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American Presidential Elections in 2016: Post-Truth



Berkay BULUT



Every year, Oxford University Press chooses the word of the year. In 2005 “sudoku”, in 2009 “unfriendly” and in 2013 “selfie” were chosen. Lastly, in 2016 “post-truth” was chosen. Post-truth have deep meanings although it looks like ordinary at first. Post-truth is the cunning name nowadays. The “post” is used outside of the general use and it shows insignificance of the concepts which come before, that means this word mentions insignificance of the truth. In that way, one can influence the masses and make them believe in reality which is fictionalized, not the truth. This situation is important and dangerous not only in societies but also in governments. One example of this has been witnessed in the previous years. A news site wrote; if Pakistan sends troops to Syria, Israeli Defense Ministry would be destroyed Pakistan by using nuclear weapons. In response to this, Pakistani Defense Minister threatened Israel with nuclear weapons. Fortunately the reality about event was learned right away and fixed. The funniest thing is that the word which remains on the agenda did not come to light at present since this word was used for a theatre play in 1992 by Ralph Kates and in a book which is called “The Post Truth Era” in 2004. Post-truth is used by politicians nowadays effectively that is why most probably it became the word of the year. As an influential way of manipulation of reality for gaining support from the masses, this method is used professionally by American President Donald J. Trump. This can be seen clearly in American Presidential Election in 2016.

President Donald J. Trump, the winner of American Presidential election in 2016, who became the forty-fifth president of the United States of America, is accused of manipulating the elections and choices of voters not only before but also during the election. Although President Trump has delivered unusual and strange speeches, with the help of his advisers, he completed electoral campaign successfully. However, President Trump’s speeches during electoral campaign which includes post-truth and populist elements were not the only source of his victory. Besides, social media as the most influential source of communication nowadays, has used effectively during the electoral campaign. Among them, the most influential sources to manipulate voters by using their personal accounts, are Facebook and Google accounts. Actually, this case appears recently after the emergence of a video of CEO of the The Cambridge Analytica which is a consulting firm. Cambridge Analytica worked with Trump’s advisers during the elections, and it is revealed that commonly used social media application, Facebook has shared many information about users including their political ideologies, social and religious notions, briefly various determinants of their voting behaviour. Experts state that this unlawful usage of data has affected approximately 87 million Facebook users. As CEO of the Cambridge Analytica confessed, the company used those information to create fake news to gather support for Trump’s presidency and each fake news were created for each user. This scandal has shook the prestige of Facebook that

Mark Zuckerberg had to testify in House of Representatives and the legitimacy of Trump's presidency.

Donald J. Trump's presidential victory over Hillary Clinton is still debatable even today since there are serious claims about the electoral campaign of Trump that he manipulated voters and Clinton's email scandal. However, President Trump managed to win the elections by using political genius, with the help of his advisers, on his rhetoric during the electoral campaign. He has used post-truth and populist oriented speeches especially on issues like migration, taxation, unemployment and the prolonged Syrian War which are the sensitive issues.

Among those issues, migration takes a different place. Trump took turn, manipulated the voters by expression his opposing views about migration and claiming to build a wall along the Mexican border. Moreover, in 2017, he prohibited the entrance of seven Muslim countries' citizens such as Syria, Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Yemen and Somalia. He also declared that in United States, almost none of the Muslim immigrants have been assimilated, without any concrete record.

"Assimilation has been very hard. It's almost — I won't say nonexistent, but it gets to be pretty close. And I'm talking about second and third generation. They come — they don't — for some reason, there's no real assimilation."

However two surveys in US revealed the opposite of Trump's claims about Muslim assimilation in USA. In 2011, Pew Research Center published a survey which describes 1000 Muslims in USA are highly assimilated. %60 of them, do not feel in a conflict between being a Muslim and living in a modern country with adopting an American way of life. They expressed their satisfaction with national conditions in the USA. Besides, they indicated that they have no hesitation to display American flag in their homes or offices with embracing American culture. Secondly, Gallup Poll in the same year, showed that %69 of Muslim Americans identified themselves extremely or very strongly with US. For many Muslim, US is more proper place for them rather than Europe with which had a colonial past. Thus, trump's claims about low rate assimilation among Muslim Americans is a baseless claim. However, he selected such a sensitive topic with post truth and populist elements to gain support and votes of Conservative Americans and others who are sensitive about Muslim immigration. In here, another question mark remains. Why assimilation matters in such a society dominated with hyphenated American identity.

Trump's False Claim About Mexico's Violence

American President Donald Trump who comes up to wish building wall on Mexican border falsely tweeted that "Mexico is now rated the number one most dangerous country in the world." The main reason is persuade the Congress for pass a temporary budget bill for the wall. One of the reasons of Trump's insistence for budget bill is it include funding for a border wall, a demand Democrats have opposed. Trump made his case for wall funding in a Jan. 18 tweet:

"We need the Wall for the safety and security of our country. We need the Wall to help stop the massive inflow of drugs from Mexico, now rated the number one most dangerous country in the world. If there is no Wall, there is no Deal!"

However, there is a problem in this speech. A great majority of illegal drugs passes undetected through legal ports of entry, mostly in hidden chambers of passenger vehicles and tractor trailers. But here, we are focusing on Trump's incorrect claim that Mexico is "now rated the number one most dangerous country in the world." Mexico's Foreign Ministry quickly responded against Trump's tweet and they said "While Mexico has a significant problem of violence; it is manifestly false that Mexico is the most dangerous country in the world. According to UN figures for 2014 (the most recent international report), Mexico is far from being one of the most violent countries. In Latin America alone, other countries have homicide rates higher than Mexico's (16.4), which is far below several countries in the region."



This discourse is literally true because when we considered per capita, other countries in the region including El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala have far higher rates of homicide, according to the latest Global Study on Homicide compiled by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. Countries rate of violence cannot measure with the rates of homicides of them. These rankings do not include war-related killings and deaths from internal conflicts, which are far higher in countries such as Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and Yemen. Despite all, in June 2017 Trump tweeted that: “*Mexico was just ranked the second deadliest country in the world, after only Syria. Drug trade is largely the cause. We will BUILD THE WALL!*” All the available independent analyses contradicted the president’s claim and it shows us once again the power of the post-truth!

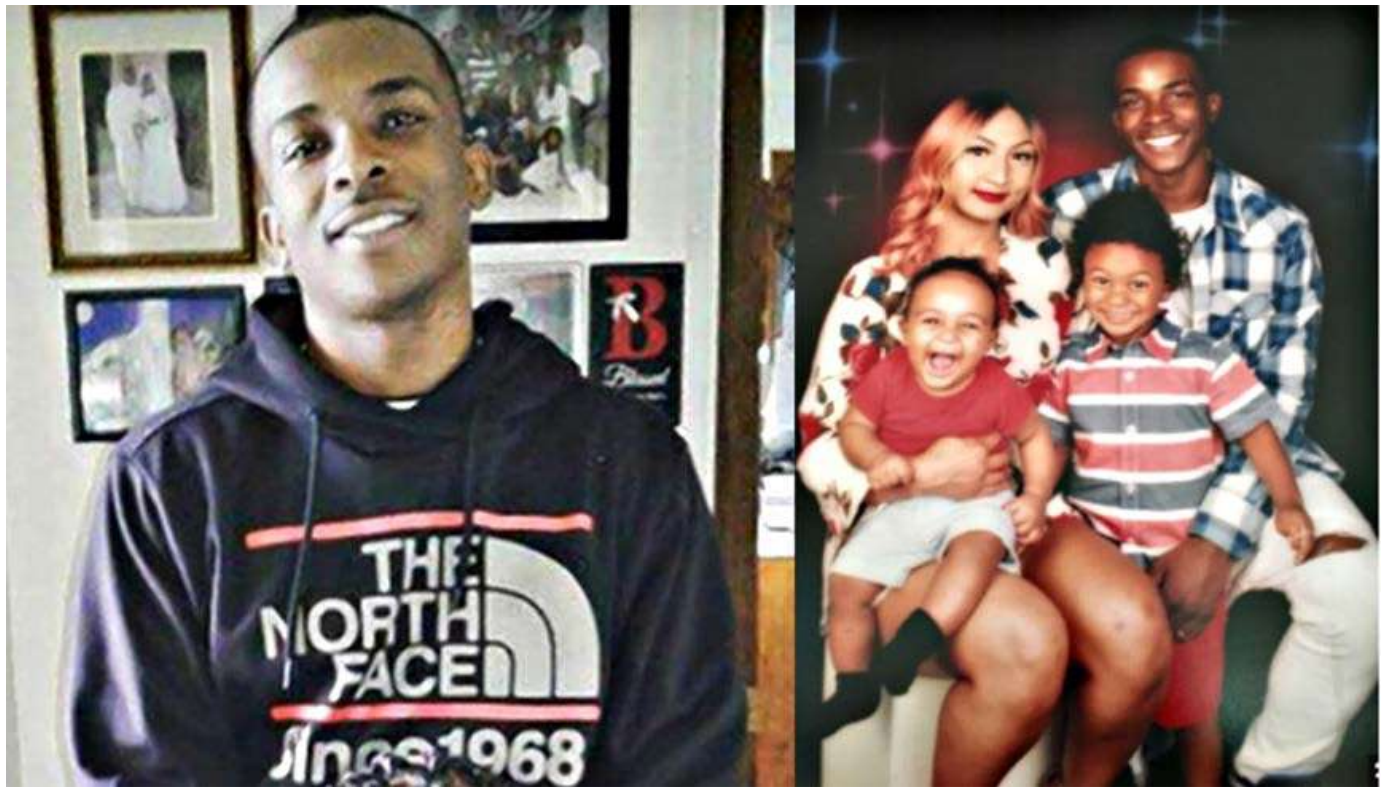
Chosen by Oxford University Press as a word of the year in 2016, “post-truth” reflects the prominent present world and domestic politics. Together with populism, post-truth has been used by the President Donald J. Trump in the US Presidential Election in 2016. Therefore, it is not surprise that post-truth had been chosen as a word of the year simultaneously with the US elections. US presidential election in 2016 has resulted with the victory of President Trump, mainly by virtue of his strategies for elections which were mainly characterized by discourses of populism and post-truth. In order to gather support from American public, President Trump has used those discourses mainly on sensitive issues which shape public opinion such as immigration, unemployment, US military presence in Afghanistan and Iraq, building a wall on the Mexican border. During the elections, Trump indicated that as an opponent of migration especially on Muslim immigrants, assimilation of Muslim communities in the United States is very rare. However, most surveys and interviews revealed that Muslims in the US mostly feel themselves as a part of the US apart from their Muslim identity. They embrace the national emblems of the US and American identity, and there are many Muslims who have already served in the army, in the Congress. Besides, during the election Trump pointed out Iraq War. However he was in contradiction with his previous ideas and speeches about Iraq War. Yet during the election, Trump preferred to indicate that he was totally against the US intervention to Iraq since the beginning of it. In 2002, during an interview he said that this is the time to finish the conflict correctly and the US had to do something about it. In 2003, he declared this step led to military success. However he changed his mind due to his financial concerns after the Iraq War. Moreover, Trump accused President George W. Bush as a liar several times due to his claims about weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, although he refused.

BLACK DEATH IN CALIFORNIA

Özge ASILSAMANCI



In recent days, there was mobility in California. The reason of this mobility; in the USA, the capital of the state of California, Sacramento a young black man who is 22-year-old was killed by police by shooting 20 times.



In their initial press release regarding the scene, police said that officers were answering to a report of someone breaking car windows near the home where a man, later identified as Stephon Clark, lived with his grandparents. Sacramento Sheriff's Department helicopter ensured some methods and reported seeing Clark in a backyard. Over and above, they saw Clark pick up a "toolbar" and use it to break a window in the housing. Clark then professedly ran toward the front of the house and started looking into another car. After hustle and bustle, police fired upon Clark 20 times and Fire Department personnel said that Clark dead at the scene. In another news release, Sacramento police said that there was no firearm located at the venue of the shooting when they shot at Clark 20 times. They only found his cell phone.

What about autopsy?

Dr Bennet Omalu, the judicial pathologist who managed the detached autopsy, said at a briefing that any one of seven projectiles that entered the upper half of Clark's body could have killed him.

Hundreds of California protesters switch off motorway and kept step in the state capital. Sacramento demonstrators shouting “Shut it down” disrupted rush-hour traffic and blocked thousands of NBA fans from entering the Sacramento Kings arena to protest against the killing of Stephon Clark.

A game between the Kings and Atlanta Hawks was played before about 2,000 fans in the 17,000-seat arena. The protesters finally was scattered, and no arrests were made. After the game, the Kings owner, Vivek Ranadivé, addressed the small crowd from central court, encircled by Sacramento’s players and coaches, and expressed sympathy for Clark’s family. Vivek Ranadivé said that about it;

“

We are so sorry for your loss. We at the Kings recognize people’s abilities to protest peacefully and we respect that. We here at the Kings realize that we have a big platform. It’s a privilege but it’s also a responsibility. It’s a responsibility that we take very seriously and we stand here before you, old, young, black, white, brown, and we are all united in our commitment.

”

Stevante Clark described his brother Stephon as an outgoing person who was dedicated to his children, in a local television interview: “He was a person who everybody wanted to be around. We came from underprivileged, broken homes, but he didn’t care about nothing else but his kids.”





Elif BAKAR

When the state commits a crime against humanity, the speakers of international organizations say they are “fearful, anxious” and then they go back their life. How effective are international organizations in crimes against humanity? How accurate is it to shelter behind the problems?

When countries live under international legal conditions attack another country live on the same conditions, for unnecessary reasons -when they do not respect their sovereignty-, the state under attack is not protected by international law. It is clearly seen that it is mentioned from states' interests, not from law. J.J. Rousseau mentioned this subject in his book which is called 'Social Contract'; the individual has to connect his or her power to the others, the same connect can be also valid for states. States can leave their sovereign rights to international organizations by making a contract but what about the states which do not support this contract, do not recognize superior power from themselves because of their egoistical politics. These kind of states cannot also be ignored. According to J.J. Rousseau which state is valid? Are the states that do not recognize the dominant power from themselves? Or are the states that who have left the sovereign rights to international organizations by contract? It would not be right to limit it to

Rousseau, the answer to this question is still uncertain and also it is still being discussed nowadays.

The contradiction of international law is shown itself here. One side of the contradiction is universal, and the other side of the contradiction is based on the claim of sovereignty. As the world consists of sovereign states, the answer must be given to the question of why governments should follow international law which is defined as 'the whole of the rules among the sovereign states'. The absence of the answer to this question is making contradiction between universality and sovereignty. This is one of the basic problem of international law and this issue is still not on the agenda, do not our contemporaries have to bring this issue up to date? While the Spaniards were looking for ways to penetrate South America, the contradiction first realized by Vitoria and now it is called the problem of Vitoria, they are hiding behind him saying it is his problem.

Does not it come to the mind how they are ignoring?



Despite international organizations, wars and clashes are not diminishing, when we look at the whole world, international law rules are violating. Historically, we can see many examples, not only in previous times but also in the present day. The selfish politics and interests of the great states led to the First and Second World Wars; It is thought-provoking that countries do not give up their same policies after World War II. If we look at the purposes of international organizations like League of Nations and later the UN, this should not be happen. Today, there are problems in the Middle East, Afghanistan which have not been solved. - there can be many examples as it is not mentioned here- In addition to trying to solve them, there is many events which is not appear. 45 mine workers who were striking in South Africa were killed and it is not heard. Many great states have just watched Myanmar massacre. The international organizations which are mentioned here, do not take concrete reaction. It is understood that the international legal system needs to be restructured. Also according to many commentators, a multipolar world will emerge, including the emergence of regional leaders. That is why international organizations need to initiate work in accordance with this process.

Trump's Policy On Climate Change



Dilara SOY

With the 58th American presidential election which was on November 8, 2016, the new president of America is Donald Trump. Not only the world was shocked but also even the US itself. A man with an aggressive, racist, anti-Muslim policy together with a distinctive attitude, now became the president of one of the world's most powerful countries. Everything that the US is done, affects the world. So with an unusual president like Trump, it was clear that changes will occur. It was predictable that he was going to have some actions that no one would guess but that he would direct the American foreign policy through his Twitter account which was unpredictable thing. It has been over a year now with Trump as a president and his plans entered into action.



One of the biggest slogans in his campaign was **'To make America great again!'** and the withdrawal of the Paris Conference was again a move for the benefit of the USA, he believes.

The climate change is a very serious and world-affecting issue and this is why countries came together and signed The Paris Climate Accord which was an international deal in which 195 countries, including the EU and China, legally ratify action to reduce the release of greenhouse gases through the United Nations Framework Convention. The agreement was signed in 2015 in France and it was the first time that countries came together just for this issue. Here are some important points of the agreement:

Keeping temperature rises below 1.5C

Governments have agreed to pursue efforts to limit warming to 1.5C above pre-industrial levels because 1.5C marks the point where there is a real danger for the world's climate and there is sadly no radical fall on the temperature.

Pledges to curb emissions

The goal is here to bring the global emissions from the very high level now to the lowest quickly as much as possible. Experts say that the net-zero emission goal will occur between 2050 and 2100. The UN's climate science panel says that net zero emissions must happen by 2070 to avoid dangerous warming. 187 countries have developed forward their plans for how to curb their emissions beyond 2020 but still, it won't be enough to keep warming below 2C and according to several analyses when the warming rises to around 2.7-3C devastating changes will occur. That's why the agreement has a review mechanism every five years to control it and to keep it under 2C.

Rich countries will help out poorer countries

The agreement requires that "developed" nations will continue to help developing countries with the costs of going green and to handle the effects of climate change.



Although it is very important for the future world, Mr. Trump had a different view. He states that he feels very strongly about the environment (as you can see with his tweets) but the Paris Accord has too many economic disadvantages and is very unfair against America in his eyes. America with being the second most polluter in the world, has not a good image in climate change. So instead of withdrawing, the US should focus more on renewable energy industries which would create jobs opportunities. Neil Bhatiya, a researcher at the DC-based think tank Center for a New American Security, told The Independent that "the administration has not been able to articulate a criticism of the Paris agreement that reflects what the agreement actually says." He even says that the US "has a lot of flexibility" in determining how to reduce emissions to meet the goals in the Paris accord.

Most people don't understand how urgent and serious the situation is. People should be more informed about this issue because if we pollute the world in an uncontrolled manner, catastrophes will occur and it will be more difficult to fix things. So for a better and more green world, things should be taken seriously and the US as one of the most influential countries, should participate in environmental agreements.

Vladimir Putin's Fourth Victory in Russia

Damla ÖZTÜRK



In presidential elections were held in Russia on 18 March 2018, Vladimir Putin won a major victory with 76.67 per cent of the vote. Putin is set to easily win a fourth term. This will be the sixth time he has run for president. He also has extended his duty term until 2024.

Although Vladimir Putin has achieved a great victory, many claims about election are made, and this situation causes to the controversies. According to opposition leaders Alexei Navalny and his supporters, there are electoral cheating and “unprecedented lawlessness” in the election. Communist Party candidate Pavel Grudinin also claims that the election is suspicious with the expression “The worst election of recent times”. Although there are some video images of irregularities in the elections, the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation denies the allegations. In addition, Russia’s Electoral Commission rejected opposition leader Alexei Navalny’s candidacy application because of the adjudication about corruption provision before the elections. For this reason, Alexei Navalny could not enter the elections. Then, Navalny and the party got a boycott decision on the elections. The second-place candidate after Putin, who entered the elections independently and won record-breaking votes, was the Communist Party leader Pavel Grudinin. The Communist Party has received 12% of the vote and it is the worst election result of its history. On the other hand, before the elections, some opposition parties and organizations announced that they would support Vladimir Putin. While these arguments and discussions continue, Vladimir Putin increases his power and his influence on the country day by day. Putin portrays a charismatic leader by paying attention his image within the country and abroad. Although he has been criticized many times because of his stiff attitude and oppression against the opposition in Russia, it seems that he is supported by the great majority of the people of Russia. For this reason, it is also believed that his success in the March 2018 elections is certain. For many people, Putin has kept Russia alive thanks to his powerful leadership after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The fact that Russia has an increasingly stronger role in the world politics and it has the right to comment on important subject during the Putin era make Putin stronger and put a spotlight on Putin. Many Russian citizens think that Putin will turn Russia into a strong Soviet Union again.

Beginning of Putin Era in Russia

The Soviet Union collapsed by experiencing internal disturbances and troubled days. Of course, this situation has mostly damaged the public. After these turbulent days, Vladimir Putin, a former KGB agent, came to St. Petersburg and met his college instructor Anatoly Sobchack. Sobchack was the mayor at the time and gave Putin a vice president role. So, Putin took the first step in politics. Later, Putin moved to Moscow and started to work in the FSB, which is the modern day KGB. He has strengthened the FSB. Later on, Putin who establishes strong connections and gets closer to Russia’s new leader Boris Yeltsin, has begun to rise with certain steps in politics. As a result, Boris Yeltsin appointed Putin as vice president. Boris Yeltsin’s unexpected resignation took place on December 31, 1999. With this, Putin became a president in March 2000 with the supports of oligarchs.

As soon as Putin took office, he took control of the media. He also made powerless oligarchs that supported him previously and prevented them from using their powers on him. Putin and his supporters got the large Russian companies that were monopolized by oligarchs one by one. He removed elections in 83 regions of the Russian Federation and appointed governors. Thus, his story of transition from the KGB agent to a strong and long time presidency began.

Today, Putin’s Russia is a force that has serious influence not only in the region but also in the world. Although the embargo that they face and face many times with the West, Russia can still voice over the word and show it’s power. The Georgian War that lived in recent years, the Annexation of the Crimea and, of course, the Russian influence in Syria clearly show this. When the impact of his presence both inside and outside the country is evaluated, Putin who has won an overwhelming victory in the last elections will take part in Russia and the world politics for a very long time.



RELATIONS OF TURKEY AND RUSSIA

Turkey's foreign policy was western-oriented from the beginning of its establishment. After the establishment of Turkish Republic, Turkey could not create a mutual relations with both Middle East and Russia due to some reasons. However, during Turkish Independence War that started between 1919-1923 period in Turkey, newly established USSR assisted Turkey and gave some financial and military aids for this movement to export communist revolution and create a satellite country. Therefore, Turkey had good relations with USSR and followed Soviet Economic Model and got financial aids from the Soviets, despite Turkey tried to locate itself as a Western country. During the Cold War, Turkey did not have independent foreign policy actions and Turkey had to have relations with America and Pro-American countries. USSR was still threat for Turkey because of some Russian claims over Turkish straits and some territories.

Mustafa Mert KOÇ



In fact, the relations started to be normalize during 1970s because of Western embargo which was Jimmy Carter's economic and military embargo and problems over Cyprus. In 1990s, at the end of the Cold War, Turkey realized that Soviet threat was over but new threats emerged such as PKK. Also, the rivalry started over the Caucasia and Central Asia to control newly established Turkish speaking countries. Turkey was using soft power elements such as economic and cultural links as TIKA and Black Sea Economic Cooperation(1992). However, Russia had more influence than Turkey because of its near abroad policy. Although, the Soviet System dissolved, these former members are not economically independent and they are bound to Russia.

In this period, Turkey used Chechen cards against Russia but Russia showed its Kurdish cards. In Nagorno Karabagh conflict, on the one hand, Turkey supported Azeris but Russia was giving support for Armenians. It was the same situation in 1990s Balkan Crisis between Albanians, Bosnians and Serbians. Turkey assisted Albanians and Bosnians in their independence efforts, but Russia chose to side with Serbians. Together with the election of Putin in 2000, the relations also began to normalize over 2003 Iraqi intervention of US that Russia was highly critical of that intervention and this led to cooperation and increase energy deals between Russia and Turkey. However, Turkey was highly depended on Russia which was an asymmetrical relation because of Turkey's highly addiction to Russian natural gas. Therefore, Turkey signed Nabuko Agreement with Austria as an alternative to Russia.



The relations started to be changed with 2008 uprisings in Georgia. Actually, Turkey was supporting Georgian government because it has good relations with that government. On the other hand, Russia was highly supporter of the separatists. Since 1970s, Syria was satellite of Russia that had military base in Tartus. It was an important weaponry market for Russia.

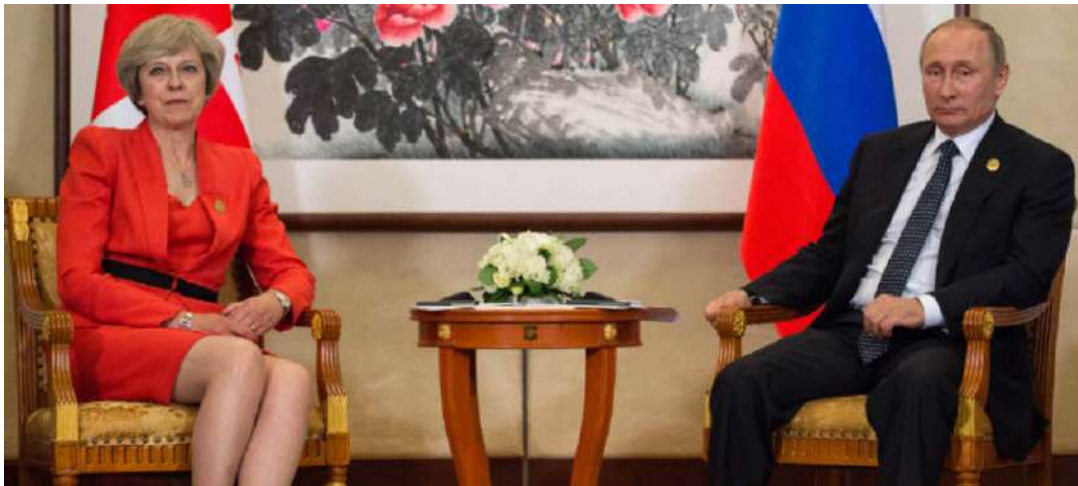


However, the uprisings started in Syria, 2011. Because of different alignment over Syria, relations started to collapse between Turkey and Russia. The reason why there are still problems in the region related with the lack of balancing powers in the international system. During Cold War, bipolar system prevented civil wars and conflicts. In 2014, Russia's annexation of Crimea took place as a result of elections in Ukraine and Turkey was highly critical of it. Actually, Crimea was turned over into Ukraine in 1954 by Nikita Khrushchev as a gift. However, it was not a gift, it was a country which was a paradox. Therefore, the problems stemmed from 1950s. Actually, these problems might led to some gaps between Turkey and Russia's relations. The intense conflict happened in 2016 by shooting Russian jet by Turkey. It led to diplomatic suspension. However, in reality, it did not led to economic suspension because of rising trade volumes.

Therefore, as it is mentioned that relations between Turkey and Russia constantly changing and today, Turkey, Russia and Iran are coming together in Sochi and Astana to find a solution and discuss the future of Syria. Their relations are only based on national interests. In the following days, Turkey might get close with Russia or not, just as Süleyman Demirel says that 24 hours is very long for politics.

Poisoning in Salisbury: Who stays behind the notorious crime which escalated the confrontation between Great Britain and Russia?

Ismaily ILGAR



British Prime Minister Theresa May accused the Russian authorities of involvement in the poisoning of former Colonel GRU Sergei Skripal and his daughter Julia. Speaking in parliament on March 12, May said that Russia was the “highly likely” behind an attempt on the Skripals. The level of antagonism and tension in May’s speech may remind Churchill’s on March 5, 1946 which is also called “Iron Curtain Speech”. Indeed it is the highest escalation point since that time.

In early March 2018, British media reported that the ex-officer of the GRU (Main Intelligence Directorate abbreviated GRU) Sergei Skripal, who was convicted in Russia for state treason, and his daughter Yulia, were poisoned with a strong poison. Both were hospitalized in critical condition. According to the British investigation, the victims were poisoned by the nerve agent “Novichok”, agent developed in Russia. The British Prime Minister Theresa May has put the blame for poisoning on Moscow. In 2006, Skripal was sentenced to 13 years in Russia for espionage in favor of British intelligence. In 2010, he was released and exchanged for Anna Chapman and other Russian intelligence agents detained in the United States. After that, Skripal granted asylum in the UK.



Sergei Skripal and Yulia Skripal

In connection with the incident in Salisbury, the British authorities have already imposed a number of restrictions against Russia. 23 Russian diplomats have been expelled from the country, members of the royal family and government will not participate the World Cup held in Russia and also the assets of Russian oligarchs in the UK can be frozen if the government finds that they can be used for illegal purposes. In addition, more than 20 countries (British allies) followed the example of Great Britain in the matter of expulsion of Russian diplomats – more than 140 diplomats were expelled because of that reason. **The main question is: to whom and why it would be necessary?**

Moscow denied its involvement in poisoning, and claims that it was the political provocation against Russia before the World Cup which will take place in Russia in summer. One of the main questions, which arises many conspiracy theories is why “Novichok” was chosen as a poison which would directly indicate the Russian trace in the crime?

“Traitors do not live long,” Putin said in 2010, predicting to those who surrender their country the unenviable and painful end of life. **Most Western experts agree that poisoning has become a message to a future traitor.** A quiet, unheard death from a heart attack would hardly have attracted so much attention to the potential traitors. It's not revenge and not the removal of a dangerous spy. It is the message for future potential spies.

The reaction of Russian propaganda and one of dominant theories in Russian public opinion is that **British secret services poisoned Sergei Skripal, in order to make Vladimir Putin slender** on the eve of the presidential elections in Russia and the World Cup. Although it seems improbable, because the intention of state bodies to arrange an attack in which not just the former Russian spy, but also ordinary English people were harmed, would be a political crisis of unprecedented scale.

The version about **Moscow's loss of control over chemical weapons** is considered by experts as almost **unbelievable and impossible**. This was possible in the difficult times of Russia 1990s, but not now.

The most probable version, which seems reasonable is that it is a demonstrative act and returns to the theme of **“parallel secret states” of Vladimir Putin**. The system that has developed under it allows for the existence of parallel structures where individuals complete a “dirty work” such as hacking, disinformation in social media, participation in military operations abroad, elimination of “traitors” or enemies of the regime. Perhaps the Kremlin does not give orders to commit crimes, but it does not seek to investigate them and does not even condemn such actions in public space.

Putin said last year: “Hackers are like artists who wake up in the morning in a good mood and start painting”. But that is what it is worth reading: as long as those people with are “patriotic” and do not threaten the authorities, but also support official - Putin will care about seriously or investigate the situation.

The attempt of murdering Skripals is not a mere crime. It is the crime which brings many difficult consequences already now. After Churchill's speech in 1946 the “iron curtain” between the West and East was built. Now we are witnessing the historical event when Russia is going to be even more isolated from the civilized world.

PAULO'S BLUE MANOR HOUSE IN MORPHOU



Melis PEKTAŞ

The Blue manor house is an interesting parcel which was completed in 1957. It was built by Paulo Pavlides in Northern Cyprus/Morphou. Paulo Pavlides was a Greek of Italian origin and his job was lawyer but under the lawyer identity, he was smuggle weapons for EOKA during the Cyprus conflict. In this manor house, Paulo always hosted famous mafias and their families. Paulo was really interesting person because the blue manor house's plan was created by Paulo's architect friend but after the building is completed, Paulo killed his friend because this manor house should not be known.



The most interesting feature of the blue manor house is that it can be seen from nowhere but you can see everything, everywhere from its location. The aim of Paulo was distributing of weapons that he brought from the sea without any problem. It is located on a hillside and there was machine gun nests around the house. During the Peace Operation, while Turkish soldiers were doing the paratrooping to Beşparmak Mountains, they were killed by the Greek soldiers who protected Paulo. Thus, area which was under the blue manor house was called the "Bloody Valley".

Paulo had a great obsession with security. The door of his study room has a special opening system, the curtains of the room are soundproof and there is a door that opens into the tunnels at the head of the bed. He

thought about everything about security. Each room of the blue manor house was painted by different colors. The guests in the manor house were sitting at the table according to their rooms' color.

Another obsession of Paulo was number 13; there are 13 rooms in the house and 13 faucets in the pool and also some people say that the house look like 13 when it was looked from above. When the Cyprus Peace Operation took place in 1974, Paulo escaped to Italy by using tunnels under his house but he was killed by a mafia in 1986





Ece Deniz BUDAK

CONGREGATION

Congregation, the dictionary meaning of this word is the human community, a crowd. In other words, the congregation is a gathering of people based on a certain belief and opinion. It also an important topic that caused confrontation between the Islamic and secu-

larists in Turkey. There are strong emotional ties between people who are members of the community. This bond is the bond of spiritual emotion. People share emotional thoughts among themselves and become united. For this reason, there is no distinction between people. At the same time, it can defined as; congregation is a system that put a community under protection. The person who administers the community expects some services from those who



affiliated with that community. If the people voluntarily join the congregation, they will do the service efficiently. However, the individual may not be able to provide adequate services if he or she has participated due to financial difficulties or some obligations. In this

case it can lead to lose of their individual values. Thus, individuals let the ruler of the congregation to use their lives according to his/her own political interests.

Today, people with certain equipment can face major crises. The most major one of these crises is the identity crisis. The question of identity is very common in Turkey's social structure. This inquiry leads to the feeling of worthlessness. This worthlessness in society is being filled by people belonging to sects and communities. The availability in Turkey in terms of these congregations and religious structures had accelerated this process. Political parties support these organizations according to their interests. So, does everyone in this community support these communities?

People continue their existence by living collectively. For this reason, living in collective society has revealed the concept of politics. Living collectively has dragged people into the discrimination of "us" and "you". People have formed a structure by adopting elements like exclusion of strangers and we can call it congregation. Rather than integrating different ethnic or immigrant groups





with the community, it has been forced to include a number of people of a certain nationality and show a defensive attitude towards these different ethnic and immigrant groups. For this reason, an "exclusionary" attitude was formed and in the conception of the congregation, reactionary, insidious and protective situations have appeared. From the situation we can see all over the world, we can say that the congregation has become a situation which is mostly used by politicians and politics. For the sake of their own interests, politicians can easily get the support of the people for this case where people are discriminated. For the people the problem is very clear; the others are not from them.

Unfortunately, today's situation has become a milieu where millions of people are not satisfied with their

lives and their environment, where everybody is trying to go somewhere for certain reasons, or where people have fallen into disagreement about economics, security and even belief in their countries. On the other hand, people do not want any foreigners in the place where they live but at the same time the world has become a place of congregation.

MODERN SLAVERY

Aslıhan GAZİOĞLU



Human trafficking is a major problem that has existed for a long time. Today it is possible to call it 'modern slavery'. The fact that the number of people are being victimized by human trafficking in different ways around the world that can shock you. Approximately 700,000 to 5 million people, unfortunately, have to deal with this situation. 90% of these figures are trafficked victims forced to commit prostitution and consist of women and children aged 15-26 years. In the remaining 10% of the cases, people who are threatened and reforced to sell their organs.



What is human trafficking?

Human trafficking is physical repression, fraud, and other enforcement techniques to seize, collect, hide, and move people. Human traffickers transmit victims from one place to another within their own country, often through international borders. They are then taken away from the most fundamental freedoms, sold as an object, and forced to work as sex slaves and other jobs. Victims are routinely raped, subjected to torture and violence.

What about the victims?

Human trafficking is the capture, rally, keeping and transportation of people with physical pressure, fraud and other enforcement techniques. Human traffickers transmit victims from one place to another within their own countries, they often transit victims over international borders. Then the victims' most basic freedoms are taken, sold as a subject and forced to work in various jobs. Of course, trafficking of people is a serious crime and a grave violation of human rights. Every year, thousands of men, women, and children fall into the hands of traffickers, in their own countries and abroad.

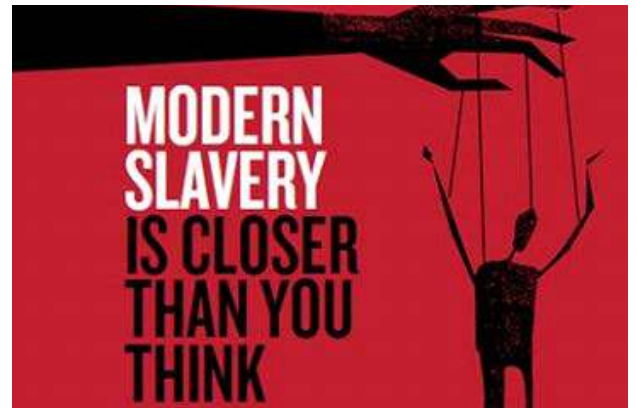
When they arrive, they find that the work they applied for does not exist, or the conditions are completely different. However, it's too late, their documents are often taken away and they are forced to work until their debt is paid off. Many people who fall, a victim of trafficking, want to escape poverty, improve their lives, and support their families. Often they get an offer of a well-paid job abroad or in another region. Often they borrow money from their traffickers in advance to pay for arranging the job, travel, and accommodation.



The most common forms of human trafficking

Human trafficking also has many forms, according to a report the most common form of human trafficking (79%) is sexual exploitation. The victims of sexual exploitation are predominantly women and girls. Surprisingly, in 30% of the countries which provided information on the gender of traffickers, women make up the largest proportion of traffickers. In some parts of the world, woman trafficking is more than others. The second most common form of human trafficking is forced labor (18%), although this may be a misrepresentation because forced labor is less frequently detected and reported than trafficking for sexual exploitation. Worldwide, almost 20% of all trafficking victims are children.

Which countries do you think human trafficking may be in the first place?



While Belarus and Russia take first place, China and Iran follow by countries such as North Korea, Sudan, Syria. Belarusian trafficking victims mostly reside in Belarus or Russia. Criminals smuggle other victims to Poland, Turkey, and various countries in Eurasia and the Middle East. In addition to that, between 5 and 12 million migrants are working in Russia in conditions of slavery, in positions at garment factories, as public transport drivers, and in construction and agriculture. It is also clear that when we are looking at these figures, the countries that are in the first place in human trafficking are developed or developing countries.

Above all, victims have the same rights as everyone else, and no one can take those rights from them. No one deserves to be sold as an object, used as a slave. I hope this modern slavery in the world ends as soon as possible.

IRAQI BLUES

Can ABANOZ



This year is 15th anniversary of the US' led coalition's invasion of Iraq, overthrowing Saddam Hussein's Baath regime as well. Since 2003 instability in the region continues, also beginning from 2011, with the effects of Arab Spring, emergence of ISIS and its expansion in Syria-Iraq region, chaotic situation of that region has become worse. In that article, it will discuss briefly from coup period in Iraq to latest situation.

In 1932, Iraq had declared independence from United Kingdom. In 1958, Iraq had faced its first military coup led by General Kasem against King Faisal II. From that year to 1963 Baath party had begun to strengthen in Iraq, finally in 1963 second military coup had occurred

in Iraq led by Colonel Adbussalam Aref who was Nasserist and declared himself as Marshall, in 1968 counter military coup led by Baathist General Hassan al-Bakr had occurred against General Abdurrahman Aref who was brother of Marshall Adbussalam Aref.

Saddam Hussein's rise had begun after the 1968 counter military coup, he was nephew of General Hassan al-Bakr, he had become critical positions in new Iraqi administration shortly. In 1969, he was second head of Revolutionary Command Council, in 1976 he declared himself as General without any military school training. 3 years later in 1979 after resignation of Hassan al-Bakr in favor of Saddam Hussein, he became head of state, prime minister, head of Democratic Command Council, head of Baath Party and head of chief of the Iraqi Armed Forces.

Same year when Saddam Hussein came to power, Iran Islamic Revolution had occurred. Khomeini's Islamic Shia Regime became security threat for Iraqi regime, Iraq feared that it could become an alternative to Baath regime. Unlike Hafez al-Assad in Syria who was Shiite, Saddam Hussein was Sunni and previous years, Saddam and Shiite groups in Iraq faced conflict. Because of that Saddam Hussein feared Shiite revolt against him and it happened in same year. Between 1980 and 1988 Iran-Iraq War existed and in 1988 both parties declared victory. During that war, the US indirectly supported Saddam Hussein till 1982, US sold arms to Iraq through Israel and sent 5 billion dollars aid. At the same time, huge scandal had emerged called Irangate, US administration secretly sold arms to Iran through Israel same as Iraq. Many top-level bureaucrats in US had dismissed and resigned. USSR indirectly supported Iran and also signed friendship and cooperation agreement with Syria, in that period, Syria was enemy of Iraq for some sectarian issues.

Kurdish issue in Iraq had changed another dimension in Iran-Iraq War. Since 1960's Kurds demand of autonomy especially in northern region of Iraq, previously accepted by Iraq, then that demand denied due to conflict between parties about Kirkuk region. Iran had supported Kurds while Iran-Iraq War continued, and Kurds faced chemical attack in Halabja region, chemical weapons bought from United Kingdom and France had been used against Kurds.

In 1990 with Iraq's intervention to Kuwait was last turn of Saddam Hussein.

Kuwait and United Arab Emirates' high production of oil caused 14 billion dollars deficiency and Kuwait began to drill new oil wells in al-Rumaila zones. In 1991 US intervened Kuwait, in short time Iraq forced to withdraw there. Although USSR administration attempted peace negotiations between parties, it couldn't result. In that conflict Iraqi Army was nearly destroyed by US.

In 2003, after the declaration of Bush Doctrine in 9/11 term, Iraq had declared one of the "Axis of Evil" states, US led coalition forces intervened Iraq. US claimed that Iraq supported Al-Qaeda and had Weapons of Mass Destruction. Russia was neutral in that conflict like France and Germany. In April 9-10 coalition forces entered Baghdad without major resistance. In May 1 coalition forces declared victory. Iraq was divided 18 provinces Duhok, Erbil and Sulaymaniyah came under control of Iraqi Kurdish Region Administration. In 2006, Saddam Hussein was sentenced to death and hanged.

Status of Kirkuk is still in conflict between central government and IKRA. Also, IKRA held independence referendum in 2017, referendum resulted in favor of independence but not recognized by central government and not accepted by the US. Even though new constitution declares the prohibition of majority of any ethnic identity in administration, sectarian issue is another unsolved problem in that region. In 2011 Arab Spring affected Iraq same as other Arab states and its neighbor Syria. ISIS strengthened in that region and Iraq lost territories in a short time. The US decided to withdraw their forces in Iraq 2008 to 2011, and in 2011 last soldiers left there, but 3 years later US returned to fight against ISIS threat. The US also supports IKRA forces and YPG forces who fight against terrorism, this situation has become controversial for other states like Turkey.

Finally, what changed after Saddam? US officials argue that US achieved its goals in there, but in reality, Iraq is still facing same problems in Saddam term. Now, Iraq is more destabilized than Saddam regime. While central government challenges to fight against terrorism, at the same time, Kurdish issue in Iraq continues. Iraq's future is still not bright, especially Iraq is one of the main actor of the US-Russia competition in the Syrian Civil War.



LA CASA DE PAPEL

SECRET MESSAGES

Yağmur TAŞDEMİR



Berlin, Tokyo, Rio, Nairobi, Moscow, Denver, Helsinki, Oslo. Although all these are only city names for some people, in fact, they are the characters of a Spanish series that people talk about constantly. From an external perspective, we can say that the series is only about people who have different lives commit a robbery to the Spanish Royal Mint. Cops and robbers films generally have a wide audience because they make people feel good in relation to sense of justice. However, in this series something attracts the audiences in different way and gets across the message that this series cannot be just a robbery series! So, what is the exact reason that makes the series so famous?

Actually, the series has a lot of messages from its generic to actors, from colors to masks. I think this is the main reason that why robbers did not leave from the royal mint for 12 days although they were successful in robbing on the very first day. As the series progresses, the money starts to become insignificant and ideologies and ideals come into prominence. In the series that has many messages, the first message is given from professor "We do not steal anybody's money. People will sympathize us, this is crucial. We will be heroes in the public eye. However, be careful because if there is a drop of blood, we cannot be Robin Hood, we become murderers." The Brazilian-Cameroon football match on a scene in the series is an important example supporting this message. In the following parts, we begin to learn the stories of the robbers and we feel an instant connection with them. The series allows its audiences to think about why bad people are bad, not who is the good or the bad. Let's look at the messages that the series actually gives us. Royal mint and cops represent capitalism, an ideology based on money. Money means everything in capitalism. Morality, happiness, love, wealth, superiority... Everything depends on the money. If a group of people attack the money, they are declared bad and are blocked by police forces (capitalism). Of course the city names given to the leading roles in the series are not ordinary cities. Although Berlin receives orders from professor, he often draws attention with his commanding attitudes. He is a stable, tough and an idealistic character. When we consider the hostages' similarities with the public, it is possible that we can observe the despotism of Nazism especially after 1936 in the character of Berlin. Berlin is the person who hostages and robbers fear the most. Of course, Germany was the country that European countries fear the most during this period. Oslo and Helsinki are cousins in the series and represent the physical power. During the World War II, the reason of the occupation of Finland and Norway was completely strategic. The first defeated person in the series is Oslo and Norway is one of the first countries that defeated during the war. In the five-month training period, before the robbery occurs in the series, we see that Denver (USA) and Moscow (USSR) do something behind Berlin's back and be together against him. In the war, the US and the USSR were in alliance against Germany for a while as they were in the Normandy Landings. In the series, even though Berlin had the opportunity to play his last card and take control, it was finally lost control like a historical event 'the attack in the Ardennes'. Berlin who becomes isolated cannot escape from tragic end even he resists like a historical event 'Berlin War'. We see Tokyo as a self-ordained character that likes to act alone in the series. In history, the war spreads all over the world with the attack on Pearl Harbor because of Japan and in the series Moscow reacted to Tokyo saying, "You are leaving disasters behind!" We see Nairobi character as a determined mother who has only aim which ends the robbery as soon as possible before things have got out of hand and to get her daughter with money. The fact that Kenya was a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, which is called the third block in the Cold War era, is another similarity between series and history. Finally, we cannot say that Rio, who we recognize as an emotional and irascible character, is effective in the final part of the series and the same is true for Brazil, which is not one of the decisive parts of the war, even though it landed troops in World War II. Giving city names to characters might be a representation of a fair rebellion in any part of world. Apart from the leading roles in the series, actually every hostage has a meaning. Royal mint employees, students, teachers... If we assume the formation in the royal mint as a state, we can call the hostages as public and Berlin as president. Although none of hostages do not know professor,

Berlin takes orders from him and is ruled by professor. We can draw an analogy as shadow government for the person who is not recognized by anyone but is the true owner of the power. Although in the beginning hostages obeyed this great power, in time they started to rise up, they are suppressed and try to escape. The working class is being formed by the hostages and women are being used for the desires of power-holders.



Outside there are cops who have tried everything to arrest the robbers for 12 days, but they are always one step behind the robbers. If we think cops as system, it can be talked about how perfect the capitalist system looks from the outside but there are imperfections and defectiveness in itself. If the royal mint robbery becomes reality, the capitalist system will lose its influence and people will revolt against this system over time. Of course the Dali masks used in the series are not randomly selected. Salvador Dali was a renowned painter of his time who lived against the norms of society and called as mad-genius. The masks of the painter who did not accept the imposition of society and who had his own way, represented freedom and opposition. During the robbery, boiler suits which the characters wore was red and red is the ideological color of communism and represents the communism. While professor who has a scientific attitude, devotes his life for only one goal and is a intelligent man was emphasizing that there should not be romanticism, he departed from his own golden rule and fell in love. A passage in the series is the most important example that there should not be romanticism "We are so close to lose everything, if you ask why, I say it's because of a love story. After all, love is a good reason to ruin everything." The song "Ciao Bella", which we often hear in the series and contains the words "This is the flower of partisan who died for freedom" is one of the symbols of Socialism. During Mussoli's era, it is known as the anthem of anti-fascist, socialist and communist groups in Italy. Therefore, an anti-capitalist idea comes from the music of the series. In the final episode, another example of Socialism is Berlin who goes to die with the woman he loves and says "**We will fight together**". *Socialism is a system that the power and the means of production are controlled by the people and used jointly. In the system that rejects capitalism, communitarianism comes into prominence not individualism. At the same time, socialism is the ideology and movement that paves the way for the communist system.*

I think it is enough to summarize the series with last lines of professor in the last episode. "They teach us everything in good and bad terms. So, what are we doing? If the authorities do something that is bad when we do, it sounds good.

In 2011, the European Central Bank created 171 billion for no reason at all. In 2013, more than before, 145 billion. Do you know where the money went? Banks. Directly from the royal mint to the richest. Has anyone ever said the robber to the European Central Bank? No. They said Liquidity injection. Here's your liquidity injection, but this time I'm transferring the money to the unfortunate people, not the richest." Taking into account all these secret messages and the cleverly created fiction, we can return to the question that we ask at first. So, what is the exact reason that makes the series so famous?

MEETING TO DISCUSS GENDER PARITY IN WALES

Selen CEYLAN



On Monday 12 March 2018 a Business breakfast meeting in Cardiff is hosted by Alun Cairns in order to talk about gender equality in Wales.

“For too long, not enough has been done to help women to fulfill their true potential. That is something that we, as a Government, have been working hard to address”



The UK Government in Wales and Chwarae Teg (The Welsh gender equality charity) also has attended the meeting. Support and opportunities to progress ranging from the classroom to the boardroom for women and girls was the main issue in the meeting. Also the ways to break down workplace barriers and the ways to build inclusive workplace in accordance with the benefits of the Wales are discussed in the meeting.

Cerys Furlong, Chwarae Teg Chief Executive argued that the more women at the tables the more solutions are solved with better services. Also the sexual harassment and abuse at workplaces must be over so that women will feel safer at their jobs.

On International Women’s Day “Governments, business and society must continue to be bold if we are to deliver real change for women in Wales and the world” said Alun Cairns the Secretary of State for Wales.

#PressforProgress is this year’s theme which is an invitation for world to take action for achieving gender equality swiftly.

In order to make sure that women’s equality is achieved in every part of life, women and men are going to participate in social activities such as concerts, rallies and conferences in Wales.



Today 44,000 more women in work in Wales than it used to be in 2010. The UK Government has been making important steps in delivery the changes and to create the conditions necessary for women from all walks of life.



THE RIGHT THAT IS NOT WANTED TO BE GIVEN: ABORTION



As a word, abortion means the ending of pregnancy by the removal of embryo or foetus before it can survive outside the uterus. Although it is directly related to private life of the pregnant woman, there are some laws about abortion in every country. Women are accustomed to the society's pressure on how they should wear, how they should walk, how they should talk and so on. Furthermore there are some norms about the "ideal woman". Their ideal woman should not be either fat or short. Their ideal woman should have long hair that is the symbol of femininity. When it comes to gender inequality, all of us are familiar with it in every field of our lives. However, the issue of abortion is something else. A woman has to decide herself whether she wants to give birth or not. This is a decision about her own body and another person or a government cannot decide about anything that will affect the life of a woman.

The dominant religion in Irish Republic is Christianity and mostly Roman Catholicism. They strongly oppose to the idea of abortion. For most of the Irish people, embryo or foetus is a human being. In other words, if you remove them from the uterus it will become a murder. In that respect, they are actually right. A woman who does not want to have a child, can take necessity measures before having a sexual intercourse with someone. However, sometimes these measurements may not be effective. Furthermore, the foetus might be harmful for the live of the woman or there can be some problems with the foetus, and the woman can be too poor to have a child. In these conditions, she might want to remove it. Even worse the pregnancy is caused by rape or incest. How many women want to have a child whose father is their rapists? What about the psychologies of the mother and the child? She might not love her own child. The child might feel as an illegitimate child.

Abortion had been banned in Irish Republic. A complete ban was lifted in 2013. However, terminations were allowed only in cases when the mother's life was in risk. Conversely, some Irish women may access illegal abortion. However, maximum penalty for accessing an illegal abortion is fourteen years in prison. In other words, the government does not allow them to take decisions about their bodies and punishes them when they do not obey this "law".

On 25 May Irish Republic will vote in a referendum on liberalizing its strict abortion laws.

Voters of referendum will be asked if they want to repeal the article 40.3.3 that is known as the eighth amendment which bans the abortion in Irish Republic's constitution.

To conclude, we will learn the result after 25 May the date of referendum. Irish Republic is becoming a modern country, and in 2015 the majority of Irish people voted for legalizing same-sex marriages. I am hopeful about that majority in the next referendum. I hope Irish women will qualify their rights that are not wanted to be given for years.

"It is really important that people do not sit at home and presume somebody else will make the decision for you. If you feel as strongly as we do that there needs to be change in this area, you need to come out and vote."

Simon Harris, the Health Minister of Ireland





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