



POLİS AKADEMİSİ BAŞKANLIĞI

Polis Akademisi, 3201 Sayılı Emniyet Teşkilatı Kanununun 18. Maddesi gereğince orta ve üst kademe yöneticilerini yetiştirmek üzere, Polis Enstitüsü adı altında bir yıllık meslek içi Yüksek Okul olarak 6 Kasım 1937 yılında kurulmuştur. Emniyet Teşkilatı'nın ihtiyaç duyduğu diğer branşlardaki personel ihtiyacını karşılamak amacıyla, 3201 sayılı Emniyet Teşkilatı Kanunu kapsamında 1989 yılında deşiklik yapılarak 1991 yılından itibaren Fakülte Yüksek Okullar (FYO) adı altında öğrenci alınmaya başlanmıştır ve bu hizmetlerin yürütülmesi için Polis Akademisi görevlendirilmiştir.

Polis Akademisi 25 Nisan 2001 tarih ve 4652 sayılı kanunla, Polis Üniversitesi anlayışıyla yeniden yapılandırılmıştır. Bünyesinde eğitim hizmeti veren Güvenlik Bilimleri Fakültesi, Güvenlik Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 27 Polis Meslek Yüksek Okulu ve Fakülte ve Yüksek Okullar bölümü ile üniversite statüsüne kavuşturulmuştur. 2002 Yılında kuruluştaki tamamlanan Güvenlik Bilimleri Enstitüsünde 9 ana bilim dalında (Adli Bilimler, Ceza Adaleti, Güvenlik Stratejileri ve Yönetimi, İstihbarat Araştırmaları Programı, Suç Araştırmaları, Ulaştırma Güvenliği ve Yönetimi, Uluslararası Güvenlik, Uluslararası Güvenlik (İngilizce) Programı, Uluslararası Terörizm ve Sınırötesi Suçlar Programı) yüksek lisans eğitimi verilmesi 18.03.2002 tarihli Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu Yürütme Kurulunca onanmıştır ve Anabilim Dalları kurulmuştur. 4 Nisan 2015 tarih ve 6638 sayılı yasal deşiklikle birlikte Güvenlik Bilimleri Fakültesi, Polis Amiri Eğitim Merkezine dönüştürülmüştür. Polis Akademisi bünyesinde halihazırda 13 Polis Meslek Yüksek Okulu ve 26 Polis Meslek Eğitim Merkezi Müdürlüğü bulunmaktadır.

Polis Akademisi Başkanlığı, güvenlik çalışmaları alanında lisansüstü eğitim veren yüksek öğretim kurumları arasında Ulusal ve uluslararası düzeyde lider bir kurum olmayı amaçlamaktadır. Güvenlik Bilimleri Enstitüsünün (GBE) temel amacı, Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü ve Polis Akademisi'nin ihtiyaç duyduğu alanlarda öğretim elemanı ve güvenlik bilimleri alanında uzman personel yetiştirmektir. GBE, kamu ve özel sektöre kurs ve sertifika programları da düzenlemektedir. Bu amaçları desteklemek üzere GBE, bilimsel toplantılar, sempozyumlar, konferanslar ve seminerler de düzenlemektedir.

Polis Akademisi Başkanlığı

Polis Akademisi Başkanlığı Eymir Mah. 49. Sokak PK:06834 Gölbaşı, Ankara /
TÜRKİYE

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TURKISH NATIONAL POLICE ACADEMY

Turkish National Police Academy was founded on 6 November 1937 as *Police Institute*. Not only its name, but also regulations governing it, its primary mission and functions have undergone changes over the years. It changed in 1962 into a school with three years curriculum; it later became a school with four years curriculum in 1980. On December 6, 1984, Police Institute became Police Academy with four years bachelor's degree higher education agency according to Turkish Constitution article 132 and Turkish Higher Education Act article 2. Police Academy started to accept students from other universities to meet the demands of Turkish Police Organization for different specialized branches such as engineers, medical doctors, and lawyers in 1989. Faculty and Higher Education (FHE) Department was founded to deal with the coordination of Turkish Police Organization's demands and students' education and trainings programs.

Police Academy was reorganized on April 25, 2001, with the Act numbered 4652 as a police university. Police Academy changed into a university status with Faculty of Security Sciences, Institute of Security Sciences, and 27 Police Vocational School of Higher Education. Institute of Security Sciences within Turkish National Police Academy was founded in 2002 with nine departments, Forensic Sciences, Criminal Justice, Security Strategies and Administration, Intelligence Studies, Crime Studies, Transportation Security and Management, International Security, International Security (in English), and International Terrorism and Transnational Crimes. There are nine master's degree and two doctoral degree programs at Institute of Security Sciences. With the most recent legal change in 2015, Faculty of Security Sciences has been transformed into Police Chief Training Center. There are 13 Police Vocational School of Higher Education and 26 Police Vocational Training Centers in its organizational structure.

As an institution of higher education the Police Academy's goal is to provide the Turkish National Police's human resource demands, to run education and training programs, to carry out scientific research, to make publications and to consult agencies for security issues.

Turkish National Police Academy

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ULUSLARARASI TERÖRİZM ZM ve GÜVENLİ K ARAŞ TIRMALARI MERKEZİ (UTGAM)

Uluslararası Terörizm ve Güvenlik Araştırmaları Merkezi, 10 Ekim 2006'da Polis Akademisi Araştırma Merkezleri Başkanlığı bünyesinde kurularak faaliyetlerine başlamış olup şu an itibariyle Güvenlik Bilimleri Enstitüsü bünyesinde faaliyetlerini sürdürmektedir.

Her biri alanında uzman araştırmacılardan oluşan kadrosuyla hizmet veren UTGAM, teoriyle pratiği bütünleştirerek özellikle politika yapıcılara, karar vericilere ve uygulamacılara terörizm, sınıraşan suçlar, insan ticareti, göçmen kaçakçılığı, uyuşturucu kaçakçılığı, organize suçlar ve siber suçlar gibi güvenliği ilgilendiren alanlarda bilgi üretiminde bulunmaktadır.

Bu çerçevede, ulusal ve uluslararası bilgi üreten araştırma merkezleri ve güvenlik aktörleriyle işbirliğini geliştiren UTGAM, bugüne kadar pek çok seminer, çalıştay, konferans ve sempozyum organize etmiştir. UTGAM ayrıca diğer yayınları ve raporlarıyla da topluma ve güvenlik aktörlerinin bilgi havuzuna katkıda bulunmaya devam etmektedir.

UTGAM, ulusal ve uluslararası güvenlik açısından son derece kritik olan terörizm ve sınıraşan suçlarla mücadele konusunda bilimsel araştırmalar ve analizler yaparak çözüm önerileri üretmeyi öncelikli hedefleri arasında görmektedir. Merkez olarak misyonumuz, ulusal ve uluslararası alanda kamu, özel sektör, sivil toplum kuruluşları, üniversiteler ve düşünce kuruluşları arasında bir ahenk tutturarak güven toplumunun inşasına katkıda bulunmaktır.

Uluslararası Terörizm ve Güvenlik Araştırmaları Merkezi (UTGAM)

Polis Akademisi Güvenlik Bilimleri Enstitüsü

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INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR TERRORISM AND SECURITY (UTGAM)

The International Center for Terrorism and Security (UTGAM) was established on October 10, 2006 under the Department of Research Centers of the Police Academy, but currently operates as part of the Institute of Security Sciences.

With its highly qualified and specialized team of researchers, UTGAM merges theory with practice and generates information particularly for policy-makers, decision-makers and practitioners in various fields of security such as terrorism, transnational crime, human trafficking, migrant smuggling, drug trafficking, organized crime and cybercrimes.

Within this mainframe, UTGAM has improved cooperation with national and international research centers and security actors and organized several seminars, workshops, conferences and symposia. UTGAM's other publications and reports continue to contribute to the academia, decision makers and security actors.

One of the main priorities of UTGAM is to conduct scientific studies and analyses and ultimately generate recommendations for solution in the fight against terrorism and transnational crime, a critical challenge facing national and international security. Our mission is to institute synergy across public, private and civil society organizations, universities and think-tanks at national and international level and thus contribute to building the society of confidence.

International Center for Terrorism and Security (UTGAM)

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Symposium Program

**7th International Symposium on
Terrorism and Transnational Crime
(UTSAS 2015)**

“Global In/Security and Regional Geopolitics”

December 4-6, 2015

9:00 A.M.–5:30 P.M.

Aska Lara Resort & Spa, Antalya

Kemera□zı Mevkii

07100 Kundu, Antalya, Turkey

When discussing the conference on Twitter, please use the
hashtag **#UTSAS2015**

DECEMBER 4, FRIDAY

Registration

8:30 A.M.–9:00 A.M.

Welcome

9:00 A.M.–9:45 A.M.

Necati ANAZ

Director, UTGAM

Osman KÖSE

Vice Rector, Turkish National Police Academy

M. Celalettin Lekesiz (TBC)

Governor & General Director of Turkish National Police

H.E. Efkan Ala (TBC)

Turkish Minister of Interior

Keynote Speaker

Colin FLINT

Utah State University

* * *

PHOTO

&

Coffee Break

9:45 A.M.–10:00 A.M.

* * *

Panel One
Charting 'Security' Today
10:00 A.M.–11:40 A.M.

Imtiaz AHMED
Dhaka University
Regional Center for Strategic Studies

Birol AKGÜN
Yıldırım Beyazıt University
Chair, Institute of Strategic Thinking
(SDE)

Fabrizio EVA
University Ca' Foscari Venice

Mehmet Akif KİREÇÇİ
Bilkent University
Chair, Ankara Center for Political and Economic Research
(ASEM)

Moderator:

Osman KÖSE
Vice Rector, Turkish National Police Academy

Q & A

* * *

Lunch Break
11:40 A.M.–14:00 P.M.

* * *

Panel Two
Global Geopolitics - Regional Focus
14:00 P.M.–15:45 P.M.

Dalia GHANEM
Carnegie Middle East Center

Mehmet ÖZKAN
*Regional Director of Latin America, Turkish International Cooperation and
Coordination (TİKA)*

Mohammad Salih MUSTAFA
University of Exeter

Hakkı UYGUR
Al-Sharq Forum, TRT World

Moderator:

Cemalettin Kani TORUN
Member of Turkish Parliament

Q & A

* * *

Coffee Break
15:45 P.M.–16:00 P.M.

* * *

Panel Three
Middle East in Flux
16:00 P.M.–17:45 P.M.

Didier CHAUDET
Islamabad Policy Research Institute
Sciences Po Paris

Vugar İMANBEYLİ
İstanbul Şehir University

Ezzeddine ABDELMOULA
AlJazeera Center for Studies

Hasan KÖSEBALABAN
Five College Research Associate
Five Colleges

Moderator:

Mehmet ŞAHİN
Gazi University
Institute of Strategic Thinking
(SDE)

Q & A

* * *

Cocktail
8:00 P.M

DECEMBER 5, SATURDAY

Panel Four

DAESH and Foreign Fighters

09:00 A.M.–10:40 A.M.

Ceren YAZGAN

*Deputy Director General for Security and Intelligence Affairs
Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

Skënder PERTESHI

*Kosovar Center for Security Studies
(KCSS)*

Nathan PATIN

Bellingcat

Murat ASLAN

Yıldırım Beyazıt University

Moderator:

Cemalettin HAŞİMİ

*General Director of Press and Information
Chief Advisor to the Prime Ministry
The Director of the Public Diplomacy*

Q & A

* * *

Coffee Break

10:40 A.M.–11:00 A.M.

* * *

Panel Five
Peace Process: In Tatters or in Layover?

11:00 A.M.–12:30 P.M.

Şaban KARDAŞ

Chair Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM)

Luis De La CALLE

*Director, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas
(CIDE)*

Murat ÇEMREK

Necmettin Erbakan University

Mehmet Emin EKMEN

Lawyer and Former Member of Turkish Parliament

Moderator:

İhsan AKTAŞ

Chair, GENAR

Q & A

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Lunch Break

12:30 P.M.–14:00 P.M.

* * *

Panel Six

Islamophobia and (De)Radicalization

14.00 P.M.–15:40 P.M.

Yunus KAYA

Istanbul University

Hilal BARIN

*Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research
(SETA)*

Muhammad SAIFUL

*S.Rajaratnam School of international Studies
(RSIS)*

Mehmet KÖSE

Vice President, Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities

Moderator:

Ahmet UYSAL

*Marmara University
Institute of Strategic Thinking
(SDE)*

Q & A

* * *

Coffee Break

15:40 P.M.–16:00 P.M.

* * *

Panel Seven
Media and Terror

16:00 P.M.–17:30 P.M.

Darren PURCELL
University of Oklahoma

Yusuf ÖZHAN
Editor, External News Service
STAR Newspaper

Turan KIŞLAKÇI
TRT Arabic

Mücahit KÜÇÜKYILMAZ
Presidency of the Republic of Turkey

Moderator:

Necati ANAZ
Director, UTGAM

Q & A

* * *

Gala Dinner
19:30 P.M.

DECEMBER 6, SUNDAY

Panel Eight

Security and Geopolitics: An Appraisal
09:00 A.M.–10:45 A.M.

Colin FLINT

Utah State University

Mesut ÖZCAN

*Director, Diplomacy Academy
Rep.of. Turkey Ministry of Affairs*

Ahmet UYSAL

*Marmara University
Institute of Strategic Thinking
(SDE)*

Christopher COKER

*The London School of Economics and Political Science
(LSE)*

Moderator:

Muhsin KAR

Yıldırım Beyazıt University

Q & A

* * *

Closing

11:00 A.M.

* * *

ABSTRACTS

DECEMBER 4, FRIDAY

Colin Flint

Can we help you? Academic geopolitics and the problems of policy relevance

Geopolitics has become popular again. It became a topic of academic study in the late nineteenth century as tensions between the great powers, and imperialist agendas, were on the rise. After the Second World War academics ignored the topic of geopolitics, but it is now a field of great interest in geography, international relations, and other disciplines. In addition, commentators and politicians across the world are increasingly using the term “geopolitics.” Perhaps this is a cause for concern as the classical geopolitics of the nineteenth century was the precursor of the two world wars. And yet, the many issues facing the world today (such as terrorism, civil war, refugee crises, and nationalism) would benefit from a geopolitical analysis. The problem is that scholars of geopolitics are wary of making mistakes of the past and shy away from analysis with clear policy prescriptions. This decision leaves the door open for politicized interpretations of the world that are closely tied to particular national and ideological agendas. So, what room is there for an academic geopolitics that is objective but also practical? This question is explored by describing the geopolitical tenets of world-systems analysis and exploring its ability to understand ongoing political crises and related pressing policy demands.

Imtiaz Ahmed

Terrorism beyond Reason: Possibilities and Limits

Few would dispute the fact that there are different forms of terrorism. Earlier I had identified more than 25 forms of terrorism and clustered them into four groups on the basis of ‘reason’ and the manner in which terror had been rationalized for reproducing the power of the state and non-state or subalterns (i.e. the marginalized). While terrorism identified with the reason of the state and the subaltern or even the one that is identified with both is not difficult to understand, there is still a dearth of knowledge in understanding the use of terror *beyond* reason or the one that I choose to call, *post-rational terrorism*, resulting mainly from suicide bombing. I will limit my focus on Bangladesh for it too had a share of such terrorism, particularly following the arrival of religio-centred terrorism and suicide bombing. The objective of the paper, however, would be to explore the epistemological and doctrinal foundations of such terrorism.

Fabrizio Eva

Always late. The inability/incompetence of the so-called international community to solve the geopolitical dynamics.

The “stability” of the pretended international state system is the mantra of the global “Order”. A “state” system in which actually was not so important the institutionalization of the states (recognized, failed, quasi-, de facto, non-state) if they were effective pieces of the “stability” puzzle. Only five-to-ten small group of decision makers are the countries called “international community” claimed by the mass media and by the political leaders. Among them the logic of poker (when and how doing a bluff) and the assertion of power seem to be the main concern and geostrategic-political tools. Considering the increasing number of no-state actors and dynamics and/or actions (purposely in the Mediterranean Sea and The Middle East) the self-evident spread between official political statements and chosen means, and the concrete dynamics in action, for dealing successfully with them it is necessary to change the dominant approach and Iconographies (a la Gottmann).

For preventing(or solving) a critical geopolitical dynamics which is going to drift to (or is already) a violent conflict it would be necessary to act quickly considering the real factors of solution which are not the iconographic concept of “sovereignty” and “territorial integrity”(widely used in the official statements), as usually declared by political leaders and spread by the mass media, but 1) the shape of the territory and the climatic conditions, 2) the iconographic premises (history, pretended heritage, myth, etc.) of the human grouping in the local territory, 3) the language and the “genre de vie” (lifestyle) of the existing human groups and their distribution in the territory.

Accepting the idea that human groups are able to decide along a bottom-up path and that they are able to take “rational” and not only emotional decisions are the basic premises for solving crisis; and giving time along with granting to everybody a minimum level of economic conditions and hope in the future.

Dr. Dalia Ghanem-Yazbeck

Based on my research experience in a country that was the scene of jihadist violence (Algeria), this paper offers a discussion on the radicalization process and the appeal of extremist groups such as the so-called Islamic State to youth (both Arabs and Westerners). In looking at this conflict, one can see that there are certain similarities between the reasons for which thousands of youth are joining the Islamic State and the Algerian experience of the 1990s. In short, I will be discussing the drivers that entice youth into jihadism based on my interviews with former Algerian jihadists. Then, the paper will shed light on the threat of the Islamic State (IS) organization in North Africa with a focus on Algeria, which is the last bulwark *against terrorist and violent extremist groups that are spreading in Tunisia, Libya and Mali*. Is the IS organization a real threat for North Africa or a publicity stunt? What are the security challenges that the region is facing ?

Hakki UYGUR

As one of the most important actors in the Middle Eastern political geography, Iran is a country which has achieved to attract constantly the attention of the international community, especially since the Islamic Revolution of 1979. The Islamic Revolution, Iran-Iraq War, its influence in post-Saddam Iraq, and recently the nuclear tension with the West and its direct interference in the Syrian crisis demonstrate the country's dominant role in the region. The Arab Spring led to instabilities in the 30 year-old foreign policy of Iran as in other countries. Although it has established close relationship with the Islamist opposition in the region either through its discourse or through its practices for the last 30 years, Iran found itself supporting the only secular Arab nationalist dictatorship in the region due to the Syrian crisis, and the Hezbollah, well-known for its fight of decades against Israel, has come to a point to risk the lives of thousands of its militants for the sake of protecting the leader of the Baath Party who once said "if we leave, the region will completely fall under the control of Islamists." Particularly, the nuclear agreement which was signed with 5+1 countries led by the USA in September has some properties that may be a milestone for the national and foreign policy of Iran. According to most observers, the essential reason why Iran reached an agreement with the West at the cost of restricting largely its activities is its economic situation. The embargos together with the approximately fifty per cent of decline in oil prices negatively influenced the economy of Iran, which is obviously observed in the country. The circles desired to be excluded from the scene of politics for the last 10 years currently want to make use of the social optimism and expectations created by the nuclear agreement and this down-wind, they desire signing under a great turnabout in Parliamentary elections to be held in February 2016. It is still ambiguous for now how those who has had the luxury of ruling without rivals for the last 35 years will manage the new period. In this paper, we will briefly handle the historical background of the problems in which Iran is involved today as an effort to make a better explanation of its current policies, and then we will try to explain its position, intentions and targets in current issues.

Didier Chaudet

The fight against transnational jihadism: the Iranian perspective

The latest terrorist attacks in Paris have shown us that transnational jihadism, inspired by ideological groups like Al Qaeda and Daesh, is an international issue. But the first victims of such groups are people from the Muslim world in general and from the Middle East and South Asia in particular. For Iran, a country at the crossroads between what we schematically call the Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent, the threat is of particular importance. Iran faces an international jihadist issue in the Sistan-Balochistan area. Some of its most important neighbors (Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan) are plagued by radical Islamist rebellions, with a strong anti-Shia element. And Tehran has involved itself in Syria as well as in Iraq not only for very real geopolitical reasons, but also because it sees Daesh (IS) as a threat for its national interests. The goal of this analysis will be to show how Iran is dealing with the jihadist threat as a

whole and to assess the political and military choices made so far by Tehran in that regard.

Vugar İmanbeyli

Putin's Gambit in Syria: A Look inside the Russian Politics

On 30 September 2015, when the Russian president Vladimir Putin decided to deploy his military in Syria, his gambit radically changed balance of power in the ground. Assad forces supported by Russian bomber aircraft have gained self-confidence and tried to recapture positions from the opposition groups. Here it should be asked why Syria turned to be the most important security issue for Russia. Many analysts have emphasized global and regional interests of Russia. Russian officials promote "a war against terror" discourse. But this paper argues that internal dynamics played a decisive role in sending military units to Syria. In this context, the paper analyzes Russian internal politics, nature and composition of Putin's regime, internal difficulties emerged after the Ukrainian crisis, and the recent challenges posed to the Putin administration. It argues that the Syrian gambit facilitates consolidation of the ruling elite and provides more legitimacy to the current regime.

Hasan Kösebalaban

The Syrian Conundrum: New Security Challenges and Policy Options for Turkey

This paper explores the challenges facing Turkish foreign policy in the context of recent evolution of the Syrian crisis to a stage characterized by direct interventions of global powers. The evolution of ISIS to a sophisticated terror organization with a global reach and capacity has altered the political calculations of Western powers vis-à-vis the Syrian crisis, presenting serious security challenges for Turkey. Especially significant for Turkey is transformation of perceptions regarding Iran and the Assad regime from problem-makers to stabilizers. Furthermore, the ISIS terror threat has led in major world capitals to regard the PKK-linked PYD as a formidable anti-ISIS counter-force worthy of receiving military assistance. The paper discusses alternative policy options for Turkey to counter the new security environment.

Ezzeddine Abdelmoula

Post-Arab spring geopolitics and the new Middle East

For the last five years, the Middle East and the Arab world in particular have undergone a significant geopolitical transformation. The changes that took place in many parts of the region following the Arab spring revolutions are unprecedented in our modern history. The Arab spring brought with it hopes for democracy, stability and social justice, but all these promises seem to have gradually faded away. The Counter-revolution, both at the domestic and regional levels, has so far succeeded in restoring and consolidating authoritarian rule in certain countries, but the cost has been extremely high. Violent conflicts of all sorts, widening insecurity and continuous attempts of fragmentation are among the apparent dangers threatening stability and the unity of an increasing number of countries. These new dynamics may bring the long established regional order to an end and redraw the map of the post-

WW1 Middle East. This changing setting is redefining the geopolitics of the region and repositioning regional power and their inter-relations.

DECEMBER 5, SATURDAY

Nathan Patin

The Other Foreign Fighters: An Open-Source Investigation into American Volunteers Fighting the Islamic State

An estimated 20,000 to 30,000 foreigners have traveled to Syria and Iraq to fight with the Islamic State (IS) and other Sunni jihadist groups. Of those, roughly 150 to 200 are American citizens. This report seeks to shed light on a related, yet understudied phenomenon, namely, that of Americans traveling to Syria and Iraq to fight *against* IS. While there have been a number of vignettes in the media highlighting particular Americans or groups of Americans who have traveled abroad to combat IS, this is the first systematic study, relying solely on open-source information, to provide a concrete understanding of not only the scale of anti-IS American foreign fighters, but also their backgrounds and motivations.

Luis de la Calle

Nationalist peace processes in Europe: A three-actor solution

Terrorist groups are those unable to seize territory and militarily defeat their rivals. For this reason, their best prize is to bring the state into the negotiation table and extract some concessions. In the case of groups with separatist goals, the bargaining range is quite large, concessions going from full independence (such as Israel, Cyprus, and Kosovo) to some level of autonomy (such as Corsica), in exchange for giving up their weapons and returning to legality. Their best strategy to reach that goal is to infringe such a high level of violence on their rival that the latter prefers bargaining that enduring the costs associated to violence.

Negotiating, however, is not only a matter of two --terrorists and the government. To reach an agreement, terrorists rely on a political front, which can show support for terrorists' goals in the streets, the polls, and the booths, giving them legitimacy. And by the same token, governments also rely on voters and public opinion. Weak terrorists are rarely taken seriously, and fragile governments have no popular mandate to negotiate. Thus, every negotiation involves a three-actor bargaining process with lawmakers and terrorists sitting next to each other at the same table, and the populace waiting behind the door to sanction or strike down the potential agreement.

This makes every negotiation even more complex, since governments and terrorist leaders not only must internally balance hawks and doves to avoid splinters and defections, but also they have to consider the potential public support (within each constituency and outside) for every solution.

Thus, it is no surprise that few terrorist conflicts are solved through political negotiations. The experiences of Northern Ireland, Basque Country and Corsica indicate that peace processes only succeed when governments and terrorists' political fronts can reap the peace dividend –usually through electoral victories at the expense of more moderate nationalist groups. Hawks threatening with derailing peace processes if no political gains are fixed by the agreement may be satisfied with bright electoral prospects that would grant local power to the hitherto political outcasts. And governments reluctant to talk to terrorists could give it a second thought if the polls anticipate an electoral dividend for the one bringing violence to an end. As these two realizations rarely go in line, peace processes tend to fail, as illustrated by ETA and the FLNC.

Murat Çemrek

**What to do with the Peace Process? N/either Keep in the Fridge
N/or Put it into the Microwave**

Although the Kurdish problem is as old as or even older than the Turkish Republic, for many years either it has been neglected or identified with the PKK terrorism at least in the last thirty years. With the end of the Soviets what has been earlier swept under the carpet -such as identities- in the name of security has come fore to be named as ghosts this time. Even today it is not easy to notice and comprehend identities from based on the ethnicity, religion and sects to gender beside the official national identity. Thus, peace process, besides being a conflictual buzzword, has been a hot topic of the Turkish politics for sometime. It has been named as national unity and fraternity project not to attract Turkish nationalist anger. On the eve of the June 7 general elections the tensions between the main actors of peace process have strained in the public discourses, which has been commented as the heavy load of the elections on the sides. Since the June 7 general elections resulted in the November 1 snap elections and the concomitant government everyone asks each other about the fate of the peace process. Then it is the best time to evaluate possible scenarios based on the statement of President Erdogan's about the peace process to be in the fridge as keeping it there or putting it into the microwave.

Darren Purcell

The role of popular culture, particularly humor, is of increasing importance in critical geopolitics.

This article examines how humor is used to frame the Arab Spring for American audiences. Sifting through the jokes for references to places, events and significant actors, the data was mapped to show what places and events were mentioned in the monologues. The jokes were interpreted through critical discourse analysis to identify the themes invoked by the comedians. Results. The Arab Spring countries most mentioned were Libya, Egypt and Syria. The majority of the jokes about these countries work through combinations of incongruity theory and the exploitation of extant caricatures of leaders. Additionally, the jokes reflected concerns over US actions in the region and simultaneously, US leadership's seeming inability to craft a coherent plan to address the events. Conclusions. We establish the link to

humor and geopolitical imagination noting that the themes of American policy, American leadership, regional corruption and caricatures of leaders comprised many of the jokes, crafting a particular worldview of the region as intractable.

Muhammad Saiful Alam Shah Bin Sudiman **Alternative Approaches to Terrorist Rehabilitation**

Countering terrorism requires three types of responses. First, it requires kinetic response to disrupt the operation and end terrorist kinetic capabilities. Second, is to disrupt terrorist group's financial support through effective and robust countering terrorist financing monitoring mechanism that is supported by domestic and international law. The third response aims to win the hearts and minds of terrorist and former terrorist through several modes of rehabilitation. Religious engagement is one of terrorist rehabilitation mode. It is a response to religious dimension centred by terrorist Islamist groups. This paper discusses two approaches employed in religious rehabilitation. The first approach is termed as the **Teacher-Student Approach**. Concepts such as "functioning knowledge," the "deep approach to learning" and "constructive alignment" are used to describe methodologies that are being used in this mode of rehabilitation to cultivate a higher level of learning within the cognitive domain. The second approach is known as the **Da'i-Mad'uw** relationship. Da'i refers to the Muslim individual that takes upon him to propagate Islam to others. Mad'uw is the individual who is benefitting from this, regardless of his faith affiliation.

M. Mücahit Küçükyılmaz **Medyanın terörü, terörün medyası**

Modern dönemde medya ile terör arasındaki ilişki hem gazetecilik etiğinin, hem de mesleki pratiğin tartışma alanlarından biri olmuştur. Terörün yıldırma, dehşet salma işlevini görmesi için iletişim araçlarına ihtiyaç duyması; iletişim araçlarının da yayma, dağıtma işlevi nedeniyle bu iki kavram arasında riskli bir bağ oluşmaktadır. Kitle iletişim araçları ve propaganda teknikleri sayesinde kamuoyunda etki alanı oluşturulan terör örgütleri, bugün kendi yayın organlarına ilaveten kaotik sosyal medya ortamında, çoğu kez "kullanılabilir aptallar" üzerinden nüfuz ve güç kazanmaktadır. Mesela IŞİD terör örgütünün yayın organı Dabık, Tayyip Erdoğan ile Barack Obama'yı hedef göstererek kapakla taahhüdünde, BBC Türkçe sitesi bunu "IŞİD'in dergisinden Erdoğan ve Obamalı kapak" diye vermekte; haberi alıntılaman Türkiye'deki bazı siteler ise "IŞİD dergisi Erdoğan'ı kapak yaptı" başlığıyla hem terör örgütünün manipülasyonuna alet olmakta, hem de kendilerince Erdoğan ile IŞİD arasında irtibat bulunduğunu algısı oluşturmaya çalışmaktadır.

Oysa terör haberlerinin özenli verilmesini savunan, ancak Türkçe servisinde son dönemde militan gazeteciliğin ince örneklerini veren BBC'nin terörle ilgili yayın ilkelerifarklı bir durumu işaret etmektedir.2005'te Londra'da gerçekleştirilen terör saldırısının ardından, BBC tarafından hazırlanan "Yayın İlkeleri: Savaş, Terör ve Acil Durumlar" başlıklı metin, gazetecinin savaş, terör olayları ve doğal afetler gibi durumlarda nasıl davranması

gerektiğini ortaya koymuş ve bu ilkeler İngiliz medyası tarafından benimsenmiştir.

Söz konusu metne göre:

1. Haberci, olayla ilgili tüm edindiği tüm bilgileri güvenlik güçleriyle paylaşmak zorundadır.
2. Bir terör saldırısı söz konusu olduğunda muhabir haberi hazırlarken; editörlerine ve yöneticilerine danışmak, onlardan onay almak zorundadır.
3. Haberin “tonu”, en az güvenilirliği kadar önemlidir. Kamuoyunda oluşan duygu yoğunluğu, korku ve panik havası nedeniyle habercinin, konuyu ele alırken “hassas” davranması gerekir.

Ayrıca İngiliz medya yöneticileri, muhabirlerini “izleyicinin duygularıyla oynamamaları ve olayları sansasyonel biçimde aktarmamaları” konusunda uyarılmıştır. Aynı şekilde İngiliz yayıncılar, herhangi bir biçimde suçla teşvik eden ya da cesaretlendiren unsurlara yayınlarında yer vermeme konusunda ortak karar almışlardır.

Ancak Türkiye’deki terör saldırıları söz konusu olduğunda, BBC ve benzeri uluslararası yayın kuruluşları ile ulusal medyanın önemli bir kısmı terörü övücü, şiddetin boyutunu abartan, toplumda ve dış dünyada yılgınlık ve dehşet oluşturacak şekilde, hatta failin bizzat devlet olduğunu bildiren bir terör haberciliği sergilemektedirler. Buna göre, söz konusu ilkelerin BBC açısından sadece Britanya sınırları içerisinde ve İngiltere’nin çıkarları söz konusu olduğunda geçerli olduğunu düşündürecek bir çifte standart ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu durumda, medya terör ilikisini, gazetecilik etiğil-ulusal çıkar çatışması parantezinden çıkararak; kamu yararı ve güvenliği meselesi olarak ele almakta fayda bulunmaktadır.

Hilal Barın

Bir Kültürel İrkçilik Formu ve Nefret Suçu Olarak İslamofobi

İslamofobi, 11 Eylül 2001 tarihinde Amerika’da gerçekleşen saldırılardan sonra, Batı’da sıklıkla kullanılan kavramlardan biri olmakla birlikte sadece yakın zamana özgü bir kavram değildir. İslamofobi hem İslam’dan korkma ve ürkme hem de Müslümanlardan çekinme ve onlardan hoşlanmama şeklinde tezahür eden irrasyonel bir korkudan, fobiden kaynaklanan çeşitli söylem, tutum ve tavırlar bütününden oluşan bir olguya dönüşmüştür. 11 Eylül’de gerçekleşen saldırılardan sonra, gerek Avrupa’da gerekse de Amerika ve Avustralya’da yaşanan Müslüman kıyılar, inançlarından dolayı ekonomik, sosyal ve siyasal düzeyde ayrımcılığa maruz kalmaya başlamışlardır. Batı toplumlarında İslamofobi söylemlerinin yükselmesiyle, İslâm’ın Batı kültürüyle ortak değerleri olmayan, batılı değerlerle çatışan ve bu değerleri ortadan kaldırmayı gaye edinmiş bir din, hatta dinden de öte siyasal bir ideoloji olduğu yönündeki argümanlar yaygınlık kazanmaya başlamıştır. İslamofobinin yaygınlaşmasıyla, Batılı toplumlarda antisemitizmin yerini, anti-İslamizmin almıştır. İslamofobi ile oluşturulan korku ve nefret ile birlikte, Müslümanlara karşı yapılan ayrımcılık ve ırkçılık meşrulaştırılmaya çalışılmış ve Batılı toplumlarda yaşanan Müslümanlar, “Yeni Kuşak Siyahlar” konumuna gelmişlerdir. İrkçilik, yabancı düşmanlığı, önyargı, ayrımcılık,

dıġlanma, terör gibi kavramlarla tanımlandıġı görülen İslamofobi'nin ortaya çıkmasında ve yaygınlık kazanmasında sosyal, kültürel, tarihî, dinî vb. çok çeġitli sebepler etkili olmuġtur. Yeni bir ırkçılık türü olarak İslamofobi, din ve medeniyet alanlarında, temel hak ve hürriyetleri ihlal eden, müeyyidesi olmayan bir ayrımcılık türüdür. 19'uncu yüzyılın sonu ve 20'inci yüzyılın baġında ortaya çıkan ve ırk ve renk üstünlüğüne dayanan ırkçılıktan sonra 1950'li ve 60'lı yıllarda yaygınlaşan kültürel ırkçılık da bugün büyük oranda bir nefret suçu olarak tanımlanmakta ve cezalandırılmamaktadır. Irk, renk ve kültür ırkçılığı ve anti-Semitizm konusunda gösterilen hassasiyet, iġ İslam'a ve Müslümanlara saldırmaya, hakaret etmeye geldiğinde ikircikli bir tutum sergilenmektedir. Müslümanlara sırf dinlerinden, inançlarından ve kültürlerinden dolayı nefret duyulması, bu insanların aġaġılanması, ayrımcılığa tabi tutulması, sözlü ve fiili İddete maruz bırakılması, ırkçılık ve ayrımcılıktır ve bu saikle yapılan her eylem, bir nefret suçudur ve insan hakkı ihlalidir. Anti-Semitizm ve diġer ırkçılık türleri gibi, İslamofobi'nin de bir kültürel ırkçılık formu ve nefret suçu olarak tanımlanması ve cezai müeyyidelere bağlanması istenmektedir. Tebliġimizde bu bağlamda İslam ve Batı medeniyetleri kıskacında bir kavram olarak incelenecek İslamofobinin Müslümanları ne derece etkilediġi ve İslamofobinin yeni bir kültürel ırkçılık formu ve nefret söylemi/suçu olup olmayacağı tartışması ortaya konacaktır.