

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

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We are happy to meet you again with the third issue of the MURCIR Bulletin. We would like to highlight MURCIR's activities on Climate Change as the major topic of this issue. You will find in the following pages a brief assessment of

the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference (COP15/CMP5). Copenhagen Conference is also important for MURCIR itself. Marmara University, with MURCIR acting as the contact point, is admitted as observer NGO by the COP15 in Copenhagen, making us the first accredited university from Turkey. Assist. Prof. Semra Cerit attended the COP/CMP as MURCIR representative as a part of RINGO constituency. MURCIR was also among the NGOs whose representatives attended the meetings of heads of states at the Bella Center in the last three days. The assessment of the Conference below is based on her analyses with some photos and observations provided by Assist. Prof. İbrahim Mazlum.

Also in this issue, we are glad to share with a broader audience a short report of the MURCIR Panel on Copenhagen Conference we held on 15 January 2010, shortly after the Conference.

Copenhagen: which way further in global action against climate change?

The world politics in 2009 had left strong marks on two interlinked issues: global financial crisis and global climate change. We saw a growing recognition that these twin crises are best addressed by multilateral action restructuring world politics around green economy. There have been calls for a green new deal as a strategy to cope with climate change and accelerate economic recovery.



The UN Climate Change Conference, known officially as COP15/CMP5, held in Copenhagen between 7-18 December 2009 was seen as historic opportunity to move the world to a low carbon path. The highly anticipated Conference was expected to strike a deal on a comprehensive policy framework to tackle climate change now and beyond 2012. It was the culmination of a two year negotiation process under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol which was set out by the Bali Road Map agreed in Bali in 2007. Negotiations have continued in two tracks to be concluded in COP15/CMP5.

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THURSDAY SCREENINGS

(Coordinator: Dr. Nurşen
Gürboğa)

Prison Nr. 5: 1980-1984 - 5
No'lu Cezaevi : 1980-1984
November 5, 2009

Director: Çayan Demirel
(Turkey / 2009 / 96')

This documentary reveals the truth about the period from the military coup of September 12, 1980 up to 1984 in the Diyarbakır Prison Nr. 5 which caused the death of 34 prisoners and maimed hundreds of others. Through testimonies, the documentary depicts the years 1980-1984 in the Diyarbakır prison, which the military authorities of the time defined as a "military school" while the prisoners called a "ferocity period".

Please send us your
suggestions:
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The Play - Oyun
December 10, 2009

Director: Pelin Esmer
(Turkey / 2005 / 70')

Ummu, Behiye, Ummu, Fatma K., Cennet, Saniye, Fatma F., Zeynep and Nesime are nine peasant women living in Arslankoy, a mountain village in southern Turkey. They spend their days working hard in the fields, on the construction site and at home. To lighten the burden of life, these women come together for a wholly different reason. They intend to write and perform a play based on their



The first track, known as the Kyoto track in UN parlance, launched in 2005 in Montreal, considered further emission reductions commitments of industrialized Annex-I Parties to the Kyoto Protocol for the period beyond 2012. It was intended to extend the Kyoto Protocol beyond 2008-2012 first commitment period with new and more stringent emissions reductions by developed countries. The second track, the Convention track in UN parlance, concerns negotiations on the long term cooperative action to further implement the Convention. It aimed at reaching a new agreement to enhance global action on mitigation, adaptation, technology and finance within the framework of a shared vision. Negotiations were expected to conclude an agreement designing a new architecture for climate change regime which would ensure broadest participation in the long term cooperative action.

The Conference failed to meet the anticipation it arose as it did not produce the expected agreement. But it still marked the history of climate change regime with its outcome and the processes. The event made a history of its own. The COP15/CMP5 turned out to be a Climate Change Summit with 119 heads of state and government attending the high level segment, making it an unprecedented gathering for climate change. The Conference also saw the largest ever participation. Around forty thousand people including government delegates, and representatives of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations attended the Conference. The event also drew thousands of people to Copenhagen from all corners of the world to voice their concerns and call governments into decisive action for climate change.



Despite the large attendance, the Conference could not achieve what it was expected. As had become obvious in the run up to Copenhagen, it proved impossible to reach an agreed outcome in negotiations under the AWG-LCA and AWG-KP. At the end, the Parties decided to extend the mandate of these working groups into 2010 and present their conclusions to COP16 and CMP6 in Mexico. Instead, the Conference concluded with a non-binding political document, the "Copenhagen Accord" of which the COP took note.

The Accord was crafted in a closed meeting of small number of Parties, which was led by the US and the BASIC group countries China, India, Brazil and South Africa, and attended by around 25

own life stories. They gather at the local high school, which they were shy of even stepping into until that day and they work with the principal, Mr. Huseyin. They reveal their life stories that they were even afraid to tell themselves and confront. For days on end, under the curious gazes of the village men, they work tirelessly, discuss and create with much fun a play, "The Outcry of Women!" This documentary is about the development process of this play and the change the women went through during this period.

Recycling Life - Çöpte Dostoyevski Buldum
December 22, 2009

Director: Enis Rıza
(Turkey / 2009 / 105')

This is a reflection on the life story of a paper collector, a leftist, a Muslim, a father, and his transformation... All of these are gathered in one personality...

From 19 January to 19 January - 19 Ocak'tan 19 Ocak'a

January 7, 2010

Director: Ümit Kivanç
(Turkey / 2007-2008 / 45')

The scandalous sequence of events that led to the Hrant Dink murder, the abstinence from the execution of the necessary actions in the aftermath of the assassination, and the rotten process of investigation, are recounted by cinema-theater and TV series actors.

countries. The Accord is a weak outcome with no clear time-bound commitments despite the statements describing the document as a step further in negotiations. It recognizes the scientific view to keep the increase in global temperature below 2 C° and agrees that deep cuts in global emissions are required. It does not set a goal for stabilization levels of atmospheric concentration of green house gases but only refers to peaking year to be achieved as soon as possible, recognizing the need of a lag period for developing countries. The Accord also does not set a long term global emission reduction target. Endorsing the bottom-up approach, it calls for Annex I Parties to submit quantified economy-wide emissions reduction targets for 2020 and non-Annex I Parties to submit mitigation actions by 31 January 2010. The Accord promised a 30 billion \$ fast track funding from developed countries to developing countries between 2010 and 2012 through international institutions to be allocated to mitigation and adaptation in a balanced manner. Developed countries also committed to mobilizing 100 billion \$ a year by 2020 in the context of meaningful mitigation action and transparency in implementation.



The Accord also establishes three institutions: a) a High Level Panel to study potential resources, b) the Copenhagen Green Climate Fund, as the operating entity of financial mechanism of the Convention, to support mitigation, adaptation, technology and capacity-building in developing countries and c) a Technology mechanism to accelerate development and transfer of technology. Implementation of the Accord will be reviewed in 2015, which would include strengthening of the long-term goal.

As the COP did not formally adopt the Accord, Parties may associate themselves with the document. By the deadline of 31 January, more than 15 Parties, including the US and the EU, submitted declarations of intention to be associated with the Accord. They would associate themselves even after this deadline. But it is still unclear how the Accord will be operationalized and linked to formal negotiations under the working groups, which will continue in 2010.

Moreover, many of its provisions require further action by the COP, leaving room for doubt over its fate. Although it is important not to make the document more than what it is,



both the Copenhagen Accord and the processes from which it came out left their imprints on the functioning of the climate change regime. The way by which a political deal was stroke by a small number of Parties was seen by many as undermining the legitimacy and multilateral nature of process.

The Copenhagen Conference will also be remembered by huge civil society participation both in the Conference venue and the city. The number of NGOs accredited to the COP15/CMP5 hit the record in the regime's history. But, their involvement in the Conference in the last three days was limited since only a small number of NGO representatives were allowed to the Conference venue due to security concerns. December 12 marked another unprecedented event with around a hundred thousand people rallying on the streets of Copenhagen calling on governments inside the Bella Center to conclude a binding agreement. There were various other events around the city showcasing the policies and actions taken by various actors.



MURCIR PANELS

Copenhagen: A Turning Point in Climate Policy? Future of Global Cooperation and Turkey

January 15, 2010

Moderator:

İbrahim Mazlum (Assist. Prof., Marmara University, Department of Political Science and International Relations; Member of MURCIR Working Group on Climate Change)

Panelists:

Haluk Özdalga, (MP; Chairman of Environment Commission, The Grand National Assembly of Turkey): haluk.ozdalga@tbmm.gov.tr

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Ömer Madra, (Executive Editor, Açık Radyo): omadra@acikradyo.com.tr

Sibel Sezer Eralp, (Dr., Director, REC Turkey): info@rec.org.tr

Hande Baloğlu, (Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen Association-TÜSİAD): hbaloglu@tusiad.org

Dr. Semra Cerit, (Assist. Prof., Marmara University, Department of Political Science and International Relations; Member of MURCIR Working Group on Climate Change): scmazlum@marmara.edu.tr

In opening the Panel, Dr. İbrahim Mazlum briefly introduced MURCIR's climate change related activities and summarized COP15/CMP5 with special reference to MURCIR presence.

In his speech, Haluk Özdalga, who was member of the government delegation to COP15/CMP5, gave a broad account of the negotiations in Copenhagen including Turkey's position. He first descried the extent of necessary global action to combat climate change as required by the climate science. He then presented the positions of major group of Parties in the negotiations before and during the Conference comparing the views of developed and developing country Parties. In explaining Turkey's difficulties in climate talks, he depicted Turkey's position with a formula of 40+1+150 where Turkey stands alone in between 40 developed and 150 developing country Parties. He pointed out the sharp contrast between Turkey's overall foreign policy achievements in recent years and its low performance in climate talks. He also noted the urgent need to improve institutional capacity

of the country to implement measures laid down by climate change regime. In this context, the MP emphasized the need to draw up policy documents outlining the NAMAs to be undertaken by the country.

Dr. Semra Cerit presented an analysis of the key elements of the Copenhagen Accord in comparison with the expectations based on the draft negotiating text before the two negotiating groups. She described the conference outcome as a “constructed failure” by referring to the discussions and statements in the process leading up to Copenhagen. She then addressed the discussions on possible new venues for climate talks put forward in the aftermath of the Conference stemming from the observations of shifting powers and emerging new coalitions within the regime, referring particularly to the proposals to continue talks under G-20 or MEF, conceptualized as “partial multilateralism” as an alternative to UN system based on consensus decision-making. Concerning Turkey’s possible action in response to the Copenhagen Accord, she noted the difficulty for the country to position itself in either of the Appendixes due to its Annex I Party status and intention to associate with the document as a developing country. She also pointed out the need for transformation of country’s development policy and development planning tradition informed by a carbon-oriented conceptualization of development in order for the country to get to grips with emerging requirement to devise a low carbon growth/development strategy.



Dr. Etem Karakaya, in assessing the Copenhagen Conference, first reminded the participants his low expectations from the Conference by referring to his remarks at the MURCIR’s Panel in 2009. He outlined three possible ways out from the impasse in climate talks by making an analogy with the economics. Accordingly, the first best option is to secure global cooperation against a global problem (preventing climate talks from the fate of WTO talks), the second best option is to forge regional agreements or action, and the third way would be unilateral action by individual countries or organizations. He then introduced his proposal for possible actions that can be taken by Turkey to reduce emissions and associate itself with the Accord. He suggested that Turkey would increase the level of ambition in its emissions reduction target. Comparing the pledges of major developing countries, he proposed that Turkey would adopt a no-lose target and pledge a % 20 emissions reduction target against business as usual levels by 2020.

Ömer Madra, Açık Radyo, who closely followed both formal negotiations and civil society activities both at Bella Center and Klima Forum, criticized the Conference for failing to produce a binding agreement. By referring to the remarks of Dr James Hansen of Goddard Institute, Madra commented that the Conference was better not to have an agreement which would have been weaker than what was necessary. He questioned viability of any agreement based on cap-and-trade mechanism. Madra reminded participants of the calls by small island developing states such as Maldives and Tuvalu to reach a binding agreement. Providing an extensive account of the civil society engagement in Copenhagen, he noted the emergence of a new global social movement organized around calls for climate justice. He also mentioned initiatives intended to lead a rights-based global climate action, including People’s Climate Conference to be held in April in Bolivia by the invitation of President of Bolivia.

Dr. Sibel Sezer Eralp, REC Turkey, first introduced REC Turkey and its projects in the field of climate change in particular and environment in general. She informed participants about the the climate change regime, negotiating structures and civil society engagement in the process. She then presented a vivid visual account of the Copenhagen Conference with accompanying notes on the day to day progress of negotiations. Dr. Sezer Eralp also drew attention to activities by civil society, business and local governments.

Hande Baloğlu from TÜSİAD, in her informative speech on “the role of private sector and business in combating climate change in Turkey”, called for an integrated approach to climate policy by emphasizing the linkage between energy policy, industry investment, regional development, local government among others. She underlined that environment and climate policies are important for industry because of their impacts on national and international markets. She then described low carbon economy with its implications for private sector. She presented Turkey’s climate related indicators in comparison with global and European trends and noted the increase in total and per capita emissions and high emissions-intensity of the economy, a source of concern for international trade. In her assessment of the Copenhagen Accord in the context of Turkey’s response, she pointed out uncertainties concerning the status with which the country would associate itself with the Appendixes by referring the fact that Turkey is an Annex I Party with special circumstances. Baloğlu drew attention to finance as the main impediment before investments for climate change and environment. She also presented TÜSİAD’s, the first business NGO accredited to UNFCCC, views on Turkey’s climate policy which call for completion of inventories, action plans, strategies and improving legal and institutional capacity. In concluding she reminded that Turkey should make good use of the time until COP16 with a view to achieving its goals.

The Panel, attended by academics, students, NGOs and the media provided an opportunity to discuss the Copenhagen Conference and its outcomes from different perspectives and gave a strong impetus to MURCIR’s work in the area. Panel speeches will be available online on our website.

Youth and Politics

January 13, 2010

Moderator:

Büşra Ersanlı (Prof., Marmara University, Department of Political Science and International Relations)

Panelists:

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Ulaş Mert Olkun (Student, Marmara University, Department of Political Science and International Relations): umo87@hotmail.com

In his presentation, Yörük Kurtaran focused on the definition(s) of the youth. He argued that age could not be accepted as the sole criteria to define the youth and discussed various perspectives in the society having influence on the definition of the youth. Throughout his speech, Kurtaran shared his experiences with some of the youth groups in the workshops or projects of the Youth Studies Unit of Bilgi University.

Yüksel Taşkın specifically mentioned about two researches conducted in 2007 and in 2009 to understand the political tendencies of Turkish youth. While the former was a quantitative survey, the latter was a qualitative one. In his presentation, Taşkın argued that in Turkey, the values endorsed by the youth do not significantly differ from those of their families. As a proof to his argument, he revealed some figures of the mentioned researches. He also shared his observations on the youth of the political parties.



Emrah Çınar's talk focused on the political scene in Turkey. He emphasized the need for a "democratic public" and complained about the extension of the private into the public realm and confinement of the public to a much narrower space. Throughout his speech, Çınar based his arguments on the experiences from daily life.

In his presentation, Ulaş Mert Olkun expressed his views on politics in Turkey through criticizing "core-periphery" analysis of Turkish politics. In doing this, he did not reject the core-periphery approach, but he emphasized the need to redefine the concepts of "the core" and "the periphery" in Turkey. He specifically suggested that instead of defining the conservative political elites as the periphery, the discriminated sections of the society should be accepted as the real periphery in Turkey.

WEDNESDAY TALKS

Dr. Alper Kaliber

"Reassessing Europeanisation as a Quest for a New Paradigm of Modernity: The Arduous Case of Turkey"

October 21, 2009



Dr. Alper Kaliber talked on the problematisation of the mainstream usage of the term Europeanisation and the notions of change and modernisation it has embraced. He argued that "to comprehend better socio-political transformations that Europeanisation triggers, two theoretical moves are needed. First, a clear distinction should be made between EU-isation as a formal alignment with the

EU's institutions, policies and legal structure, and Europeanisation as a wider context embracing other institutions of European integration and inter-civilisational, trans-societal exchanges in Europe. Second, EU-isation/Europeanisation should be relocated into modernisation as a project of political modernity".

To substantiate his arguments, Kaliber referred to the arduous case of Turkey; a case where the EU-isation/Europeanisation distinction matters and both have triggered large-scale public debates about the nature of domestic regime and its modernisation. He argued that "mainly two discourses of modernisation (Republicanist and Integrationist) have come to the fore. While Republicanists has come to defend a state-led, militantly secular and ethno-nationalist modernisation, the Integrationists are in favour of a more inclusive, pluralist and society-centric paradigm. The opponents of this debate are evoking different conceptions of Europe and Europeanness to justify their visions of modernisation and development. Therefore, Europeanisation impacts upon Turkish

society as a historical socio-political context where the norms, values, and institutions presumed as European are integral part of public debates and modernity discourses in the country”.

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Dr. Çağdaş Üngör

China's Battle of Persuasion: Radio Peking's Turkish language broadcasts during the Cold War

November 4, 2009



“Cold War era is traditionally analyzed through the lens of high politics (i.e., diplomatic, military, strategic issues). Yet when confronting the opposite bloc, major players of this conflict, the US, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China opted more for 'cultural persuasion' mechanisms than conventional means. Foreign language publications (books, magazines, pamphlets, etc.) and radio broadcasts have become critical instruments in this battle of persuasion. Throughout the Maoist decades (1949-1976), the PRC regime used its foreign language media to reach peoples who were not reachable by official/diplomatic channels. Radio Peking, which was assigned the task of publicizing China's 'peaceful' foreign policy and the successes of the socialist revolution, launched its Turkish language broadcasts by 1957.” Based on the case study of Radio Peking's Turkish section, Dr. Çağdaş Üngör examined China's challenges in reaching and convincing foreign audiences throughout the Cold War years.

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Dr. Nurşen Gürboğa

Power, Politics and Legitimacy in the Countryside: Alanya Municipality 1914-15, 1928-29

November 18, 2009

“Modern municipal government in the Ottoman Empire was constituted and institutionalized during the second half of the 19th century, when a set of intense political, economic, administrative and legal changes transformed the state and society. The municipal government was established first in the port cities and some other important commercial centers, and subsequently in the countryside where the inhabitants had no in need of various municipal services. Formation of municipalities in the important urban centers led various studies consider municipal government mainly as an urban phenomenon, thereby underestimate rural dimension of the matter”. In her speech, Dr. Nurşen Gürboğa investigated the complex relations between the municipal government of Alanya, a small town on the coastal line of Mediterranean region of Anatolia and various strata of the local population, through examining the register books of 1914-15 and 1928-29, covering decisions of municipal council.



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Assoc. Prof. Serhat Güvenç

New Faces of Turkish Foreign Policy: Think Tanks

December 2, 2009



“Since the mid-1990s, foreign policy has increasingly been subject to public debate in Turkey in line with the liberalization of domestic politics. The recent proliferation and diversification of think-tanks in the country stand both as a consequence of and a reaction to this development. Business community, media,

ethnic groups and other actors of civil society now seek to influence foreign policy and challenge the monopoly of the civilian-military bureaucracy in the policy-making through think-tanks. In the process, think-tanks have become convenient tools for both rising and traditional actors of foreign policy making. The actors that seek to influence foreign policy have discovered the utility of think-tanks in enlisting public support to the policy choices they offer". Within this framework, Assoc. Prof. Serhat Güvenç provided an account of evolution of Turkish think-tanks from historical perspective. Then, he addressed domestic and international conditions that facilitated think-tank involvement in foreign policy making in Turkey. Finally, he discussed the main features of Turkish think-tanks in comparative perspective to answer the question if it is possible to talk about a 'Turkish model'.

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Dr. Suna Gülfer İhlamur

Romanian Orthodox Churches in Italy: The Construction of Romanian-Italian Transnational Orthodox Space

December 16, 2009

Dr. S. Gülfer İhlamur talked on the role religious institutions play in the articulation of transnational ties as well as the processes through which transnational migration triggers structural and socio-cultural changes in the way religious life is organized and experienced. In this framework, she analyzed the way in which the Romanian Orthodox Church (ROC) acts, organizes and positions itself within the religious landscape of Italy following the mass immigration of Romanians, its adaptive practices and socio-religious role within the receiving context and implications of this experience within the sending context as well as the extent of the ROC's agency within the Romanian-Italian transnational migration space. She also analysed and evaluated the transnational agency of the ROC in constructing and maintaining the Romanian-Italian transnational landscape. Dr. İhlamur argued that "the evidence from the field work demonstrates that the ROCs and Romanian Orthodox communities in Italy go through important changes, as could be observed in the transformation of the ROCs into community centers and main representatives and reproducers of ethno-religious identity, the transformation in the role of the Romanian Orthodox priests who become community leaders and main agents in community building, increasing migrant religiosity as an adaptive means and as an important element in reconstruction of the migrant's identity and the transnationalization of the parish church and communities through the formation of network of churches in Italy and Europe and articulation of transnational ties with the sending context".



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MURCIR ACTIVITIES

* İbrahim Mazlum has participated in the Consortium Meeting of the FP-7 Research Project application titled "Future European Security Roles in the Global Context" in Brussels on November 10, 2009. The Project Consortium includes International Institute for Strategic Studies (U.K.) as the coordinator, Marmara University (Turkey), Crisis Management Initiative (Finland), Swedish Defence Research Agency (Sweden), Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (France), Hague Centre for Strategic Studies (Netherlands) and Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland).

MURCIR NEWS

News from the Department

* The Department of Political Science and International Relations participates in the Erasmus Intensive Program (IP) titled “Towards a Diversified or Standardised Europe?”. The Program coordinated by Erasmus University Rotterdam is a consortium of eleven partner universities. Our Department joins the Program in 2010 with a teaching staff and two students. Some members of the Department and the Program gathered in a meeting in January 2010 and explored the grounds for future collaboration. Also, S. Gülfer İhlamur attended the Program in Albir (Alicante) Spain for the duration of one week from 13 February to 21 February 2010 as a lecturer.

* Ayşegül Sever conducted her researches at Wolfson College, Oxford University as a Visiting Scholar in the period between September 28, 2009 and December 24, 2009.

* S. Gülden Ayman and İbrahim Mazlum participated in RNSSC (Regional Network of Strategic Studies Centers) New Delhi, India Plenary Meeting, co-hosted by (NESA) Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies and the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) between 18 November and 21 November 2009.

Recently Published and Forthcoming Books

Nurşen Gürboğa, *Mine Workers, The Single Party Rule and War. The Zonguldak Coal Basin as the Site of Contest (1920-1947)*, Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2009 (Winner of the 2006-2007 Doctoral Dissertation Prize in the Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centers Bi-annual Competition).

Semra Cerit (ed.), *Post-2012 Climate Change Negotiations Guidebook*, Ankara: UNDP and Ministry of Environment and Forestry, (with co-editors Bahar Ubay and Serdil Cevheri).

Recently Published and Forthcoming Articles

Çağdaş Üngör, “Tayvan Sorunu: Toprak, Temsil, Aidiyet”, (Taiwan Problem: Territory, Representation, Identity) in Kemal İnat, Burhanettin Duran, Muhittin Ataman (eds), *Dünya Çatışma Bölgeleri, (World Conflict Zones)*, Istanbul: Nobel, 2010, (3rd ed.) (forthcoming).

Çağdaş Üngör, “Çin ve Üçüncü Dünya” (China and the Third World), *Istanbul SBF Dergisi, (Journal of Istanbul University Faculty of Political Sciences)*, No. 41, October 2009, pp.27-38.

Ebru Oğurlu, “Multicultural Europe?”, *Marmara Journal of European Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1-2, 2008, pp. 59-77.

Ebru Oğurlu, “A Test Case for Democratic Consolidation Processes in Central and Eastern Europe: Citizenship”, *Near East University Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, No.1, April 2009, pp. 51-70.

Emel Parlar Dal, “Le nord d’Irak: facteur de stabilité ou déstabilité pour l’Irak?” (Northern Iraq: Stability or Destability Factor for Iraq?), *L’Euroorient*, Edition l’Harmattan, Autumn 2010 (forthcoming).

Günay Göksu Özdoğan, “Turkish Nationalism Reconsidered: The ‘Heaviness’ of State-patriotism in Nation-Building”, in Ayhan Aktar, Niyazi Kızılyürek and Umut Özkırımlı (eds.), *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle: Cyprus, Greece and Turkey*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

İdil Tunçer Kılavuz, “The Role of Networks in Tajikistan’s Civil War: Network Activation and Violence Specialists”, *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 35, No. 5, September 2009, pp. 693-717.

İdil Tunçer Kılavuz, “Political and Social Networks in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan: ‘Clan’, Region and Beyond”, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 28, No. 3, September 2009, pp. 323-334.

- Murat Yeşiltaş, "Soft Balancing in Turkish Foreign Policy: The Case of the 2003 Iraq War", *Perception: Journal of International Affairs*, 2010 (forthcoming).
- Murat Yeşiltaş, "İkinci Lübnan Savaşı: Bir Yeniden Değerlendirme" (The Second Lebanon War: A Reappraisal), *Akademik Ortadoğu Dergisi (Academic Middle East Journal)*, February 2010 (forthcoming) (with Ali Balcı).
- Murat Yeşiltaş, "İran 2008 İç/Dış Politika" (Iran 2008 Domestic and Foreign Policy), Kemal İnat, Burhanettin Duran, Muhittin Ataman (eds.), *Ortadoğu Yıllığı 2008 (Middle East Annual 2008)*, İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2009.
- Nurşen Gürboğa, "Compulsory Mine Work: The Single-Party Regime and the Zonguldak Coalfield as a Site of Contention, 1940-1947", *International Review of Social History*, Volume 54, Supplement S17, December 2009, pp 115-142.
- S. Gülден Ayman, Sven-Eric Fikenscher, Anton Khlopkov, Hui Zhang, "Undermining the Zonal Concept? The Role of External Powers as Arms Suppliers and Alliance Partners", *Contemporary Security Policy*, Special Volume on Missile Free Zone in the Middle East/Gulf (forthcoming).
- S. Gülден Ayman, NATO's Transformation and Turkey, in Andrea Carati and Carlo Frappi (eds.), *NATO in the 60th Anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty. Challenges and Strategic Divergences from National Perspectives*, ISPI (Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale), FrancoAngeli, Milano, 2009, pp.117-133.
- S. Gülден Ayman , "Turkey Courts Russia on Energy", *Thomas More Institute, Global Issues*, online at http://institut-thomas-more.org/pdf/370_en_GAyman-Sept2009.pdf
- S. Gülден Ayman, "Tehran-Ankara: Challenges of Iranian Turmoil", *Thomas More Institute, Global Issues*, online at http://institut-thomas-more.org/pdf/355_en_GAyman-July2009.pdf
- S. Gülден Ayman, "Prospects for the Normalization of Turkish-Armenian Relations, *Le interviste dell' ISPI*, online at <http://www.ispionline.it/it/3domande.php?idDom=29> (commentary).
- Semra Cerit, "Küresel İklim Değişikliğine Karşı Yerel Çözümler: Yerel İklim Politikalarının Karşılaştırmalı İncelemesi (Local Solutions to Global Climate Change: A Comparative Analysis of Local Climate Policies)", 4. *Ulusal Yerel Yönetimler Sempozyum Bildirileri-2 (Proceedings of the National Symposium on Local Governments-2)*, K. Ufuk Bilgin, A. Akay, K. Ertan (eds.), Ankara: TODAİE, pp. 1009-1025.

Conferences and Seminars

- Büşra Ersanlı, "'Demokratik Açılım' Sürecinde Dil, Kimlik ve Güvenlik" (Language, Identity and Security during the Period of 'Democratic Openness'), *Symposium on Law Systems and Ethnicities*, Bursa Uludağ Üniversitesi (Uludağ University), November 5-7, 2009 (forthcoming).
- Çağdaş Üngör, "The PRC's Propaganda Apparatus during the Cold War: Challenges and Setbacks", *Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting*, Philadelphia, PA, March 25-28, 2010 (forthcoming).
- Çağdaş Üngör, "21. Yüzyılda Çin: Sınıf, İmtiyaz, Ayrışma", *Birikim*, (forthcoming).
- Emel Parlar Dal, "Backsliding of the East-Central Europe Yype democracy: Polish and Czech Cases", *Conference on Recasting the Peaceful Revolution of '89 Roots and Legacies*, Centre for Baltic and East European Studies, (CBEES), Södertörn University, Stockholm, October 22-24, 2009.
- Emel Parlar Dal, "Entre caution 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, (the proceedings will be published in 2010).
- Günay Göksu Özdoğan, "Problems of Secularization of Armenians in Post-Lausanne Turkey: Torn Between Communal Pressures and State Authority", *Annual MESA Conference*, Boston, November 21-24, 2009.
- Günay Göksu Özdoğan, "From an Ottoman 'loyal' millet to Demanding Citizens: Armenians Torn Between Communal Survival and Civic Action for Democratic Rights since 1990's", *Problems of National Identity and Citizenship in Contemporary Turkey*, Lund University, Lund, Sweden, October, 29, 2009.
- İbrahim Mazlum, "Dicle-Fırat Havzası'nın Hidropolitliği ve Türkiye-Suriye-Irak İlişkileri (The Hydropolitics of the Euphrates-Tigris Basin and Turkish-Syrian-Iraqi Relations)", *Türk Dış Politikası Güncel Sorunları Üzerine Değerlendirme Toplantısı - I (Meeting on the Current Issues of Turkish Foreign Policy-I)*, Sakarya University, Sakarya, 1-2 October 2009.
- Murat Yeşiltaş, "Bir Yönetim Zihniyeti Olarak Türkiye'de Egemen Devlet Güven(siz)liği ve 'İstisna Hali'" (State of Exception and Sovereign State (In)Security as an Issue of Governmentality in Turkey), *XI. Ulusal Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi (XI. Turkish Social Science Congress)*, Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği (Turkish Social Science Association), METU, Ankara. December, 9-11, 2009.
- Nuray Bozbora, "Ali Pasha Tepelana in the Turkish Historiography of Republican Era", *Ali Pasha Tepelana*, co-organised by U.F.O University (Tirana), the Institute of History (Tirana) and the Centre for Albanian Studies (London), Tirana, September 27-30, 2009.
- S. Gülden Ayman, "Prospects of Cooperation or Confrontation in Afghanistan", *International Conference on Iran and the West* organized by FOI (Swedish Defence Research Agency) and Landesverteidigungsakademie (Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies-National Defence Academy, Stockholm, October 7-8, 2009.
- S. Gülden Ayman, "Iran's Nuclear Program: American, European, and Turkish Responses", *International Conference on Iran's Nuclear Development Program and Turkey's Responses*, organized by the Istanbul Policy Center at Sabancı University in partnership with the German Marshall Fund of the United States, December 18, 2009, Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Istanbul.
- S. Gülfer İhlamur, "Transnational Role of the Romanian Orthodox Church: The Case of Italy", *KAM Eurasian Talks*, Religion Identity Politics II, January 2, 2010.
- S. Gülfer İhlamur, "Migration-Development Nexus in EU Migration and Asylum Policy-Making", *Symposium on Migration and Urban Poverty*, financed by the EU and organized with the technical support of the Consortium headed by DeLeeuw International, October 16, 2009, Ankara.
- Sandrine Bertaux, "Reappraising French Demography in the Era of Fascism and the Cold War, 1920s-1950s" *Fertility in the History of the 20th Century: Trends, Theories, Public Discourses and Policies*, sponsored by the working group on Fertility and Society's Development, Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldina and Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, January 21-23, 2010.
- Sandrine Bertaux, "'Discriminate but do not persecute': Fascist Reminiscences, the Boundaries of Italian Citizenship, and the Borderlands of the European Union", *The Dynamics of European Borderlands*, co-organized by New York University and Rutgers University, New York, October 28-November 1, 2009.

Semra Cerit, “İklim Değişikliği ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet (Climate Change and Gender)”, *Çevre, Kadın ve İklim Değişikliği Toplantısı (Meeting on Environment, Gender and Climate Change)*, Turkish National Commission for UNESCO, December 21, 2009, Ankara.

Sezgi Durgun, “Ulusal Topraklardan Uluslararası Mülke: Alanya’da Emekli Göçü (From National Territory to Transnational Property)”, *Türkiye’de Ege ve Akdeniz Kıyılarına Olan Uluslararası Emekli Göçü Paneli (Panel on International Retirement Migration to South and Aegean Coast of Turkey)*, February 19, 2009, Bilgi University, İstanbul.