviewed youth is their inclination towards realpolitik analyses especially for international relations. The radical left or right-wingers display a striking timidity and inability to speak in utopian terms when, for instance, compared with their counterparts in 1970s' Turkey. Despite obvious radicalism of their ideological choices, they easily resort to realistic analyses rather than optimistic-utopian ones. Almost all right-wingers seem to have internalized hierarchical nature of party politics and the approach that could be summarized as "wait your turn to assume important posts." The left-wingers tend to question such party hierarchies and rarely refer to the speeches of their leaders. Last but not the least, those on the left are distinguished from their rivals on the right, with their middle class and urban backgrounds. When the data of the first survey is considered, it is difficult to mention the presence of a youth actively interested in politics. It is also impossible to observe a significant gap between the youth and parents in terms of values and political attitudes that they possess. However, the qualitative research uncovers some interesting insights that could be meaningful for the immediate future. A growing body of youth is deliberately preferring activism in the civil society organizations to the



political parties. They seem to have gained a considerable experience of problem solving around specific issues rather than "grand problems" of the politics. An interesting observation is about the integration capacity of the political parties. Especially the youth with lower-middle class and peripheral backgrounds are active in political parties since they consider parties as the proper means for upward mobility. In rather terrifying and cosmopolitan milieus of the metropoles, the youth branches of the right-wing parties in particular are still serving as mechanisms of solidarity and intimacy. Lastly, the Islamic communities and local networks (hemşehri örgütlenmeleri) are still influential in attracting a significant portion of the youth. These organizations discourage their affiliates from active involvement in youth politics and prepare them for future careers. They are trying to inculcate a conservative notion of "wait your turn!"-- an approach to which party hierarchies, the state elites and parents would also give their tacit consents.

Yüksel Taşkın

(M.U. Dept. of Political Science & International Relations)

Turkey's Environmental Agenda on the World Environment Day

June 2, 2010

Moderator:

İbrahim Mazlum (Marmara University, Department of Political Science and International Relations) imazlum@marmara.edu.tr

Panelists:

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Emel Türker, (Campaigner, Greenpeace Turkey) eturker@greenpeace.org

Yücel Sönmez (Communication Coordinator, Doğa Derneği) yucel.sonmez@dogadernegi.org Hüseyin Güngör (Former Co-Speaker, Greens of Turkey) hus_gungor@yahoo.com.tr

MURCIR held a Panel titled "Turkey's Environmental Agenda on the World Environment Day" on the occasion of World Environment Day (WEO) on June 2, 2010. The WEO 2010 focused on biodiversity with its official slogan of "Many Species, One Planet, One Future" to honor the "International Year of Biodiversity". MURCIR's Panel was an important contribution to the celebrations of WEO in Turkey as it provided a forum to assess the state of the environment and environmental policies in Turkey from civil society perspective by bringing together environmental NGOs active in nature protection and environmental advocacy in the country. The Panel was also intended to hear the experiences of NGOs having extensive international links with the other environmental organizations abroad, directly participating into the international processes and working actively in the country. The panel was also a timely event to discuss with the NGOs the implications on the state of the environment after opening of negotiations on the Environment Chapter with the EU.

Tanay Sıdkı Uyar dwelled extensively on the relationship between neo-liberal policies and environmental deterioration. He discussed possible threats arising from displacement of obsolete, end-of-use technologies to developing countries in general and to Turkey in particular. He pointed out the danger of Turkey becoming a junkyard for polluting technologies. He, in this sense, also drew attention to implications of Turkey's EU accession process. Prof. Uyar then gave information about activities of KADOS (Kadıköy Friends of Science, Culture and Art Society) and TÜRÇEP (Turkey Environmental Platform). He underlined the important role that civil society organizations play in



the EU accession process and highlighted KADOS's participation in the NGO Forum initiated by the European Commission.

Emel Türker from Greenpeace Turkey elaborated the environmental problems facing the Mediterranean Sea focusing particularly on the threats against marine reserves and fish stocks. She shared information about Greenpeace's campaign on bluefin tuna in the Mediterranean and then shortly outlined other Greenpeace campaigns and activities.







Yücel Sönmez of Doğa Derneği (Nature Society) was the third panelist. He began his speech by inviting the audience to join him in an exercise on our thinking about the concept of nature. This collective exercise helped the audience critically reflect on how the nature is constructed in our perceptions. Mr. Sönmez also informed on Doğa Derneği's activities in the field and the international fora. He then shortly touched upon their efforts in the Turkey Water Assembly, an advocacy initiative bringing together several NGOs with water related activities.

Hüseyin Güngör of the Green Party, Turkey, began his speech by underlining the distinct features of the Party in terms of its goals and structure, including gender parity and the importance of links with grassroots. After elaborating on Party's policies on major issues in its program, he presented Green Party's views on some of Turkey's longstanding political issues. He also shared information about preparations for the Party's first Congress that was to take place in a couple of days from the date of the Panel.

Below is a brief assessment of the United Nations Framework Convention for Climate Change (UNFCCC) held in Cancun, Mexico during November 29 - December 10, 2010, by Rana İzci (Marmara University, European Union Institute).

CANCUN AGREEMENTS: ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND SHORTCOMINGS

The United Nations Climate Conference (UNFCCC COP16/MOP 6) was convened in Cancun, Mexico during November 29 - December 10, 2010. Since high hopes for the architecture of the post-2012 period were crashed at the United Nations Climate Conference in Copenhagen (UNFCCC COP15/MOP 5) in December 2009, climate negotiations in Cancun began with low expectations. What is more, Japan's stern opposition to extending the Kyoto Protocol into a second commitment period exacerbated the questions surrounding the entire UN climate regime. Nevertheless, after heated (as well as long) negotiations, the United Nations Climate Conference ended with the approval of a set of decisions (Cancun Agreements) under two tracks: the Kyoto Protocol (KP track) and the UNFCCC (Convention track).

Under the Convention track, among all, establishment of the Green Climate Fund seems the most welcomed decision. Progress on the REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries) is another promising outcome under this track. It is also noteworthy to mention that an Adaptation Framework and Adaptation Committee were established and that mitigation pledges of the Copenhagen accord were formally integrated into the COP (Conference of the Parties) decision (though there is no improvement on these pledges). Moreover, the agreement was reached under the KP track to continue and conclude the negotiations on the targets and rules in order not to leave a gap between commitment periods. This indicates the hope



to decide on a second commitment period for the Kyoto Protocol in Durban at the United Nations Climate Conference (UNFCCC COP17/MOP 7) in 2011.

Basically, Cancun Agreements can be considered as a comprehensive document calling for the establishment of new funds, bodies and mechanisms to enhance cooperation and finance climate policies as well as an attempt to sustain the multilateral nature of the international climate change governance. Many believe that it is a balanced package providing a small but positive step for negotiations in Durban while others think that it is another lost opportunity to halt the climate change. They believe that climate negotiations cannot escape the destiny of Doha round of trade talks and the UNFCCC process will likely end up in never-ending rounds of talks providing no real solution.







There are, apparently, many shortcomings in the Cancun Agreements as they have already put numerous challenges before the next climate negotiations of 2011 in Durban. All in all the future of Kyoto Protocol, thus, the basic structure of the post-Kyoto period is still unclear. It seems that sound consultation and transparency along with the equity concerns will be again at the core of negotiations to decide on the global architecture of the climate regime in the post-2012 period. Thus, at the end of the year Durban will unquestionably host the most challenging climate negotiation that took place so far. If international community succeeds to negotiate a legally binding and ecologically effective (as much as possible) agreement in Durban, then we can make plans to celebrate the New Year of 2012. If not, unfortunately, for many people all around the world it will be even too late to discuss what went wrong in Durban.

Rana İzci

(M.U. European Union Institute)

WEDNESDAY TALKS

Abel Polese The Colour Revolutions in the Former Soviet Republics February 24, 2010



This presentation examined the significance of the colour revolution regime-change processes - popular shorthand for non-violent protests that overthrew post-communist authoritarian regimes -the Georgian Rose Revolution (2003); the Ukrainian Orange Revolution (2004), and the Kyrgyzstani Tulip Revolution (2005) being the most dramatic examples. It also covered the former Soviet republics

where colour revolutions did not occur, despite apparently favourable conditions; and considered why some post-Soviet countries underwent a colour revolution and others not. Identifying the conditions for successful colour revolutions, the presentation tried to answer whether there was a revolutionary blueprint that has been exported and continues to be transferred to areas of the world under autocratic rule. In conjunction, the presentation touched on the ideologies of the post-Soviet ruling regimes, showing how political elites integrated nationalism, populism and



authoritarianism into political debates; analysed anti-regime opposition movements, discussing the factors that led to the rise of such movements and outlining how the opposition movements were constituted and how they operated. It also evaluated the impact of the external forces on the revolutions, including that of the USA, the EU and Russia. Overall, the presentation evaluated the colour revolution phenomenon in its entirety, pointing out common features among different countries.

(E-Mail: abel.polese@gmail.com)

İsenbike Togan

The Approaches to the History of Inner Asia

March 10, 2010

In her talk, İsenbike Togan presented a historical analysis on the nomadic culture and gave examples based on her area studies on Asia. She critically approached the idea that the history of civilization begins with settlement and territorialisation. She argued that the concepts of nomadic life and civilization that are presented as contradictory to each other are actually interrelated ones.



She also emphasized that the characteristics of the nomadic culture bent on not controlling the nature but existence in harmony with it have been overlooked. In the discussion session, the discourse on the origin of the Turks presented in the Turkish History Thesis of the 1930s was discussed within the framework its relationship with Central Asia. In that sense, the presentation of migration process/period of the Turks from Central Asia to Anatolia was criticized for portraying a mythical journey through an "ahistorical corridor".

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Özlem Pusane

Fight Against Terrorism and Civil-Military Relations in Turkey March 24, 2010



"Most scholars of Civil-Military Relations argue that the presence of domestic security threats increases the role of the military in politics. However, observational data show that domestic security threats influence civil-military relations in different ways. Therefore, the main question this research attempts to answer is why domestic security threats have divergent effects on civil-

military relations. This study analyzes the impact of Turkey's fight against the PKK from the 1980s onwards on civil-military relations in Turkey. Starting with the argument that structural variables, such as the presence or degree of threat, are not sufficient to explain the military's role in politics, this research shows that civil-military relations constitute a dynamic interaction and can be fully explained only by dynamic variables. Thus, this study emphasizes that in order to understand the civil-military balance of power in those countries that experience internal security problems, it is necessary to take into account not only the presence of threats, but also variables such as the political strength of the government, the civilian leadership's legitimacy in the eyes of the military, and the extent of international pressure for democratization."

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Özgür Üşenmez Search for Alternatives in the Left Movement in Turkey April 7, 2010



"As Justice and Development Party (AKP) government's struggle with the military and civilian bureaucracy in Turkey intensified, we have witnessed the fact that for the first time Turkey's authentic bourgeoisie tries to extend its political power from government into the State itself. This created an enormous chasm in official politics since most of the taboos of yesteryear have been

discussed as ordinary issues. If we set aside the patriotic and nationalist leaning CHP's opposition, the Left in Turkey has been pretty marginal in intervening the crucial disputes. But the atrophy of the Left started to change after 2007 when Ufuk Uras was elected as the first socialist member of Parliament in decades. Its now time for Turkey's Left to establish a credible and popular opposition to the AKP, as their neo-liberal program began to peel off the layer of legitimacy that stems from the suppressed Muslim identity. At the nexus of global economic slowdown and the rising domestic unemployment numbers, dominant party in power was losing votes. In this junction of Turkish landscape there arose myriad of opportunities for the dormant political forces to provide creative alternatives to the neo-liberal paradigm. Applying a neo-Gramscian perspective to the political structure and the history of the Leftist movements, this paper tries to construct the main framework of aforementioned alternative from the perspective of the Left. But this does not foreclose the possibility that right wing groups can also use the same political vacuum for their advantage."

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Behlül Özkan

From Imperial to National Homeland: The Social Construction of Turkish *Vatan* April 21, 2010

"In Turkey and in other Middle Eastern societies, constructing the borders of the national identity and homeland, *vatan*, required the transformation of the value-based and ontological *Dar al-Islam* to mechanism-based Western nation-state paradigm. In the twentieth century, as Muslim societies began to be shaped by the newly founded nation-states, the modernizing ruling elites faced an arduous task of creating national societies and national *vatans* in place of *ummah* and *Dar al-Islam*. The national Turkish homeland differs from previous entities that occupied the space of today's Turkey, not only in terms of geographical shape but also in the nature of conception of space and sovereignty. This presentation examines how the ruling elites in Turkey adopted the modern discourse of nationalism and presented the nation's territorial conception as a naturalized and uncontested fact."

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Aude Signoles,

Hamas's Rules in Palestine. And, So What?

April 28, 2010

"Hamas's overwhelming electoral victory in January 2006 transformed politics in the Middle East and shocked the world. That Hamas was able to seize control of the entire Gaza Strip in June 2007 confirmed it as a fixture in Palestinian politics, despite its status as a terrorist organization in Israel, the U.S., and the EU. In such an environment, I propose to revisit Hamas's origins to better



understand the choices and strategies of the movement and to examine the reasons for its electoral success".

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Erhan Doğan The Effects of the Visa Practice on the Travel Behaviours of Turkish Citizens May 26, 2010



"Since 1980s travel of Turkish nationals to European countries has been restricted via visa regimes due to the reasons mainly related to migration control. These restrictions and regulations combined with the difficulties caused by how they were operationalized led to many problems and produced concrete impacts and effects over Turkish citizens and their travel practices. The presentation is based on the research

project that was designed to examine the impacts of visa regimes on the travel propensity of Turkish citizens. For this end, interviews were conducted with people who make visa application to consulates of Germany, the UK, France, Italy, Sweden and Poland. Next to these interviews, a media review was conducted to see the news coverage of this issue. In order to have a balanced view of the issue, interviews were also conducted with the Consul Generals or Consulars in Charge of Visa of the selected countries in Istanbul. The link between the visa regime and Turkey's European Union accession process, the already operating Customs Union, the European Court of Justice decisions about the stand still clause of the Additional protocol and how these links have been perceived and reacted by the applicants and business community have also been investigated in this research."

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MURCIR NEWS

MURCIR is at the stage of organizing an international conference on "Alternative Approaches to International Relations: Turkey and Beyond" to be held in November 2011. MURCIR's prospective conference aims to bring scholars to discuss the new themes and approaches in the international relations field as well as its constitutive aspects such as foreign policy, diplomacy and security. While the study of international relations continues to be dominated by the realist approach and its unchanging focus on the nation-state, there are various new actors, issues and practices engendered by the complex social, political and cultural processes in today's world which lie beyond the grasp of this state-centric perspective. The conference aims to provide a forum for scholars who employ non state-centric perspectives, such as political economy, Marxism, feminism, constructivism, etc. Our major focus will be the emerging sub-fields such as transnational studies, critical security studies and new diplomacy, as they are representative of the changes in actors, issues and processes in world politics. A tentative list of session titles is as follows: "Transnational Social Actors and Processes", "New Themes and Perspectives in Security" and "Beyond Traditional Diplomacy?". MURCIR will announce the conference details at a later date.

NEWS FROM THE DEPARTMENT

Workshop on Erasmus Intensive Program (IP):

The Department of Political Science and International Relations has participated for the first time during February 13-27, 2010 (with Lecturer Dr. Suna Gülfer Ihlamur and two fourth-year students; Gizem Damla Çakmak and İlay Çakıroğlu) in an **Erasmus Intensive Program (IP)**, which has been organized on a yearly basis and coordinated by Rotterdam Erasmus University since 1992. The



Erasmus IP, organized within the framework of the main theme "Towards a Diversified or Standardised Europe?" and held in Albir (Spain) in February 2010, brought together around 20 academics and researchers and 60 students from 12 different European universities. For the next three years, our department will continue participating in this Erasmus IP - to be designed around the main theme of "Enduring and Emerging Inequalities: the Integrational Capacity of European Labour Markets and Educational Systems" - with four students and two academics. Four students from our department (Mehmet Can Sezer, Cemal Berk Baloglu, Gizem Erdem, Alev Örnek) that will attend the Erasmus IP in February 2011 were selected with an interview in October 2010.

Every year this particular Erasmus IP is held in February and prior to that a planning meeting is organized, which brings together the academics and researchers that deliver lectures in the intensive teaching program. The planning meeting of the coming Erasmus IP, to take place in Albir on February 12-26, 2011, was held in İstanbul during October 27-28, 2010. Marmara University Department of Political Science and International Relations hosted the two-day meeting with the invaluable contributions of the Rectorate and LLP/Erasmus Unit of the Marmara University.

During the two-day planning meeting the two-week program of the lectures to be delivered by academics and researchers from different universities was prepared and a general evaluation regarding the content of the lectures was made. Additionally, the participants have elaborated on the discussion topics and methods for the students, preparatory research topics and reading material, the definition of the general framework of the fieldwork to be conducted by the students in groups and the methods to be used to guide students' research, study and discussion activities throughout the intensive program. The participants highlighted the importance of conveying the accumulated knowledge and experience to the Erasmus IP to be organized in 2012 and also discussed the book project on the theme "Enduring and Emerging Inequalities: the Integrational Capacity of European Labour Markets and Educational Systems".

Grants & Visiting Scholarships:

Emel Parlar Dal earned The Swiss Government Scholarship for the 2010-2011 academic year. Dr. Parlar Dal continues her studies as a visiting research fellow at the Department of International History and Politics of the Graduate Institute-Geneva for nine months between September 15, 2010 and June 15, 2011.

Neslişah Başaran received Turkish Higher Education Council's Doctoral Research Grant for the period between September 2010 and July 2011. She continues her studies as a visiting research fellow at Research Unit Cultures et Sociétés en Europe of Strasbourg University.

Murat Yeşiltaş received Turkish Higher Education Council's Doctoral Research Grant. He conducted his studies as a visiting research fellow at the Government and International Affairs Program of the Virginia Tech University between October 2010 and January 2011.

We are also glad to announce that Assist. Prof. Semra Cerit obtained the title of "Associate Professorship" in April 2010.

Recent Ph.D. Dissertations:

Sezgi Durgun, *Ulusçuluk Ve Mekân: Cumhuriyet Söyleminde Vatan: 1920-1950 (Nationalism and Space: Homeland in The Republican Discourse 1920-1950)*, İstanbul, Marmara University, Institute of Social Sciences, 2010.

Abstract:

In this thesis, the main axis of discussion is the relation between nationalism, territory, and state, namely the "nationalization of geography". It focuses on the concept of "vatan" (homeland) in the



Turkish Republican discourse during the 1920-1950. Since Turkish Republic is established through the gradual shrink of Ottoman territories, territory had become an important element in the Turkish nationalist discourse. This thesis seeks to study the concept "vatan" and how it had transformed in the course of political periods and conditions; one significant finding of this study is that though "vatan" is defined pragmatically, -even sometimes by inconsistent references-, there seems to be an imminent constituent of the concept "state patriotism". In this context the analysis of the state discourse provides us many clues about how territorialization occurs in the national sense. This thesis examines this process through the following categorization: External territorialization, internal territorialization and reproduction of the homeland discourse in geography textbooks. Through this categorization this thesis aspires to problematize the spatial dimension of the nation and nationalism.

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Sevinç Alkan Özcan, Komünizm Sonrası Polonya ve Rusya Federasyonu'nda Din ve Devlet İlişkisi: Sekülerleşmenin Sınırları (Religion and State Relations in Post-Communist Poland and Russian Federation: The Limits of Secularisation), İstanbul: Marmara University, Institute of Social Sciences, 2010.

Abstract:

This work analyzes the reshaping of church-state relations in post-communist Poland and Russia in a comparative way within the context of secularisaton, public sphere and civil society debate and brings new definitions about this relationship. Although the emerging relationship between Russian Orthodox and Polish Catholic churches and state in the new era constitutes the center of this work, the following factors that affect this relationship are also covered: the historical background including communist and pre-communist period, the relations between churches and the political parties and other political organizations, the special role of churches in the construction of national identities, relations of the state with Catholic and Orthodox churches and other religious organizations, perspectives of the churches towards other religious groups, the interventions of the churches in the field of education and media and their roles in the public sphere. The phenomena of religion - which can be explained with the help of different terms, such as established churches, official and non-official religious organizations, new religious movements, religion based civil society organizations, foundations and associations - is analyzed in this dissertation within the framework of the structures, activities and changing discourses of the Polish Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches and their relations with state and other political and social actors.

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Helin Sarı Ertem, Geleneksel Amerikan Kimlik ve Güvenlik Algısının 11 Eylül Sonrası ABD Dış Politikasına Etkileri (The Impact of the Traditional American Identity and Security Perception on the Post-September 11 US Foreign Policy), İstanbul: Marmara University, Institute of Social Sciences, 2010.

Abstract:

With its huge military and economic capabilities, the United States of America (USA) has been one of the most important powers of the last century and it continues to play an influential role on the stage of international politics. To better understand the USA, which has recently been an important matter of discussion with the actions it has put into practice after September 11, 2001 attacks, not only the present, but also the past of this country must be evaluated. This thesis, which has begun with a constructivist idea pointing out that "there is an important interaction between identity, security and foreign policy of a country", claims that there is an obvious relation between the US actions and the traditional "American" identity and security perception. The influence of the



traditional American identity, which began to be shaped by the first migrations of the Protestant Anglo-Saxons to the continent of America in the 17th Century, has continued to be felt on the US foreign policy practices in the succeeding years. The traditional American identity is based on the idea that God has granted the American nation a divine mission to expand uprightness and goodness and that the American values must be adopted by as many as possible to achieve absolute security. The USA has practiced various actions based on this idea at the end of the 19th and during the 20th Centuries. After September 11, the foreign policy practices of the George W. Bush administration under the heavy influence of the neo-conservatives directly carried some footprints of the traditional American identity and security perception and thus pointed out the continuities between the past and the present of the USA.

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Cangül Örnek, 1950'li Yıllarda ABD ile Buluşma: Anti-Komünizm, Modernleşmecilik ve Maneviyatçılık (Turkey Encounters the US in the 1950s: Anti-communism, Modernization and Spirituality), İstanbul: Marmara University, Institute of Social Sciences, 2010.

Abstract:

This study analyzes how different intellectual circles of the 1950s approached to Turkey's affiliation with the US and how they were affected from the American thought. Since the Cold War is a 'struggle of ideas', the hegemonic Cold War ideology is embraced as the main context. The affects of anti-communism on the attitudes of different intellectual circles are also examined. In fact the acquaintance of Turkish thinkers with the West and western thought went back to the times of Ottoman modernization. Therefore this study tries to answer how the relation founded with the US was influenced from this heritage of westernization and in what way this relation had transformed that heritage. Thus this study also deals with the changes occurred for those opinion circles which had been familiar with European thought. In this regard the past relations with the West, the affects of the Cold War ideology and anti-communism are assumed as the basis of the analysis. Furthermore, in order to have a complete picture of American influence, the features of the US cultural diplomacy carried out in Turkey are exposed. It is observed that different intellectual circles shared common affirmative opinions towards the US. It is the task of this study to focus on two conflicting sectors of political thought, i.e., Kemalist-modernist and Islamist-conservative groups. It is defended that besides historical and ideological reasons for their positive viewpoint on the US and Turkey's relation with the US, domestic political controversies had also contributed to the attitude they developed.

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ACADEMIC CONTRIBUTIONS

Recently Published and Forthcoming Books:

Ahmet Demirel, İlk Meclisin Vekilleri: Milli Mücadele Döneminde Seçimler (Members of the First Assembly: Elections during the National Struggle), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010.

Sezgi Durgun and Haluk Barışcan (translators), Salted Bread of the Outsider: Selected Writings of Erich Auerbach (Yabanın Tuzlu Ekmeği: Erich Auerbach'tan Seçme Yazılar), Müge Gürsoy Sökmen and Tuncay Birkan (eds), İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2010.

Recently Published and Forthcoming Articles:

Ayşegül Sever, "Re-orientation of Turkish-Syrian Relations and Its Security Implications for the Middle East: A Turkish Account" in Krzysztof Koscielniak (ed.), Change and Stability. Religion, Nation and State in the Contemporary Middle East, Krakow: UNUM Publishing House, 2010.



- Büşra Ersanlı, "Türkistan" kavramı üzerine" (On the Concept of "Turkistan"), Türk Dış Politikası II. Türk Dış Politikası Sempozyumu (13-14 Nisan 2005) Tutanak ve Bildirileri-, (Turkish Foreign Policy Proceedings of the II. Symposium on Turkish Foreign Policy (April 13-14, 2005)), in H. Necefoğlu, K. Kuzucu and F. Osmanoğlu (eds.), Kafkas University: Kafkasya ve Orta Asya Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları (Caucasus and Central Asian Research Centre Publication), No:2, Kars, 2010, pp. 128-133.
- Büşra Ersanlı and Günay Göksu Özdoğan, "Obstacles and Opportunities: recent Kurdish struggles for political representation and participation in Turkey", *Southeastern Europe*, Vol.35, No.1, January 2011 (forthcoming).
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- ______, "Entre précaution et ambition: Le "néo-ottomanisme " de la nouvelle politique extérieure d'AKP en question (Between Caution and Ambition: "Neo-Ottomanism" of the AKP's New Foreign Policy in Question), Revue française Eurorient, Special issue, Paris, L'Harmattan, October 2010.
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- Emre, Erşen, "Yeni Avrasyacılara Göre Rusya'nın Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Dünya Düzenindeki Yeri" (The Place of Russia in the Post-Cold War World Order According to the Neo-Eurasianists) in Mesut Özcan ve Muzaffer Şenel (eds.), *Modernite ve Dünya Düzen(ler)i (Modernity and World Order(s))*, İstanbul: Klasik Yayınlari, 2010.
- Günay Göksu Özdoğan, "Minority Representation and Participation in Bulgaria, Croatia and Turkey: Benefits and Limits of Democratization", Introductory Article to Southeastern Europe, Vol.35, No.1, January 2011 (forthcoming).
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- İdil Tunçer Kılavuz "Orta Asya'da Küresel ve Bölgesel Güç Dengeleri" (Global and Regional Power Balances in Central Asia) in Selçuk Esenbel and İsenbike Togan (eds.), *Türkiye-Çin* İlişkileri (*Turkey-China Relations*), İstanbul: Bogaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları (forthcoming).
- Nurşen Gürboğa, "Osmanlı Taşrasında Belediye İdaresi: Alanya Örneği (1914-1915)" (Municipal Government in the Ottoman Province: Alanya Municipality (1914-1915)), *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi (Journal of Studies on History of Contemporary Turkey)*, Vol. VII, No. 16-17, 2010.
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- Suna Gülfer Ihlamur, Twice a Stranger: How Mass Expulsion Forged Modern Greece and Turkey (bookreview), Southeastern Europe, Vol. 35, No.1, January 2011.
- Yüksel Taşkın, "Europeanization and the Extreme Right in Bulgaria and Turkey: Unveiling Similarities between Ataka Party and the Red Coalition", Southeastern Europe, Vol.35, No. 1, January 2011 (forthcoming).
- ______, "Turkey's Search for Regional Power", *Middle East Report Online (MERO)*, August, 21, 2010, online at http://www.merip.org/mero/mero082110.html.
- _____, "Türkiye'de Sağcılık" (The Right in Turkey), in Ömer Laçiner (ed.) Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Dönemler ve Zihniyetler (Political Thought in Modern Turkey), Vol.9, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009, pp. 451-174.

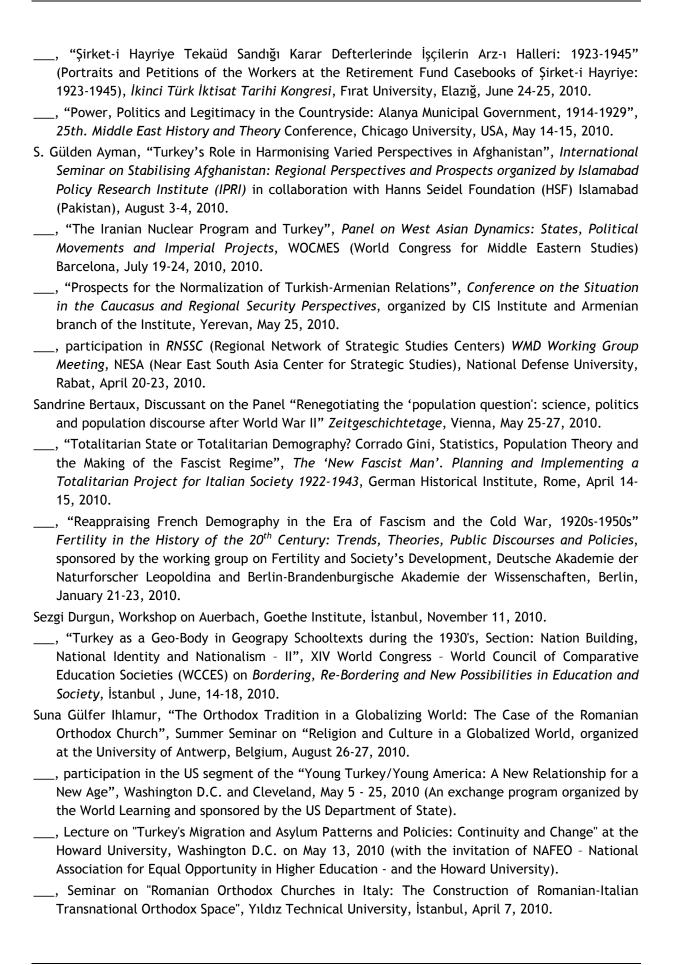
Conference & Seminars:

Ayşegül Sever, "1945-60 Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri" (1945-1960 Turkish-American Relations), 1945'ten Günümüze Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri (Turkish-American Relations since 1945), *Prof. Dr. Oral Sander Panel II*), Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi (Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences), Ankara, October, 21, 2010.



- , "The Middle East in Turkish Foreign Policy: Opportunities and Challenges", Changing Middle East-Changing Turkey New Horizons before the Foreign Policy Makers, YTÜ, Hundred Anniversaries, Istanbul, October, 22, 2010. Büşra Ersanlı, "Main Patterns of Recent Turkish Political Dynamics", Galatasaray University, October 25, 2010. "Children and Politics", Uluslararası Eğitim Konferansı (International Conference on Education), Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, June 17, 2010. _, Conference on "Image of Europe in Recent History Textbooks in Turkey", Academy of Sciences - Institute of Literature, Sofia, April 29, 2010. Çagdaş Üngör, participation in "Beyond the Crisis: Prospects for Democracy, Development, and Security", Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance, Hamburg, August 15-28, 2010. , "Türk Solunda Çin Etkisi: 1966-1977" (China's Influence over the Turkish Left: 1966-1977), Türkiye-Çin İlişkileri Çalıştayı (Workshop on Turkey-China Relations), Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Asya Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (Boğaziçi University Asian Studies Research and Application Centre), Istanbul, May 7-8, 2010. , "Soğuk Savaşta Çin Dış Propaganda Söylemi: Yabancı Dil Yayınları ve Radyo Pekin" (Chinese Foreign Propaganda Discourse during the Cold War: Foreign Languages Press and Radio Peking), Science and Art Foundation, Istanbul, March 19, 2010. Ebru Oğurlu, "European Perceptions on Turkey's Accession to the EU", Conference on Turkey and the EU: Opportunities and Challenges in the Accession Process, organised by the University Association for Contemporary European Studies and Turkish University Association for European Studies, İstanbul, June 16-18, 2010. , "The European Union in the Mediterranean: From Euro-Med Partnership to European Neighbourhood Policy", Ninth METU International Relations Conference, METU Northern Cyprus Campus, Güzelyurt, May 20-22, 2010. Emel Parlar Dal, "Entre précaution et ambition: Le "néo-ottomanisme" de la nouvelle politique extérieure d'AKP en question" (Between caution and ambition: "Neo-Ottomanism" of the AKP's New Foreign Policy in Question), Conference on "Rupture and Continuity in the Internal and External Political Dynamics of Turkey", CERI/CNRS-Sciences Po Paris - OBTIC, February 11-12, 2010.
- Günay Göksu Özdoğan, Lecture on "The One-Party Regime (1923-1946): Reforms and Repression" at the Swedish Institute Summer School (on Turkey as a European Nation), İstanbul, June 18, 2010.
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