



IRPOSTS



January 1, 2019

Publisher/Editor in Chief

Berkay BULUT



Editors

Ceren GÜLER



Yağmur TAŞDEMİR



Social Media Coordinators

Melis PEKTAŞ



Selen CEYLAN



Design
RGBear

CONTENTS

AMERICA

6 The USA and Russia Relations from Past to Today

Aslıhan Gazioğlu

8 Climate Change is a “Marxist Plot”

Ahsen Sevnur YILDIRIM

10 Firsts were experienced in 2018 Midterm Elections

Selen Ceylan

ASIA

11 Destructive Competition

Berkay Bulut

13 China in 21st Century

Mert Erol

ECONOMY

15 Subconscious Marketing

Hatice Hicret KARASIOĞLU

16 Industry 1.0 From Society 5.0

Denizhan Nagihan Uyanık

EUROPE

18 “When France Sneezes, Europe Catches Cold”

Bahar Temir

20 The War to End All Wars

Can Abanoz

21 The Truths of Khashoggi’s Murder

Elif Bakar

23 Unshared Sea Unended Crisis:Aegean

Enver Burkan Yıldırım

25 We are Totally Unaware

Merve Keklikçi

SECURITY

26 The Changing Agenda of Security Studies and Copenhagen School of Security

Deniz Karan

29 Security Risk Perception

Mustafa Mert KOÇ

MIDDLE EAST

30 The Children of Forgotten Wars

Dilara Soy

32 Iranian Sanctions From 1980 to Today

Umut Kucur

GENDER EQUALITY

34 Psychological Violence:Not all bullies leave a scar, some leave only deep traces

Yağmur Taşdemir

35 The Invisible Glass on Top of Women:Glass Ceiling

Ceren Güler



Aslihan Gazioğlu

THE USA AND RUSSIA RELATIONS FROM PAST TO TODAY

The relations of the United States and Russia are very important not just for these two countries, but for the whole world. Each country has enough nuclear power to purge the world many times over. Any disagreement between these countries has the possibility of an increased chance of tension. Therefore, military action may happen. It might be a mass destruction for the whole world. Maybe the crisis first starts between these two countries, but then it spreads to the entire world. Of course, time to time some crises occur between these two superpowers. Moreover, both Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin want to be at the top of the political agenda. For this reason, they have a fluctuating relationship. In this article, I will examine the recent events of Russia and the USA.

CYBER CRISES

Today, with the development of technology, countries enter into technological competition with each other. In the 2016 elections, when the American people elected the current US President, it was argued that Russia was influenced by cyber-attacks. In the meantime, the US Intelligence Society said “it is certain that the Russian government has played a role in accessing the e-mail accounts of American institutions and individuals, including some American political organizations.” Previous October, the US Department of Justice accused seven Russian intelligence officials of cyber-attacks around the world. The US also accused seven Russian agents of targeting the nuclear power company in Westinghouse,



in the state of Pennsylvania. Russia rejected these claims as in the 2016 elections. US President Donald Trump compared the Russian investigation conducted by Special Prosecutor Robert Mueller with “witch hunting”. “Injustice and evil for this country are against the law” had been evaluated.

SANCTIONS ISSUES

The trade war that emerged between the United States and China took place in world politics. After US President Donald Trump announced in March that “trade wars are good”, additional custom duties for the products imported from China began to be applied in September. The crisis between China and the United States indirectly includes Russia as well. In 2018, the US State Department decided to impose sanctions on China, which bought ten Russian Sukhoi Su-35 Flanker-E fighter jets and S-400 missile systems from Russia.

The decisions were generally related to the restriction of China in many ways. In the statement, Beijing said to the US “give up this decision or be prepared to bear the consequences”. Russia also received a harsh statement. Russia said that “fooling with fire can be much more dangerous”. With these statements, relations between the two countries have been re-tightened.



There was an on-going conflict between the US and Iran. Last month, the US decided to impose sanctions on Iran, and Russia condemned the sanctions. In addition, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs said: “Despite the US sanctions, we will take the necessary steps to maintain commercial and economic relations with Iran. We condemn the new destructive steps of the United States with determination.” This statement again led to an increased tension between the two countries.

WHAT ABOUT UKRAINE?

Moreover, the regional dominance demands of two superpowers and the resulting diplomatic processes began to affect countries in the region, then the entire world. For example, the crisis that Russia could not overcome with Ukraine, the Syrian civil war, the US’s claim to arm the Taliban, and so on.

In recent months, the two countries have been accused of facing each other under the heading of each issue, and the diplomatic problems are developing.

SYRIA ALWAYS ON THE BOIL

Another important event since the Cold War is that these two superpowers have sought regional power. Especially the Middle East became a chess board between these two countries. In Syria, these two countries took part in a race of regional interests by destroying different groups. Russia supported Assad and the Americans had anti-Assad propaganda. Russia and the United States came to the brink of hot transport in the region. Although they played an active role in the Syrian civil war, they supported small groups directly instead of a hot conflict.

KHASHOGGI MURDER

With the murder of Jamal Khashoggi the world agenda was shaken. This situation did not only affect Saudi Arabia and Turkey, it also found a large place in the world agenda. The US president, Donald Trump, remained silent at first with regard to the murder of Khashoggi. He later said that he would not leave the arms trade with Saudis to Russia and China. After that, the United States joined the rising reactions all over the world, and the whole world saw the example of the G-20 summit in Argentina. In the same summit, Russian President Vladimir Putin and Crown Prince Salman’s intimacy stood out. This sincerity caused questions in the world politics.

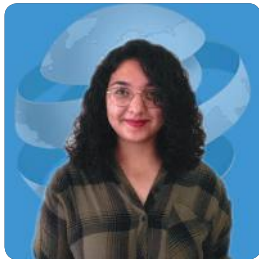
NATO CRISES

The foreign ministers of NATO member states met in Brussels, mainly to discuss the crisis between the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) and Ukraine-Russia relations in the Azov Sea. NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg stressed that the allies would not support Russia’s illegal annexation of Crimea. Furthermore, Stoltenberg called on Russia to free the Ukrainian crew and ships. The biggest debate at the summit was due to the INF agreement. Jens Stoltenberg reiterated Russia’s call to comply with the agreement. The US made a more severe statement, and reported to Russia that the INF agreement gave 60 days to implement its obligations.



Moreover, the US Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo said that “for the US there is no need to stay in INF agreement.” Correspondingly, Moscow argues that the United States is seeking an excuse to leave the agreement. So, these two countries often come face to face in the world politics. The conflicts of interest in these two countries in the post-Cold War era are guiding the world politics. In fact, the struggles of these two countries create world politics. After the 9/11 attacks, the USA aimed to dominate the region by legalizing its effectiveness in the Middle East. On the other hand, it participated in these power struggles in the Middle East with Russia. In recent periods,

especially in Syria, the whole world saw the conflicts between these two countries. In my opinion, this will continue until China rises in the world politics.



CLIMATE CHANGE IS A “MARXIST PLOT”

Ahsen Sevnur Yıldırım

Brazil's new Foreign Minister Ernesto Araújo believes that climate change is merely a dogma which is a Marxist plot to “stifle economic growth in democratic capitalist countries and foster China's growth”.

What does Mr. Araújo's statement mean? Can climate change be really discussed while it is already our daily life fact? What are the possible policies of incoming government? What will be the possible causes of these policies?

Jair Bolsonaro won the Brazil's presidential elections in October. New president-elect chose Ernesto Araújo as the next Minister of Foreign Affairs. According to The Guardian, 51 year-old Ernesto Araújo has never served as an overseas ambassador. The next Foreign Minister has attracted the attention by posting controversial claims on his personal blog.



President-Elect Jair Bolsonaro (on left) with Next Minister of Foreign Affairs Ernesto Araújo (on right)

According to The Independent, Mr. Araújo wrote a blog with the title of “Hijack and Pervert” and described climate science as a “dogma” which ignored “evidence” showing the opposite of rising temperatures and greater concentrations of CO2 in the atmosphere.

“The left has sequestered the environmental cause and perverted it to the point of paroxysm over the last 20 years with the ideology of climate change,” he wrote.

“The climate scientists gathered some data suggesting a correlation between rising temperatures with increasing concentration of CO2 in the atmosphere, ignored data suggesting the opposite, and created a “scientific” dogma that no one else can contest on pain of being excommunicated from good society.”

He added: “This dogma has served to justify an increase in the regulatory power of states over the economy and power of international institutions over national states and their populations, as well as to stifle economic growth in democratic capitalist countries and foster China's growth.”

In addition Mr. Araújo's claims, there are some campaign promises and statements of president-elect Jair Bolsonaro. Some of the campaign promises and statements were extenuation of the sanctions against people who committed environmental crimes, and uniting Environment Ministry with the Agriculture Ministry, “no more indigenous reserves will be demarcated and existing reserves will be opened up to mining”. During his campaign, he was talking about withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement, however; he backtracked from his statements. Furthermore, according to The New York Times, Mr. Bolsonaro said that Brazil is suffocating because of the environmental policy, and he has promised to champion his country's powerful agribusiness sector which seeks to open up more forest to produce the beef and soy that the world demands. In addition to all of these, Brazil announced that it would not be the next hosting country of the UN Earth Summit. If Ernesto Araújo's claims are considered together with Jair Bolsonaro's campaign promises, a threatening picture will be painted.

Deforestation is already an important issue for Brazil. Deforestation rates which are estimated by the Brazil's National Institute for Space Research (INPE) shows that the deforestation is at the highest point within a decade. “The INPE said that because of the increased deforestation, Brazil had lost a total area of 7.900 km² of rainforest, which Greenpeace Brazil estimates is close to a million football pitches or five times the size of London — Europe's largest city by area.” While deforestation is already an issue, the possible wrong policies of the incoming government under Jair Bolsonaro can cause it to get worse.



Deforestation at Cerrado region, Brazil (photo: Gallo/Getty)

If Brazil's former efforts on preventing climate change is taken into consideration, it will be seen that these statements of the incoming government are at the exact opposite point. While Brazil was the country which was the host of the 1992 UN Earth Summit that laid the foundations of international efforts to recognise and combat human-made climate change, and Brazilian diplomats were also instrumental in forging the Paris Agreement in 2015, now these statements and possible policies go totally against them. The Amazon rainforest is not only important for Brazil but also for the whole world. That is why, any possible wrong policies might not only affect Brazil, it might also affect the other countries and eventually the whole world.

Firsts were experienced in 2018 Midterm Elections

In 2018 midterm elections, it was gathered in the polls for all 435 members of the House of Representatives and 35 members of the 100-member Senate. In the midterm elections held in the United States the Republican Party succeeded in maintaining its superiority in the US Senate while the Democrats won the majority in the House of Representatives after eight years.

Celebrities, who called upon everyone to vote during the election campaign, encouraged US voters to vote by sharing their photos on social media. Celebrities showed the labels "I voted" in their posts.

US midterm elections have seen firsts

Kyrsten Sinema



She became not only the first female but also the first openly bisexual senator from Arizona. Sinema defeated Republican Martha McSally as a Democrat and took the seat of Jeff Flake who retired.

Kristi Noem



Defeating Democrat Billie Sutton, Republican Representative Noem became the first female governor in South Dakota. Also, during her campaign, she said that "female voters don't 'just want to talk about women's issues'."



Rashida Tlaib and Ilhan Omar

From 2009 to 2014 Tlaib, a Democratic Michigan state rep. served for Michigan House. She expressed her proud as a Palestinian Muslim woman to win the victory. Omar was a refugee in the U.S. in 2016 she was elected as a Democrat to the Minnesota House of Representatives, and now she is in the Congress.

Representatives, and now she is in the Congress.

Selen Ceylan



Sharice Davids

She will be attending the House as the Native American (a member of Wisconsin's Ho-Chunk Nation tribe) female and openly gay lawmaker in Congress, who represents Kansas.



Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez

She, with her age -29-, is the youngest women to be elected to Congress. She worked in Bernie Sanders's campaign in 2016 elections. Her platform which she described as "democratic socialism" has taken attention.



Ayanna Pressley

Pressley is the first black Congresswoman from Massachusetts who had no Republican competitor. She was also the first woman who was serving on Boston's City Council. i Democratic state primary election. She defeated Rep. Michael Capuano, 10-term incumbent.

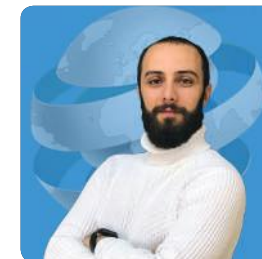


Marsha Blackburn

Marsha Blackburn ,who got support from Donald Trump, was elected to replace Republican Senator Bob Corker who retired in Tennessee. Blackburn became the first woman senator in state history.



So, in 2018 Midterm Elections lots of new women took the seats of men who were holding before. They have joined to other incumbents that were re-elected. Most of the new comers are also Democrats like the other women in the House. 102 women will be working in the House, which has never seen in the United State's history. Next year, there will be more states that will be adding women in their House delegations.



Berkay Bulut

Destructive Competition

During the history of humankind, where the available data dating back 5200 years can be reached, the period that the war does not exist in the world history involves only 200 years.¹ This situation shows that history almost consists of wars. Teaching wars rather than cultural and social issues in history classes is one of the most important reasons of that. However, how much do we realize the importance of wars in world history? Did we fully understand the military forces that cause the continuation of the wars and the political forces that cause the war itself? Do military forces exist only to fight, or do we actually owe the time where we didn't fight? In other words, do we owe our peace to a treaty behind the destruction of a war?²

Recently, US President Donald Trump announced that he would withdraw from the INF treaty which signed with the Soviet Union during the Cold War and cited as one of the most important steps for nuclear disarmament. Trump accused Russia of repeatedly violating the treaty and he also criticized Barack Obama because he did not withdraw and remain in this treaty. On the other hand, Sergey Ryabkov has accused the US of trying to achieve "absolute superiority" in the military field, while Russian President Vladimir Putin said that if the United States withdraws from the INF Treaty,

What is the INF (Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces) Treaty and Why It is Important?

The INF Treaty was signed in 1987 between former



US President Ronald Reagan and the Soviet Union leader Mikhail Gorbachev and it came into force in 1988.⁴ According to this treaty, mid-range medium-to-air missiles with a range from 500 to 5500 kilometres would be banned.⁵ This treaty was the first step in the process of disarmament initiated by two superpowers that had been faced during the Cold War to reduce the threat of nuclear war. After the treaty, parties hastened the negotiations about reducing strategic nuclear weapons that have high destructive power. The Strategic Arms Limitation (SALT) which is another stage of that process started rapidly.⁶

¹ Sefa Özkaya, "Nükleer Savaş, Nükleer Silahlar ve INF Antlaşması" November 11, 2018

² Ibid.

³ BBC. INF treaty: Russia 'will respond' to new US missiles in Europe. October 24, 2018.

⁴ NYT. The I.N.F. Treaty, Explained. October 23, 2018.

⁵ <https://www.state.gov/t/avc/trty/102360.htm>

⁶ Abdülkerim Arslan, "ABD ile Rusya Arasında İmzalanan START Antlaşmaları Nelerdir?", January 4, 2018

The number of missiles covered by the treaty is actually a very small part of the nuclear weapons in the hands of both countries. However, this treaty is a great example of the nuclear disarmament treaties that were signed in the future and are still being negotiated. After this treaty, a total of 2,691 missiles were destroyed in the four-year period, 846 of which belong to the US and 1,846 of which belong to the USSR.⁷ In addition, both the US and the USSR and then Russia opened their nuclear weapon facilities to international supervision. Thanks to INF treaty, after the disintegration of the USSR, INF obligations that were transformed to the Russian Federation reduced the cost that is needed to increase because of the nuclear disarmament race. However, this situation did not restrain Russia to develop new rocket/missile technologies thanks to revenue from energy sources.



Why is the US withdrawing from the INF?

The US withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Agreement on the grounds that it wanted to strengthen its defence systems against air strikes from the countries that it described as the “axis of evil” after the September 11, 2001 attacks. This triggered the snowball effect.

In 2007, Russian President Vladimir Putin stated that the INF treaty no longer serves the interests. Since then, US officials have claimed that Russia has violated the treaty.

In 2014, President Obama suggested that Russia tested a land-fired missile, but did not take any steps to withdraw from the treaty, especially with the pressure of its European allies.

The US argues that the new mid-range Novator 9M729 missile, named SSC-8 by NATO, violated the treaty. Russia does not share much information about the newly developed missiles, but it also rejects the claims about its violation of the treaty.⁸



What are the possible consequences of the repeal of INF?

The sharpest consequence of the rescission of the INF is the exacerbation of nuclear race again after the adaptation of nuclear warhead to the missile systems that are already developed and unavoidable. In this context, nuclear and strategic weapons, which are the precondition for a non-winner nuclear war, will be easily produced.

As a result of misunderstandings and miscalculations, while global nuclear race affects the political balance, 3rd world countries will try to develop their missile systems and have nuclear warhead. Besides, after the weakening and dissolution of some states, non-state actors, as in Cold War, would increase their efforts to acquire nuclear weapons.

Consequently, nuclear weapons move beyond a tool



within the scope of deterrence and become an option that can be used if it is required. The ultimatum could herald a major new arms race with serious implications for Europe.

missiles threaten Europe, it was European leaders who most loudly protested withdrawal from the treaty. Once again, the world is on the brink of an arms race, and if no action is taken, the 60-minute battles of the films may be the subject of the history.

CHINA IN 21st CENTURY

Mert Erol

Translated by: F. Gökçen Duran



China: Economic Leader

Today, China is the second largest economy in the world. The biggest reason for that is the level of production in almost every field with incredible numbers. In addition to this, China's cheap labour force is added almost from the late 80s to 10-15% of the annual economic growth rate, we can say that it deserves this place. According to the World Economic League Table (welt2018), which Cebr announced last year on the 26th of December, China was said to be the largest economy in the world by crossing the United States in 2029. However, with China-America Trade War, which started a few months ago, this prediction has changed. According to Cebr, this war will only delay China's leadership for a year.

CHINA BECOMES NUMBER ONE A YEAR LATER IN 2030 NOT 2029

Our Chinese forecast is largely unchanged. But because we are less negative about US growth (see below), the year that the Chinese economy overtakes the US economy has been put back to 2030. This remains a remarkable achievement from an economy that was only 12% the size of the US economy as recently as 2000.

Who Is Xi Jinping?

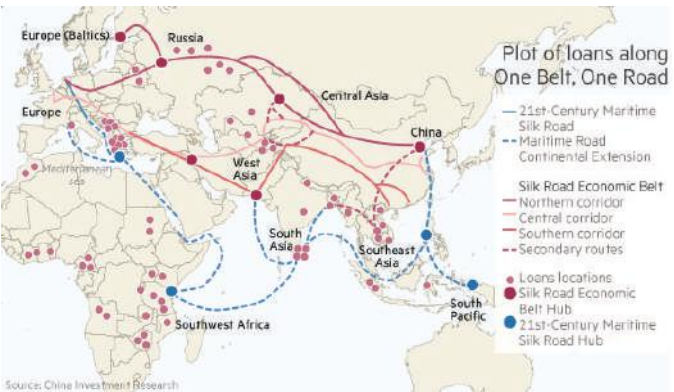


China's current President Xi Jinping has been the president of China and the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China as of November 15, 2012. When Xi Jinping came to power, he took over a country that was really devastated.

Public debt was too much and corruption was in line. We can say that corruption has been eradicated, but the public debt problem is still a waiting issue in China. Xi Jinping said that he was doing well in the domestic order, but we can say that he achieved success in foreign policy as he announced his modern Silk Road concept in the international arena during a series of visits to Central Asia and South Asia at the end of 2013. With this project, we can say that the Chinese Republic has started to create its hegemony.

Big project of China: OBOR

One Belt One Road initiative at the end of 2013, China wants to create a modern Silk Road we would not exaggerate if we called it an economic project which would create a new world order.



This is the most recent map of the OBOR project. The Northern, Central, Southern economic corridors mentioned here are commercial train routes made by China.

⁷ Uri Friedman, “Trump Hates International Treaties. His Latest Target: A Nuclear-Weapons Deal With Russia”, October 24, 2018

⁸ BBC. INF treaty: Russia ‘will respond’ to new US missiles in Europe. October 24, 2018.

⁹ Julian Borger, “US says it will pull out of INF treaty if Russia does not comply within 60 days”, December 4, 2018

China provides substantial economic support to the countries where these roads pass. China is lending to countries like Turkmenistan, Pakistan. That creates a question in recent days about if China will not be able to get back these debts, in other words, if the countries that it is lending cannot repay this debt, whether China would be in crisis or not? According to a lot of academics, China purposely pays those debts. Dr Nilgün ELİKÜÇÜK YILDIRIM states 'Even if China cannot take back its debts, the Asian countries, which are developing with these funds and are economically stronger, will become the new market for China. So, China is trying to create new markets for itself.' Not only does China want to use Europe as a market, we can say that there is a commercial train route under the OBOR project called 'London to Beijing'.

Who wins the China-America trade war?



Finally, although Turkey does not have much on the agenda, let's talk about who wins this commercial war, which is one of the important issues for the world agenda. Many different platforms have discussed this issue and continue to be discussed. Although it is very difficult to see the end of this trade war, today we can get a small idea of using statistics. There is no doubt that the two countries have a lot of dependence on each other today, but we cannot say that the US Front has not adopted much new ideas in order to reduce this dependence. China's biggest market today is the United States, and the United States only last year imports from China over \$500 billion. This situation poses major challenges to reduce the interdependence of the two parties. It would not be wrong to say that the United States is a consumer society, or perhaps the world's largest consumer society. If the United States wants to reduce its dependence on China, it should not take the goods and replace them. In this case, the factories in China should attract new factories and find at least as cheap workers in China. But as we have seen, China is a low-probability and difficult to reach target, and it is preparing and doing many projects to reduce its dependence on the United States. As mentioned before, China is trying to create new markets with the OBOR project, with its debts and with the Asian infrastructure Investment Bank (Asian Investment Bank/AIBB) that it established in 2016. We also know that China has invested a lot in African countries, especially in infrastructure studies (bridges, roads, etc.). We can say that this is the reason to create cheap labour and market again. This is the first time that China has been in the Middle East for the past few years. As a result, it is very difficult to know the end of this war clearly, but as America's dependence on China increases; we see that it is the opposite of this situation for China. Thus, this shows us that China is likely to win this war.

Finally, although Turkey does not have much on the agenda, let's talk about who wins this commercial war, which is one of the important issues for the world agenda. Many different platforms have discussed this issue and continue to be discussed. Although it is very difficult to see the end of this trade war, today we can get a small idea of using statistics. There is no doubt that the two countries have a lot of dependence on each other today, but we cannot say that the US Front has not adopted much new ideas in order to reduce this dependence. China's biggest market today

SUBCONSCIOUS MARKETING

Hatice Hicret Karasioğlu



The similarity of the products produced by the enterprises caused many products similar to each other to fill the same markets. Businesses have developed many methods to ensure that brands and products are purchased by large masses of consumers. These methods are presented with the arguments that appeal to the consumer's feelings as well as marketing with reasons such as sound, high quality, being useful and cheap. The biggest question in front of advertisers is how can we persuade consumers to buy a brand while the brands are exactly the same in terms of their physical characteristics? The advertising industry has changed over time, and advertisers have developed both visual and verbal techniques to enable the purchase of the product. In the face of this dual siege, the consumer has no choice to buy the product. When we look at the purchasing decisions of consumers, it is worth to note that the effect of advertising on purchasing behaviours is enormous. While marketing activities are implemented not only in traditional advertising areas but also in many different areas, many manufacturers and brands market a lifestyle rather than a product to consumers.



Firstly, after an interesting experiment in cinema in the 1950s, there was a significant increase in sales. Throughout our subconscious, we see everything and record all symbols, codes, and signals. When the time comes, the information in the archive will appear and we say, "I have already known that." However, we have not made any effort to know this. In the recent TV series we have 'Product Placement'. These products like clothes, cars, drinks have been used by famous people. Especially in foreign films this technique is used too much. For example, while watching a movie in the cinema, the hero drinks a cola. Two hours after the film finishes, you unconsciously want to drink cola.

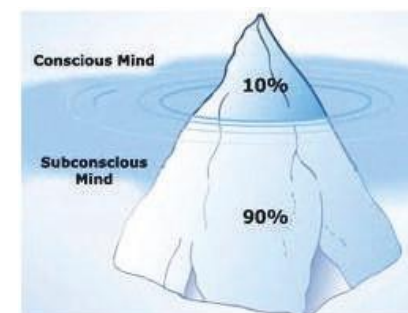
Subliminal Perception: A rapidly appearing image or a noise masked sound can be effective on our nervous system, even if we do not notice it. Subliminal perception is the stimuli that we cannot be aware of, but it can be measured on behaviour.

Subliminal message: The subliminal message can be defined as messages that are recorded just below our level of conscious perception, and which can only be detected by our subconscious mind, hearing, and messages to other senses.

There are three most commonly used ways of influencing people by giving subliminal messages:

1. Using voice record
2. Using videos
3. Using pictures (coded message)

WHAT IS SUBLIMINAL MARKETING?



A subliminal message is a sign embedded in another object. It is designed to be unnoticed at the moment, being below normal human perception limits.

For example, in the FedEx Company’s logo, the letters E and X include an arrow that symbolizes motion, which we do not recognize at first glance.



A few subconscious retail tricks:

- German or French music playing behind of a wine-shop shows which bottles customers will buy. Even in the absence of music in the background, noisy environments allow people to spend more money. Researchers say that noisy environments encourage people to buy more sports shoes.



- The smell of cakes and apple tarts in a shop increased the sales of fridges and ovens by 23%.
- Instead of taking a single drink, it is thought to be more advantageous to take in multiple packages. However, multi-packet reception actually pushes people to consume more.



INDUSTRY 1.0 FROM SOCIETY 5.0

Denizhan Nagihan Uyanik



The Industrial Revolution in different stages is known as the basis of many innovation movements, modernity and transformation in the world. At every stage of the industrial revolutions, important innovations for that period triggered many changes in the industry, as well as social, scientific, economic and cultural changes. However, do we know the stages of these revolutions?

The age of industry

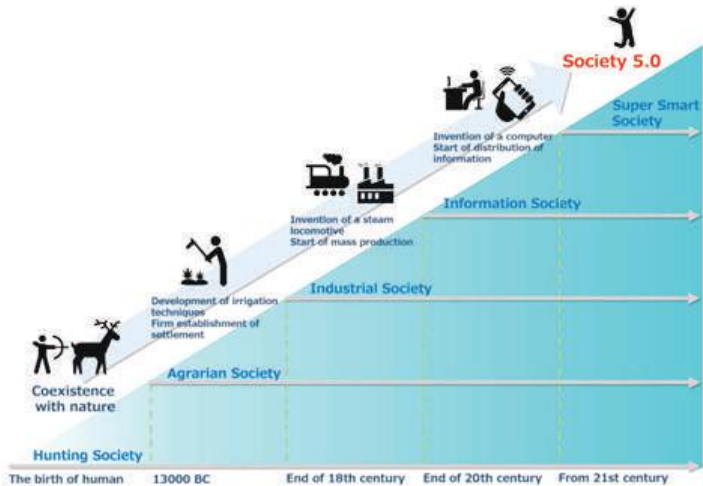
Industry 1.0: Water, steam, wind etc. use of natural environmental power in machines. The locomotive and transportation, especially working with steam power, was a wonderful experience by the human eye.

Industry 2.0: The discovery of electricity and its use as a source of power have created the concept of electricity Industry 2.0. At the same time Henry Ford’s mass production line system in the automotive industry and the electric operation of the factories quickly developed industrialization. Electric welded mass production thus gained a great acceleration. This revolution constitutes today’s basic production.

Industry 3.0: As a result of the development of PLCs, automation in production has begun to move forward. The Third Industrial Revolution was defined as the automation and digitization of production. In this period, the development of technologies such as computer, microelectronics, fibre optics, laser, telecommunication, nuclear, biotaurine and biogenetics has affected the direction of production. One of the most important developments in this process was the rapid depletion of world resources and the concept of sustainability. However, in the Third Industrial Revolution, renewable energy sources like solar and wind became important with environmental concerns and source difficulties.

Industry 4.0: Human power began to lose its importance. Cyber and physical systems come in. The concept of the Internet of Things began to be used in factories. Smart objects emerged by providing internet access to any object. With these physical systems, the management of factories has become much easier. Energy consumption decreased; efficiency increased.

Industry 5.0: The fifth stage, in which humanity comes from hunter-gatherer, agriculture, industry and information societies, is called “Community 5.0”. It is also called “super smart” community. In 2017, the world’s most comprehensive technology fair in Hannover, Germany, Prime Minister of Japan Shinzo Abe introduced the philosophy of Society 5.0 (Community 5.0) in the world’s most comprehensive technology fair. Shinzo Abe said that ‘They based this philosophy on the idea that technology should be perceived by society as a helper, not as a threat.’



The goals of the philosophy of Community 5.0:

- Developing solutions to the aging world population
- Making the virtual world and the real world work together
- Benefiting from the internet of things by taking the interests of society into consideration
- Development of solutions for environmental pollution and natural disasters

In order to achieve these goals, the main obstacles to be demolished are:

- Barriers to the legal system
- Scientific gaps in the digitization of objects
- Lack of qualified personnel
- Socio-political prejudices
- Social resistance

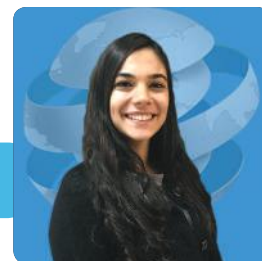
Is it possible for Turkey to pass industry 5.0?

According to TUBITAK's research, our industry's industrial maturity level is between Industry 2.0 and Industry 3.0.

Industry 2.5 levelling is applicable to many issues from human management to corporate understanding. Especially the philosophy of community 5.0 needs to be well understood in our country. We should not forget that community 5.0 is a philosophy that aims not only to increase the power of technology but also to improve the quality of life of the society, and the easiest way to catch up with technology in the industry is to benefit from young minds.

“WHEN FRANCE SNEEZES, EUROPE CATCHES COLD”

Bahar Temir



In the last months of 2018 protests which started in France are still affecting the world. There are governments that took these protests as democratic demonstrations or fear about its spreading. Klemens von Metternich's historical phrase is still the best sentence to describe French protests and now the yellow vests- “gilets jaunes”.

France has long history with the protests which mark the world history and it has been witnessed other remarkable protests nowadays. Yellow vests are on the streets for weeks and their main motivation is economic problems. These economic problems are in fact one of the world-wide problems of 21st century. Many economists say that they have originated from neoliberalism. However, in France, these protests have started like a sparkle as a result of increasing taxation on petrol, but it has turned into a flame. Putting green tax on petrol caused serious demonstrations in France against the president Emmanuel Macron. French people who are triggered by the high tax rates have protested their living standards generally.



These yellow vests protests, whose main reasons are oil prices and tax increase, are lighting the fuse of one of the biggest demonstrations in France. Ranging from retired to the students, thousands of people demand justice, and they have won. The increase of taxation on petrol is postponed about 6 months, then government has decided to cancel it. With President Macron's call for dialogue, government announced the removal of price rises in 2019 budget. Moreover, it is reported that government thinks about the lower taxation on electricity.¹ Yellow vests protests have high level of participation from all segments of society. 72 percent of French people support the protests while the support for President Macron decrease. Yellow vests protests have gained world-wide support, but at the same time maltreatment of French police against the yellow vests got worldwide.



-Down with the caviar, long live kebab-

However, the most vital part of these protests is their affects in abroad or its expanse -most probably the nightmare of many governments-. Although the steps taken by the President Macron has been ease the tension and protests, they can be seen in many countries. After France, there are some demonstrations in Belgium and Netherlands, however; these protests have lack of organization compared to France.² In Germany, hundreds of people organized a demonstration called aufstehen. There are several protests in Hungary organized by the people who are fed up with Orban government, in Serbia and in Albania by the students.³

It is not only the Europe which is affected from the protests. Yellow vests set as an example for the protesters in the Middle East. However, in Egypt the fear of protests caused ban on the sale of yellow vest. People in Tunisia organized demonstrations with red jackets. In Iraq and Jordan people started to wear yellow vests during their protests. In our country which has one of the highest oil prices in the world the atmosphere is stable, and government do not neglect to control sales of yellow vests in Turkey.

¹ “The gilets jaunes”. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idx-sh/yellow_vests

² “France, Hungary, Serbia: Is half of Europe protesting?”. <https://www.dw.com/en/france-hungary-serbia-is-half-of-europe-protesting/a-46792738>

³ “Egypt bans sale of yellow vests in fear of gilets jaunes copycat protests”. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/dec/11/egypt-bans-sale-of-gilets-jaunes-yellow-vests-in-fear-copycat-protests>

THE WAR TO END ALL WARS

Last month, on November 11, commemoration the 100th anniversary of the signing of the armistice treaty which formally ends the First World War on Europe commemorated series of events. Leaders delivered speeches about global peace and cooperation. France's Macron also warned about rising nationalism and populism threaten to divide the world again.

First World War which is also called as World War I, Great War, European War, and The War to End All Wars was a series of bloody conflicts all over the world. Around 37 million people, both civilian and military, lost their lives during that war. German, Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian empires dissolved. Aftermath of the war, Paris Peace Conference was held for imposing treaties to Central Powers (Axis), and the establishment of League of Nations. These series of treaties, particularly Treaty of Versailles with Germany and Treaty of Sevres with Ottoman Empire, would become controversial for next years. On the one hand, Versailles Treaty neither ratified nor was recognized by the Ottoman Empire's successor Turkish National movement which would establish modern Republic of Turkey. On the other hand, former Ottoman soils before the World War I in the Middle East Region were officially decided to be mandated by Britain and France. Later this was recognized by Turkey with the Treaty of Lausanne.

Most bitter one, Treaty of Versailles, was imposed to Germany with controversial conditions. There were high war reparations, limited army, and loss of territory. Furthermore, Alsace-Lorraine region which had importance because of the coal and steel industry and which is historically troubled place between Germany and France was given to France. Of course, Treaty of Versailles would no longer stay without violation. Germany's economic capabilities were quite weak after the World War I. Germany faced severe hyperinflation due to printing high amounts of money without any guarantee for paying the debts.

Disarmament of German Army and limitation of their heavy arms also violated for a short time. Beginning from Weimar Republic production of arms continued in the other states. It was not illegal according to Treaty of Versailles. However, threshold of arms production began in 1935, after the election of Nazi Regime. Germany withdrew from League of Nations, and introduced rearmament and conscription program. From that year to outbreak of World War II armament of Germany boosted. In 1936, Germany violated another condition of Versailles treaty. German army entered previously demilitarized Rhineland region.

Can Abanoz



As a result of Paris Peace Conference, in 1920 League of Nations which was an intergovernmental organization aiming to maintain world peace was formed. It had lack of any military force. It is just settling international disputes through arbitration and negotiation. That organization depended on Great Powers (Allies) and its resolutions. The US, rising state of World War I, was not officially a member of that League, and recently formed USSR joined later.

During the interwar period League of Nations failed in



their purposes. That league did not have any capabilities for preventing aggression of the Central Powers. While Italy's invasion of Ethiopia and Germany's invasion of Rhineland, League of Nations was unable to impose any sanctions to these states. After Italy, Germany, Spain and Japan withdrew from that League. With the outbreak of World War II, League of Nations became completely unfunctional.

The war to end all wars did not end anything on these conditions. In 1939, with Germany's invasion of Poland another bloody and brutal war, World War II, had begun. Within trajectory of the Great Powers and its primary interests, peace could not be provided. Ghosts of World War I are still living around the world. Particularly today's conflicts on the Middle East are great example for these ghosts. Since the end of World War I, conflicts have been continuing in that region. In spite of the fact that League of Nations' successor, United Nations, is more reliable, more cooperated and providing collective security according to League of Nations; it became inapplicable on certain issues like United Nations Security Council's permanent members actions. This was proved again and again during the Cold War years and Post-Cold War conflicts.

Another important point is Macron's speech in the commemoration, "The old demons rising again." He emphasized the dangers of rising nationalism around the world. Latest elections around the world resulted with the victory of nationalist leaders. Even in the US, Trump uses nationalist and populist rhetoric for guaranteeing his power. French Revolution triggered nationalism around the world; it caused nationalist, separatist movements on empires, caused World War I, of course then World War II.

Last but not least, providing peace and security around the world is a difficult job for the states and of course the international organizations aiming that. Particularly when states' interests are clashing with world peace, that process became more difficult. We all know that taking lessons from past saves the future. However, today we are about to repeat the past. Everybody have to say "not again!"

THE TRUTHS OF KHASHOGGI'S MURDER



Jamal Khashoggi entered the Consulate General of Saudi Arabia in Istanbul to receive the necessary documents for divorcing from his wife in Saudi Arabia in order to get married with his fiancée. Khashoggi's fiancée, who was not allowed to enter the building, was waiting outside. However, at 3.30 pm, all the consulate-general staff went their homes. Hatice Cengiz told the Financial Times, "I knew something was going wrong." His fiancée informed the authorities because Khashoggi said to his fiancée that "If I do not come out, please call the AKP Vice President Yasin Aktay". After these, some

Elif Bakar



movements started on social media. On Twitter, the shares of Khashoggi did not come out of the consulate.

These were the general points. Actually the question is that who is Khashoggi?

Jamal Khashoggi is a Saudi journalist, columnist, writer, former general manager and former editor-in-chief of Arab News Channel. On September 18, 2017, he fled Saudi Arabia and regularly published critical articles about his country, Saudi Arabia, and Muhammad bin Selman. On October 2, 2018, the allegations were brought against Khashoggi, who had

been taken into custody or was killed after he had entered the Consulate General of Saudi Arabia in Istanbul. There were some claims about Khashoggi such as he has killed because of his critical writings but in fact, he had some new ideas for his country, he was supporter of some reforms. For some, he was killed or retained because of his innovator thoughts. **After the day of 2nd October**, Saudi officials said they had no clear information about the incident. The Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, Mohammad bin Salman, said the Turkish authorities could investigate the Consulate General in Istanbul. Saudi Arabia's Consulate General to Istanbul Muhammad al-Otaibi allowed investigation of the building to prove that Khashoggi was not in the consulate. Turkey said it was good initially forecast and Saudi Arabia needs to prove it and full cooperation must be in place to solve the problem.



Also, US President Donald Trump said that he had spoken to senior Saudi officials on Khashoggi and he added: "This is a bad situation. Khashoggi's disappearance should be investigated in depth. People saw him enter but did not see him leave the consulate". The United States was involved in the investigation of the Saudi journalist. US President Donald Trump gave a speech to Fox News. He said "investigation team of Americans helps to Turkey," and he added "Our inspectors there, in Turkey.

We are working together with Turkey. In fact, we are working together with Saudi Arabia. We want to uncover what happened," British Foreign Minister Jeremy Hunt had doubts about the murder of Khashoggi's, and said "Saudi Arabia will face the heavy consequences".

The Saudi Arab Consulate denies allegations.

Saudi Ambassador in Turkey Walid bin Abdulkerim al-Hireyci was invited to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to inform about the allegations that Khashoggi was detained. El Hireyci said "We do not have information, we are investigating. We will transfer the information when we received." During investigation process, Saudi intelligence's top names were suspended and eighteen people were detained. Saudi Arabian King Selman bin Abdulaziz had ordered the reorganization of intelligence services under the leadership of Prince Mohammed bin Selman.

The pressures on Saudi Arabia increased

The CNN television channel claimed that there were "shocking sounds and images" for the proof of Khashoggi was killed. The evidence conveyed to our source by a Western intelligence agency.

It shows that there were a discussion and a struggle in the consulate. The source said there was evidence of Khashoggi's death. The international pressure on Saudi Arabia is increasing; many organizations have withdrawn from the investment conference on question marks on Khashoggi's fate. Turkey's Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu said that Saudi Arabia was a lack of cooperation on the investigation.

US President Donald Trump has announced that he will meet with King Selman and send Foreign Minister Pompeo to Saudi Arabia because according to the BBC's diplomatic sources, Britain and the United States were among those preparing to boycott the investment conference in Riyadh.

Turkish officials conduct investigation

Turkish authorities made investigations in the Turkish Consulate General from the evening of October 15th

15th to October 16th. They said "evidences are proving that Khashoggi was killed". President of Turkey said the teams "were faced with a newly painted wall". On the same day, US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo met with King Selman and Crown Prince Mohammed bin Selman in Saudi Arabia. Trump also shared a post in Twitter about what they talked with Prince Selman and said that the Prince said to Trump that he did not have information about Khashoggi's fate.

US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo went to Ankara after he visited Saudi Arabia. Pompeo met with President Erdogan, Foreign Minister Cavusoglu, MIT undersecretary Hakan Fidan and Presidential spokesman Ibrahim Kalin. After the meeting, the US said they were ready to help Turkey again. In Istanbul, Turkish security forces sent a team to the consulate-general of Saudi Arabia to search for possible traces from Khashoggi. Shortly after Khashoggi entered the consulate, a man who is close to Prince Mohammed bin Salman, entered the building and the imageries shared.



After these phases; Saudi Arabia has announced that Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi died on October 2nd. The statement of Saudi Arabia was made after the president of Turkey's call. Saudi Arabia state television announced that the first results of the official investigation showed that Khashoggi died of a fight at the consulate.

Trump said that Saudi Arabia's description is convincing.

US President Donald Trump commented on Saudi Arabia's confirmation, and he said confirming Jamal Khashoggi's death in the consulate is "a significant first step" for Saudi Arabia. He said sanctions against Saudi Arabia could be implemented. He also added he did not want to include the gun agreement which has made with Riyadh in these sanctions. The reason of this is that he did not want millions in the US to lose their jobs. He would rather find another solution. Trump said Saudi Arabia is a great ally and their geographic situation is significant for them. The White House made a separate statement and said the country was in a "deep sadness" because of Jamal Khashoggi's death.

UNSHARED SEA UNENDED CRISIS: AEGEAN

Enver Burkan Yıldırım



Translated by: Utku Cenani Yıldırım

In 18 October 1973, there was the first serious crisis arose about the continental shelf between Turkey and Greece due to licensing for petrol investigations to Turkish Petroleum Corporation (TPAO) by Turkey and Greece protested Turkey by declaring that it did not recognize these licences. This

to the United Nations by Greece, but Turkey was recognized according to the established commission's examinations. Since that day, Turkey and Greece have been having territorial waters, continental shelf and air space problems. The problem of the territorial waters between the two countries has not yet been determined by a treaty. There is a need to explain territorial waters term in order to understand the issue better. Territorial waters is defined as a sea part of a state which is determined by international agreements and its sovereignty along the sea shores. The place where the territorial waters of a state ends forms the sea border of that state. Territorial waters between Turkey and Greece is regarded as 6 miles right now. Although there is not any treaty between Greece and Turkey, determination territorial waters according to a treaty is a basis of international law. Greece wanted to extend territorial waters to 12 miles by showing justifications about its islands. However, in such a case, Turkey's sovereignty in the Aegean Sea area will shrink and large part of the Aegean Sea will fall under the Greek domination. Due to the existing islands of Greek, the

territorial waters of Greece forms 40% of the Aegean Sea. In the event of extension of territorial waters of Greeks to 12 miles, this domination will extend to 70% and Turkey's territorial waters will cover less than 10% of Aegean Sea.

Continental Shelf Problem

Another problem between Turkey and Greece is the continental shelf. The continental shelf is defined as the seabed and subsoil areas of submarine areas outside the territorial waters of the country, up to a depth of -200 meters adjacent to the coasts of a country, or to the point where the water depth beyond this border is suitable for the operation of natural resources. The continental shelf between the two countries has not yet determined. Both countries do not have a delimited maritime jurisdiction beyond their territorial waters. While Turkey wants to fair solution having regard to the Greek islands, Greece does not show same consideration of Turkey and it wants to the closest and farthest island of Anatolia to be included in the continental shelf and wants it to be calculated like that. Furthermore, Greece claims that the each island has its own continental shelf. This claim of Greece has no basis in international law. This is clearly seen when we look at the International Maritime Convention and the cases which are submitted to international jurisdiction. In these cases, the jurisdiction determined the equity principles and acted according to these equity principles. One of the most important principles is the principle of supremacy of geography. Geography intention is the mainland geography in the region that is mentioned to the restriction between the two countries. Accordingly, the court indicates that the mainland coast and coastal lengths are the most important factors in the determination of the sea area to be acquired. For example, the continental shelf problem which existed between England and France in 1977 was submitted to international jurisdiction. The court determined an equal distance line by taking into account the coastal lengths and geographical shapes according to the principle of the supremacy of geography. This line gave a limited continental shelf to the English islands on the French side. This and other 10 similar cases have been resolved by the international jurisdiction generally in accordance with the principles of equity like in this case. While Turkey wants to solve this issue fairly both for the two countries, Greece prevents this solution by baseless allegations and makes baseless requests.

The Disarmament of Islands Problem



Another problem between the two countries is the East Aegean Islands issue, which was decided to be disarmed by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, the Treaty of Paris in 1947 and other

international conventions which are related to the issue. On the issue of islands which are disarmed by these related treaties and conventions, Greece has been arming these islands since the 1960 by violating obligations under these treaties. Greece, which accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court

of Justice in 1993, also made a reservation to this agreement by showing military security measures as a reason. This indicates that Greece accepted the violation of treaties by itself and aims to prevent the trial.

Air Space Problem

Another problem is Greece's misuse of Flight Information Zone (FIR) responsibility. The territorial waters width of one country also determines their air space width at the same time. However, Greece declares its airspace as 10 miles, despite its territorial waters is 6 miles. This situation violates the International Law. Greece's 10 miles claim is not recognized justifiably by Turkey. This process of Greece confronts the two countries in the Aegean airspace from time to time.

Recently, Greece has reawakened its aim of extension of territorial waters to 12 miles and this has caused a new crisis in Aegean Sea. Unfortunately, this issue needs to be resolved in accordance with the principle of equity and international law because it has been creating problems for many years. The results of Greek's extension of territorial waters to 12 miles will be inadmissible for

Turkey. Turkey will be completely surrounded by Greek territorial waters, a large part of Aegean Sea will be dominated by the Greece, marine resources and resources which are above the sea will be largely in the control of Greece. Turkey will jammed in a small part of Aegean Sea both in a civil and military way. This situation will be inadmissible for Turkey in terms of their national security. Furthermore, it is contrary to international law, principle of equity and supremacy of geography.

One of the most recent problems between these countries is also occupied islands by the Greece but this problem is not taken into consideration sufficiently in the Turkey's agenda. According to the information received by the Former Secretary General of Ministry of Defense Ümit Yalım, Greece has violated 18 islands and 1 reef which are belonging to the State of The Republic of Turkey since 2004. In addition to this, Greece has opened some of these islands to tourism and it has set up a military base and also established churches in some of them. Greece has also created a national guard force by providing weapons training to civilians. Moreover, according to the aforementioned claims Greece violated an island which is belonging to İzmir and it assigned a governor and mayor to İzmir. Also President, Minister of Defense and Military Officials of Greece visited these islands and showed of their force. A major part of these information is not only claim any more and it was proved by many images. Turkey, which is not occupied by the island's soil and unbiased island of Greece is an unacceptable situation and it is a major threat to Turkey's national security. Movements to solve this issue should be made immediately and the Turkish public who has lack of knowledge on this issue should be informed. The solution to this problem, which has confronted the two neighboring countries for many years, can be done with the principle of equity and in accordance with international law. It is obvious that Turkey is also approached to this issue in this way. Unfortunately, this problem cannot be solved because of Greece's baseless requests and these requests are inconsistent with international law. This problem has brought the two countries to the brink of military conflicts and even war when we look at the both during and before the Cyprus Peace Operation as well as in the crisis of the Kardak Crisis and similar crises, also the occasional dangerous military convergence. Turkey continues to behave in a responsible manner and should continue to demand to solve the problem equitably. On the other hand, it should never compromise on its national interests, rights and security.

We Are Totally Unaware

Merve Keklikçi

Translated by: Yağmur Taşdemir



Censorship is the prevention or control of the messages, various information, news, text, picture etc. by political authorities although its methods have changed from past to present. The first official implication about censorship was started with the Matbuat Nizamnamesi (1864). With this implementation, the government has been granted the right not to publish newspapers and magazines unless deemed appropriate. As we can see more examples in the past, discussions about censorship in the media and whether it is needed or not are increasing day by day. Many journalists, including Banu Güven, Hilmi Hacaloğlu, Özgür Mumcu, have recently stated that they desire to meet on a television channel and perform uncensored broadcasting.

People who think like that protest the censorship with the slogan "Censorship is the innate brother of every dictatorship". Today, another discussion about this issue is that all the newspapers in our country are under the

control of a single person. This raises the idea that freedom of information is restricted for those who refuse censorship in the media. Napoleon states the importance of the press and the reason for censorship with this quote "If I give the reins of the press, I can't stay in power for more than three months." On the other hand, people who support censorship in the media believe that children should not read some news because of their devastating effects. In addition to its effects, they claim that these will affect psychology of children negatively rather than being conscious. They advocate that the news that create ill effect like sexual abuse, abduction

and theft should not be revealed completely. They also think that crime rates can increase because some contents that contain obscenity can encourage children for gambling or lead them to prostitution. With a general evaluation, censorship in the media has become a clash of ideas that seems to last for years. While some people argue that the media has been interfered and the content of the news or even their data have been changed so they have



restricted their freedom of communication, others claim that these restrictions should be. This issue, which has been repeated hundreds of times in history and which will continue in the future, will become a conflict of ideas that will never end and will increase even more. As a solution to this, all people who believe that data freedom and freedom of communication are restricted should express the situation and the censorship should be reduced as much as possible.

The Changing Agenda of Security Studies and Copenhagen School of Security



Deniz Karan

Security is the word that has recently been started to get too much involved in our daily speeches as well as heard in the TV News very often. There are many definitions for this word in the dictionary. The state of being free from danger or threat is one of them. The state of feeling safe, stable and free from fear or anxiety is another definition of it. Moreover, for the security studies of International Relations, there are quite different approaches about the definition of security in terms of Realist, Liberal and Critical perspectives. Every approaches and perspectives are tested during the long and sharpen periods of history. Fundamentally, Security Studies are divided into two main branches which are Traditional (Positivist) explicated approach, and New (Post-positivist) contested approach. Every event about the Security Studies turned across the some critical question: Security for what or for whom?

Traditional approach strongly reflects the fundamental principles of Realist and Neo-realist attitudes. According to the traditional perspective, survival or security can only be assured by accumulation of power. There can be no higher interest than the accumulation of power as power will guarantee security. State is the object to which security policy refers, and states live in continual fear of extinction. Although within the state there may be a sovereign power, outside of the state there is no such thing. The Classical European Great Powers Era, between the years of 1648 and 1945, reflects the Realist Ideology's viewpoints. Each and every event that occurred in that era was determined by the key term of Realism.



Power, especially the military meaning of it, was located in the root of the Realist Security viewpoint. State must be powerful to produce deterrence because only deterrence can obtain peace according to the Realists. "If you are strong, you can obtain peace". These words were said by Edward Hallett Carr, who is the one of the most important Realists. State has primary responsibility for maintaining security as reflected in the notion of National Security. Liberal perspective and its security attitudes are located in the different sides of the same coin. They have nearly same standpoints about the Security. Both of them mainly focused on the field of war (state-based notions of military and territorial security) and its threats. As a solution, Liberals precisely support Democratic Peace Theory, which claims that spreading of liberal democracy as helping to mitigate the effects of anarchy.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY:

Conditions in which the mutual survival and safety of state is secured through measures taken to prevent aggression, usually within a rule-governed international order.

According to them, Real Liberal Democracies never and ever do not fight with each other. Thus, Liberals produce the Liberal Institutionalism to establish strong International Regime as a core solution, this provides the basis for the establishment of an international rule of law because they believe that this is the only type of regime, which can protect or secure the Perpetual Peace. Pursuant to Liberals the solution is that aggression can best be resisted by United Action taken by a number of states.

New Security Comprehension (Emancipation of Security)

However, after the collapse of the USSR and elimination of its threat, everything has started to change both on the ground and on the minds. Traditional Security concept had difficulty in answering new questions that were motivated by new threat perceptions. Realist and Liberal perspectives were insufficient to explain the emerging new world order and its accompanying developments. Since the end of the Cold War, a series of new security challenge that are very problematic have emerged.

New combination of threats produced by Within State or Contemporary Wars together with the titles of transnational terrorism, nuclear proliferation, gross human rights violations and Intra-state violence.

End of the cold war, security paradigm has started to change from classical state-centric framework of security to the mentality of security for individual or everyone.

For instance, following the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the 1990's, within state wars had occurred in the South-Eastern part of Europe. Since the mid 1990's, approximately 95 percent of the armed conflict has occurred within states, not between states. Within State Wars have prevalent in the post-colonial world where Colonialism has often left a heritage of ethnic or regional hostility, economic underdevelopment and enervated state power. Contemporary wars have often been more barbaric than the old ones. Kidnapping, torture and systematic rape are the results of within state wars. Entire population, race or culture may therefore be identified as "the enemy" meaning military and civilian targets are equally legitimate. Target is mostly social population including those who have an added symbolic value like local leaders, priests, health workers and teachers. Thus, together with these tragic developments, the concept of security has shifted attention from the security of states to the security of individuals. In the post-September 11 period, it is seen that securitization concept moved away from classical, state centric perspective of security and towards one with much more mixed set of actors and referent objects. As a result of this process, totally different and reformist type of security understanding has started to emerge on the opposite side of the traditional perspective named as a New Security Comprehension which distinctly promotes emancipation of security.

This new class consists of five important branches in terms of Copenhagen Security School, Critical Theories' Security Studies, Constructivist's Theories Security Studies, Post-modern Theories' Security Studies and Feminist Theory's Security Studies.

Copenhagen Security School

I hold the idea that Copenhagen School of Security Studies is broader and more contemporary branch of New Security Comprehension. Barry Buzan, Ole



Wæver and Jaap de Wilde are the three important elements of Copenhagen Security School. According to the Copenhagen Security School, there are three important corner stones of security studies which are Securitization, Regional Security and Social Aspects of Security.

Securitization is basically determined as the process of power holders, elites or state actors transforming subject into the matters of security. In other words, securitization is the extreme version of politicization and calls it 'speech act'. Securitization of subject depends on an audience accepting a securitization move undertaken by the security actor. For instance, the western powers led by the US and the UK have applied new label of 'state concern' to seven countries: North Korea, Cuba, Iraq, Iran, Libya, Sudan and Syria. . In diplomatic language, this new category or labelling (Securitization) replaces the term of Rogue States because according to the western powers, they choose to sponsor international terrorism and political violence.

However, today same Western powers are strongly supporting YPG or PYD. Here the question is that: Are they terrorist elements or not? The miserable result of this labelling is that the USA has been the newest member of Rogue States' club.

ROGUE STATE

A state whose foreign policy poses a threat to neighboring or other states, through its aggressive intent, build-up of weapons, or association with terrorism.

Another important corner stone is Regional Security. The security of each actor in a region interacts with the security of the other actors. Security is interdependence within a region, not between regions. Security as a concept clearly requires a referent object. Without answer to the question 'the security of what?' the idea makes no sense. To answer it simply as 'the State' does not solve the problem. Furthermore, "how to ensure the security of others" is another important question. Besides, those who think of only their own state's security must answer this question as well. Since the security of any referent object or level cannot be achieved in isolation from the other. The security of each becomes, in part, a condition for the security of all.

Last but not least, corner stone of security studies of Copenhagen School is Social Aspects of Security which highlighted in the five main sectors: Military/State, Political, Societal, Economic, and Environmental. According to the Buzan, security agenda should be widening across the every title that interests and influences the human being.



For illustrate, some people are quite satisfy with the war on terrorism, because it serves to their interests in a variety of ways and it's valid as an objective threat and looks real enough. There are some evidences out there and you can support them. On the other hand, others will say that this is just a distraction that we really need to be worried about the fact that ice caps are melting, and the ocean levels are rising that climate is going to go to the hell. This is why; North Korea's nuclear weapons become threat more than Britain's 500 nuclear weapons because the notion of security and anarchy are related to how states define these concepts.

State authorities have a privileged position for speaking security, however; this situation is totally out-dated because only individuals have to right of acceptance the valid definition of a threat.

Security Risk Perception

Mustafa Mert Koç



In the past, security was associated with investing money on military that meant becoming more secure. However, it is not only related with military today. Therefore, in 2003, sixteen scientists tried to define what is involved in contemporary understanding of security and they found ten new terms related with problems that we face today. Actually, the actions of states are not certain and there will be always more military expenditure than expected and this will also lead to worse-case scenario which is being ready for all the time against the worst-case situation to deter the others.

Firstly, the problems are lack of distinguishing differences between offensive and defensive military capabilities that is very much related with interpretation. According to some people, security regime and security communities like European Union would decrease uncertainty and security risks. This idea is true because after the creation of European Economic Cooperation, there was no longer rivalry between Germany and France that security community got rid of uncertainty. Robert Jervis also claims that security competition can be ameliorated, but never eliminated. This approach also very much true to explain changing security risks because there are always big and small threats. Turkey also created security rings such as Baghdad and Balkan Pacts, and with Greece that was temporary restriction. Security cannot be defined as a universal and an abstract thing because it is inter-subjective interaction that is social construction. The definition of security risks itself is the speech act of states that is determined by state authority. Today, the US determines its new security threat as the rise of China. After Cold War, there were no longer tangible risks for the US that created these enemies as weapons of mass destruction and terrorism after the Kuwait War. In international political sociology, they also criticize this approach because their argument was that the security risks could be explained by not only state but also society which defines them. We see the expansion of security that is maintained not only by military but also economically, politically and strategically. Secondly, the scientists in the USA defined ten new terms that are related with security risks. The poverty comes first because of migration. With the increasing population in the world, it became the problem for many states including Westerns. Syrian case could be the most prominent example of it. Infections also can be another security risk for humanity that can be used as a tool in International Relations. Interstate wars are also other important security risks. These types of wars had changed since 1900s. Back then, there were Total Wars and during the Cold War period, it became proxy wars that were shifted to third world countries rather than the US, USSR or West. However, after the Cold War, civil wars emerged in poor countries like Syria and Iraq.



Therefore, we see the expansion of security definitions. Security is derivative concept that depends on political perceptions. The weapons of mass destruction including nuclear armament, chemical and biological weapons also are threatening the whole world's security. Terrorism is also another new concept for the security studies. 9/11 attacks were a huge shock for America because they thought that the US is secured because of Canada and Mexico that were not threats for the US in terms of military. After the event, America also realized that deterrence was not well suited to deal with terrorism, and they abandoned deterrence policy.



As a security risk, terrorism or terrorist groups might originate from the Middle East, but most of them supported by West. Moreover, their leaders and members are also educated in West, so the victims are not only westerners but also innocent people who live in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq. Security risks of states have also gradually changed. America had organizing principles during 1930s that was against the Great Depression. During the Cold War period, it became Soviet Union and nuclear war became the main danger for the US. After

the end of the Cold War, terrorism and rogue states were determined as the main dangers for American security, and the world was divided into two camps. The reason was that there was no longer evil empire against the USA and exceptional states needed enemies. That is why; terrorism became the new concept for America. For today, it is obvious that China and America already declared trade wars against each other. In this trade war, the world will also be divided into two camps as in the case of the Cold War. We understand that after the Cold War, the world is less secured because the conditions of bipolarity ended and we are going back to the times of dog-eat-dog world.



THE CHILDREN OF FORGOTTEN WARS

Dilara Soy



Each war is always destructive. Some are more destructive, some are less destructive; but they are always destructive. We who sit at their coaches and watch these wars can easily forget how deep the effects of the war was and still is. The saddest thing is that the people who have to live this horrible, terrifying experience will never forget it. As observers, we may think that the hardest thing is to stop the war. However, in my opinion, it is the restructuring of everything including the lives of the people. Here I do not only mean building up the city again, but also mentally effected whole population especially children. The life after these traumatic situations cannot be described. Not only the loss of people but also the constant fear of everything and the surviving instinct surrounding them are experiences that will shaped their lives forever. One of these huge devastating wars is the Yemeni Civil War which is humanitarian wise very harsh, cruel and brutal.

If we go back to the starting point of the war, everything started after the failure of political transition from Ali Abdullah Saleh to his deputy Abdrabbuh Mansour Hadi, in 2011. At that time there were a lot of problems surrounding Yemen. The effects of the Arab Spring, the attacks of Al-Qaeda, corruption, food insecurity and especially a rebel group called Houthis which is an anti-government group and is a Zaidi Shia Muslim minority making the country very instabil. The Houthis and the Yemeni government had battled since 2004. In September 2014, the Houthis took control over Yemen's capital, Sanaa.¹

¹ Al Jazeera. "Key Facts about the War in Yemen." GCC News | Al Jazeera. March 25, 2018. Accessed December 09, 2018. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/06/key-facts-war-yemen-160607112342462.html>.



The Shia rebel group stormed the presidential palace and key government buildings on January 22 [Reuters]

As a reaction, in 2015 Saudi Arabia launched an international coalition consisting of mostly Sunni muslim states. We can clearly see that this was a big conflict arising between the Shia's and Sunni's. With the created coalition, military actions started. Although the actions were for stopping the war, unfortunately more and more people got destroyed. Today, we are in 2018 and still the war is countinuing. Actually, what continues is the continuity of dying, suffering, and starving.

The never ending war turned living into a surviving game because such a long war makes it harder to provide basic needs of people. Particularly food is the biggest problem of them. The foremost reasons are the strict Saudi blockades, and travel restrictions that prevent the reach of food and aid to Yemen. These cause the price of food within the country to skyrocket and leave desperate families unable to afford basic supplies from markets.² The food prices are 68% more expensive than when the war began.³ For most of us, this situation is unimaginable. Think about having a starving kid next to you, and there is no food. Since the entry into the region is not easy, the number of people that have been killed cannot be known. However, according to the UN reports, 2 million people got displaced. Moreover, 22.2 million people are now in the need of food assistance. The most affected ones are children, and again according to another report of the UN 85.000 children under the age of 5 died because of famine.

² Sommerlad, Joe. "Yemen Civil War: The 'forgotten War' That Has Killed 10,000 and Displaced Millions." The Independent. October 15, 2018. Accessed December 11, 2018. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/yemen-civil-war-explained-facts-saudi-arabia-bombing-uk-forgotten-war-deaths-refugees-a8584356.html>.



Creator:ABDULJABBAR ZEYAD Credit:REUTERS

The Chief Executive of Save the Children Helle Thorning-Schmidt who visited a Yemeni hospital says "In one hospital I visited in north Yemen, the babies were too weak to cry, their bodies exhausted by hunger."

The Yemeni war is mentioned now in nearly everywhere as the forgotten war because no one really speaks or reports it as reported previously. Although the UN made a plan for helping the people in 2019, the lack of notification is very clear. Without social media or news, people quickly forget the urgency in Yemen. The situation is very bizarre. In the 21st century, one part of world is dying because of famine and the other part suffers from obesity.

IRANIAN SANCTIONS From 1980 to Today

Umut Kucur



Iranian President Hassan Rouhani said that the sanction which had been applied for 35 years is terminating with the agreement which was signed in Vienna. According to the agreement all Iranian sanctions which included banks, insurance, transportation, petro chemistry, precious metals and all economic embargoes were removed. Moreover, Rouhani said that the embargoes on the guns and missiles will be removed after a 5-year restriction. (14 July 2015)

The basic reason of the sanctions was the Nuclear Activity. After Iranian Islamic Revolution (1979) the embargoes were applied to Iran, and it lasted till 2015. The 5+1 and Iran started to make nuclear negotiations in 2003. After twelve years, they came to terms with each other.

Historically, during Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) the US put gun embargoes to Iran. The Iranian sanction started with that movement. Then some chemical matters were banned by the US in 1984. In addition to these in 1987, in the period of Ronald Reagan, they also banned one hundred fifty chemical substances which were used in military areas. Moreover, at the same year the US parliament took a decision. The decision was about the Iranian petrol and they decided not to buy it anymore. The US gave a struggle against Iran, but it was not as embargo it was political enterprise because America did not want -actually the still do not- Iran to acquire atomic bomb, ballistic missile, chemical and biological weapons. This political enterprise led to the creation of a law in 1995. It is known as the Iran-Libya Sanctions Law (ILSA). It punished big companies which were working with Iranian energy companies. In 1997, Mohammed Khatem was chosen as the president of Iran. He tried to make political and economic reforms. This is why Clinton, who was president of the US, supported him and he placed embargoes on food and drink. In 2000, this packet a little bit extended. In 2004, when Mahmud Ahmadinejad was chosen as the president, the embargoes started to increase because the West thought that Iran gave their interests to nuclear programs. Until 2015, the conflict between Iran and the West continued. Furthermore, Western side strengthened embargo and made political threats. Iran has the world's second largest natural gas reserve. They also have the fourth largest oil reserves in the world. Actually because of these, imperialist powers always wanted to control Iran. The period of Mohammed Mosaddegh, who was the president of Iran between 1951 and 1953 can be given as an example. He decided to make a new policy which he called "nationalization of oil". When he applied this policy and exported

their oil, he came across with England's embargoes against himself. The reason of this behaviour was that before 1950s the ones who controlled Iranian oil were the English. When they lost the control, they made a military coup with the US. They called the coup as Ajax Operation.

When we look at the general foreign policy of the US, they want to create a control mechanism in the Middle East. Actually the theory is that, they are trying to make a big project which is called "the Great Middle East". The US wants to control the region for their benefits. That is why; they are preventing new potential powers in the region. Palestine can be given as an example here. The US got into the Middle East easily with them. However, they also determine new borders for their political and economic benefits. Present borders were determined by the European powers at the age of imperialism. Depending on that reason, the US wants it to be changed and create a new region for Kurdish people living there. After Palestine if there is a new region- as in Syria- such as Kurdish people or another ethnicity which is built by the US, they can more easily do whatever they want without doubt. With these movements, they exactly protect the unipolar international system. Iran is not a weak country. They were exposed to embargoes nearly thirty five years, but they did not

collapse. Today's Iran has strong alliances like Russia. Furthermore, Iran's economy is not in a bad situation. So, they can circumvent to today's sanctions. They tried to find a solution all the time.

For example, the fifth Five-Year Development Plan was created between 2010 and 2015. The main goal was to fight with inflation and promote domestic investments.

Development of the development plan as like that year by year:

	The Distribution of GNP				
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Agriculture	4.0	4.4	4.3	4.3	4
Industry	-1.3	-5.6	-3.2	1.1	1.6
Services	-0.3	-3.1	-7.7	0.9	1.1

According to the statement of Iranian Vice President Es'hagh Jahangiri, Iran managed to reduce inflation to single-digit numbers. In addition, Iran's economy grew by 5.6% in the third quarter of 2017 and then it grew 6% in the end of the year. According to figures shown in early 2018, Iran's economy became the world's 29th largest economy and the country's gross national product was to \$ 376 billion. On the other hand, protests were made in December 2017 due to unemployment in Iran.

There are 80 million people living in Iran but it is claimed that 12.5% of these people are unemployment. (According to official figures, 3.1 million people are unemployed.) In the last 2 years, Ruhani's government has employed 600 thousand people. Iranian President Ruhani states that unemployment rate will not fall because young people are joining the labour markets but he also added that the government will solve the problem.





Psychological Violence: Not all bullies leave a scar, some leave only deep traces

Yağmur TAŞDEMİR



"The young girl who wanted to leave her boyfriend was killed", "The man killed his wife who wanted to leave, then committed suicide", "He poured petrol and burned his girlfriend who wanted to leave", "He killed his wife in front of his 3-year-old son"...

Unfortunately, this news that we are used to hearing almost everyday began to normalize for us. This is the news that when we see on TV, we have got a few hours of mind and annoys us. The news that we just read in newspapers and skips it although it is about separating a child from his mother or a mother from her child. News that we have ignored and connected to fate because it did not happen to us or our relatives. Moreover, unfortunately, this kind of news continues to increase day by day. According to Bianet's data, at least 203 women lost their lives because of violence in the first 10 months of 2018. In addition, according to survey data of Hacettepe University Domestic Violence Against Women, **in Turkey, 36 percent of women experienced physical violence, and 12 percent are exposed to sexual violence.** Professor Dr. Elçin Yoldaşcan from Çukurova University states that **"At least one in every three women in the world has been beaten, forced to have sex, or harassed in various ways throughout her life"**.

Is violence only physical or sexual?

The first time we hear the concept of harassment, the first thing that comes to our mind is to expose physical

violence. However, physical violence is only a kind of violence. On the other hand, when it comes to violence, we should not only think punches or laying a hand on women. **Emotional and psychological violence are another dimensions of violence.** Humiliation, mocking with physical characteristics and sexual identities of people, insult or verbal harassment are worse than physical or sexual violence. However, unfortunately, the victim is not able to talk about psychological violence or take precaution against it because of the feelings of shame, the feeling of fear and helplessness. Also, the fact that an individual who has suffered psychological violence does not have violent marks on his body as in physical violence that makes it difficult to prove this violence. On the other hand, the victim does not report this violence to the authorities because of the feeling of fear. **Unfortunately, because violence is not reported, the person who is subjected to violence is not aware that it is violence or not.** The victim thinks guilty herself because she finds herself inadequate with opinions like "If I would be a better wife, if I had earned more money, if I had not responded, if I had not been out of order, if I had not gone out, if I had not dressed like that...". In time, the person loses his confidence and becomes lonely. By isolating himself/herself from society, she/he

feels worthless. The disturbance of one's own body and his/her situation affects the future life and the career that he/she targets and leads to failure. **In such cases, the most important issue is the stance of society against violence.**

The stance of people who witness the violence especially neighbors, relatives, family members, police and teachers, is essential for both the future life of the victim and the attitude of the bully on this issue. Blaming eyes that condemn, accuse and expressing her deserving of this violence cause the violence to be covered or continued. In other words, it legitimizes this terrible situation. It gives power to the person who commits the violence and knowing that he will not face any sanctions gives this person the right to continue his arbitrary behaviors that cause deep wounds in others. **On the other hand, the person who has become a victim of violence has lost her faith against the authorities as a result of no sanctions against the bully, and she finds the concepts including law and justice to be insignificant.** If violence continues, she will psychologically collapse, damage herself and her surroundings, and may even attempt suicide. Women are the building blocks for a healthy society because they are the first teachers of people who will shape the future. Therefore, a woman with psychological distress will also reflect this situation to her child.

It should not be forgotten that all forms of violence leave the individual who subject to violence weak and helpless. Especially committing violence and not prevented in places which aim to bring individuals into society such as schools and workplaces reduces the belief of the person against that institution and the authorities. The individual under psychological pressure feels discomfort from the situation. Violence is the last shelter of an ineligible person and there is no greater or lesser violence. **Remember, no matter what type of violence, it is the upper limit of ignorance.**

THE INVISIBLE GLASS ON TOP OF WOMEN: GLASS CEILING

Ceren GÜLER



Glass ceiling is actually a term which has a story. Before talking about the effects of glass ceiling, it will be beneficial to learn its story first:



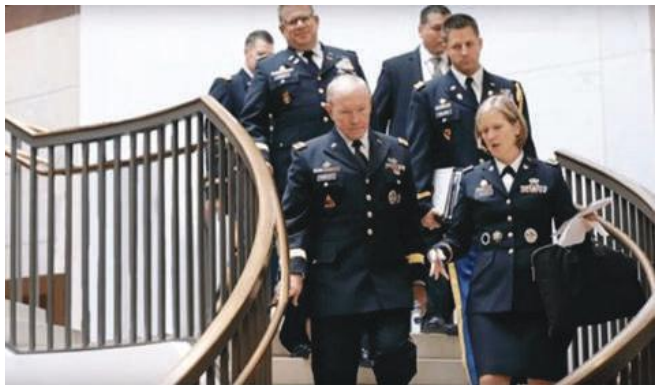
Every flea can jump to different height. One day scientists decide to measure the height of this jumping. They put all fleas into a jar. The height of the jar is 30 centimetres. However, they all can jump higher than that 30 centimetres. Scientists start to heat the floor. The fleas that are uncomfortable with the heat start to jump. Whenever they jump inside the jar, they hit to the cover of the jar and fall. As they all come across with the cover in 30 centimetres, they get used to jump 30 centimetres. At the end of the first experiment, fleas are now free to jump to whichever height they want. They are outside of the jar and their jumping would measure again. Although there is no cover, they still could not jump more than 30 centimetres. They have learned not to jump more than 30 centimetres. Now they do not have any visible obstacle, however; the obstacle is in their minds. They are learnt what they cannot achieve. So we have the term "glass ceiling" for this experiment.

What is the relation between women and fleas? Are they living inside of a jar?

Women are not living inside of a jar, but they have glass on them. Unfortunately, women have invisible glass which prevents them to be in higher positions. Women are rising till a certain position, then hitting the cover and falling. Yes, we may have enough women lawyers but what about women judges? Is it easy to study law?

They could study law and become lawyer, but why they could not be judges? Of course because of that invisible glass.

Today when we look at some positions which can count as high, they are all controlled by men. We have male doctors at hospitals, male politicians in parliaments, male soldiers in armies, male judges in hearing rooms and so on. Nearly all of the countries in the world have male presidents. What about female ones? Do all universities which give education to those people only accept male students? Do they only have male scholars? The answer is of course no. However, where all these females? Why we cannot see them? Actually the answer is easy to be given. They get used to jump not more than 30 centimetres (!) They most probably graduated from a university. However, finding a job with a standard position becomes enough for them. They have other things to do. They have more accomplishments to be done. Their life is not limited with their career. They also should think about their career in their houses (!) Today, if a man and woman get married, man can continue to focus on his career but woman cannot. A woman first should think about what to cook for dinner, when to clean the house, when to feed the child and so on. The society thought to women not to think about higher positions. The highest position for them is to be a good mother and wife (!) What about being good father and husband? Does a president father not love his children or wife? Do we have to choose between being a mother/father and being a president? Can there be such options in life? A woman cannot be both a perfect wife or mother and a perfect soldier at the same time? Are cleaning, cooking or taking care of children the destiny of women? Unfortunately we cannot see these unequal numbers between men and women in business life. Here are some pictures to help you to see this inequality. First pictures show the majority of men in higher positions. Second ones show the women who achieved not to fall when they hit the glass.



As if all these are not enough, today most people do not want to employee women for these positions. If there is a married woman and married man applied for the same position with the same qualifications, the chance of him is more than the women just because of his gender. People think in the same way which I explained above. They think women cannot focus on their jobs because they have to focus on home, children and so on. Men can be more beneficial for them (!) Moreover, today still many women are earning less than men for the same job.

Is there any good news?

We all know the brand Barbie. Most of the children played with the doll of Barbie. However, all Barbie dolls were the same. They were all thin, beautiful and had make-up on their faces. Maybe most of these children who played with these Barbie dolls wanted to be like Barbie in the future. The role of toys in children's lives cannot be underestimated. However, being like a Barbie is something only related with physical appearance. We do not know the professions of these Barbies but their long legs and beautiful hairs. Now the brand Barbie has decided to inspire more girls with its new Barbies. For example, having an astronaut Barbie at the age of four will help them to imagine being an astronaut. Imagining is the first stage of achieving. Imagining she can be anything is just the beginning!



What should be done?

We can break this glass together!

First of all, you should understand that this glass exists. Seeing women in all kinds of job is not enough because just seeing is not enough, not equal. Remember the words of a Saudi Arabian princess who said "I guess the glass ceiling is in the West. For us, it is the glass wall". It is not late for anything. If you want to do something, you can start today. Do not forget that age, sex, physical disability or race can never be an obstacle for choosing your job. Do not use "but". 'Okay I want an equal world "but" a woman cannot be successful as a soldier' or 'Okay I want an equal world "but" kitchen is the place of women men cannot be cook' These "but"s turn the situation into chicken and egg position. Yes, women should be in higher positions and the number of men and women should be equal in business life "but" being engineer is not that much for women (!) These ideas may be norms of the society. You may be forced to think like that. However, the hammer is in your hand. You can break this glass in your mind as well. Be aware that while you are saying these sentences, you are discriminating these people and insulting them just because of their sex.



Lastly, I am addressing to women who are reading this: Your aims should not be breaking the ceiling. Your aim should be the sky, and while you are reaching it, you should break the ceiling and continue to rise.



IRPOSTS

MAGAZINE



irposts.com

[instagram.com/IRPosts](https://www.instagram.com/IRPosts)

[facebook.com/IRPosts](https://www.facebook.com/IRPosts)

twitter.com/IRPostsMagazine