

AHMET SÖZEN

Eastern Mediterranean University,
Department of Political Science and International Relations,
Famagusta, Cyprus (via Mersin 10, Turkey)
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PROFILE

Professor of Political Science and International Relations with academic and administrative experience in university since late 1990s. Experience over the last thirty years includes peace-building and democratization processes such as participating into formal UN-hosted peace-negotiations in Cyprus; active involvement in second-track peace and democratization initiatives; providing training and education in the areas of conflict resolution, negotiation, mediation and peace-building; designing policy recommendations based on objective participatory research with the societal stakeholders and polling. Background also includes more than twenty years of experience in running policy think-tanks.

Leadership Skills

Multi-cultural/ethnic Team Building
Trust-centered Leadership
Multi-tasking
Reliable
Effective Time Management
Interpersonal Communication
Effective Listening
Effective Problem Solving
Critical Decision Making
People Management

International Skills

Cultural Sensitivity
Adaptation
Competency

Creativity
Negotiating/Diplomacy Skills
Self-motivated
High Level of Energy

Academic Skills

Analytical Thinking
Critical Thinking
Holistic Thinking
Multi-disciplinary Thinking/Coordination
Effective Teaching
Presentation of a topic to different audience
Publications (numerous articles & reports)

WORK HISTORY

CHAIRMAN

Department of Political Science and International Relations, Eastern Mediterranean University, North Cyprus, 2018 - .

PROVOST (Vice-Rector for Academic Affairs)

Eastern Mediterranean University, North Cyprus, 2014 - 2016.

CHAIRMAN

Department of Political Science and International Relations, Eastern Mediterranean University, North Cyprus, 2012 -2014.

RESEARCH DIRECTOR (2012 - 2014)

SeeD (Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development), Nicosia, Cyprus

Seed is the first island-wide intercommunal think-tank that succeeded *Cyprus 2015 Initiative*.

FOUNDING CO-DIRECTOR (2009-2012)

Cyprus 2015, Nicosia, Cyprus

Cyprus 2015 is an inter-communal initiative which came into life in 2009 under *Interpeace's* (www.interpeace.org) umbrella. The initiative was directed by Ahmet Sözen and his Co-Director, Spyros Christou. The initiative has been supported by the UNDP-ACT as well as the EU Commission Representation in Cyprus. So far, the initiative which employed 15 people produced 3 island-wide public opinion polls on the issues of the peace-negotiations. The results of the polls have been used by the UN Secretary General in his reports to the Security Council as well as in his public statements. The initiative has produced two reports together with policy recommendations on two subjects: (1) Hopes and Fears in Solving the Cyprus Problem and (2) Sustainable Development in Unified Cyprus. In parallel to the two reports, the initiative has also produced two documentary films on these subjects. The initiative was transformed to the first island-wide think-tank in 2013, called SeeD – Center for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (<http://www.seedsofpeace.eu>). Currently, SeeD produces policy briefs on the current island-wide problems based on participatory research where the relevant stakeholders are involved. In addition, SeeD is presently engaged in producing jointly with UNDP-ACT in Cyprus ‘**Social Cohesion and Reconciliation**’ (**SCORE**) **Index** which is an innovative approach for measuring the impact of peace-building efforts in conflict-ridden societies. Furthermore, SeeD has developed **Participatory Polling** as an action research methodology through which the general public is consulted on policy related issues, using a questionnaire that has been designed with the contribution of societal and political stakeholders, whereby the results then serve as a basis for public dialogue and in support of the policy making process.

DIRECTOR

Cyprus Policy Center, Famagusta, Cyprus, 2004 – Present

The mission of CPC (Cyprus Policy Center) is to contribute to the solution of domestic and international problems and promote regional and global peace through encouraging participatory democracy, and advancing the think tank concept. CPC was established in 2004 by Ahmet Sözen as a think-tank to produce policy recommendations to the first-track and hold seminars and conferences to contribute to the resolution of the Cyprus conflict as well as the other regional problems.

DIRECTOR

Istanbul Strategic Research Center, Istanbul, Turkey, 2000 – 2004

ISTAM (Istanbul Strategic Research Center) was founded by Ahmet Sözen as a research center within the Bahcesehir University system in 2000. The mission of ISTAM is to contribute to the regional and global peace by means of promoting democratic societies at home, in the region and in the world. As a first step of its mission, ISTAM is dedicated to contribute to the enhancement of Turkish foreign policy, the enrichment of open and democratic society in Turkey, and the establishment of permanent peace in the region. ISTAM's motto comes from Kemal Atatürk's dictum: "Peace at home, peace in the world." For that purpose, ISTAM conducts research, prepares educational programs, seminars, and conferences, recalls the voice of experience, and produces publications.

FOUNDING CHAIRMAN

Department of Political Science and International Relations, Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul, Turkey, 1999-2003

The Department of Political Science and International Relations was founded by Ahmet Sözen in 1999. In addition to the day to day management of the department as well as designing the long term strategic mission of the department, Sözen prepared the curriculum of the department as well as played a crucial role in the recruitment of the faculty members.

PROJECT MANAGER

A Democratic Audit for Cyprus, Famagusta, Cyprus, 2009 – 2014 (January)

“A Democratic Audit of Cyprus” is the name of a project funded by the EU Commission from the direct financial aid to the Turkish Cypriot Community. The project aims to design the democracy maps of the two administrations in both sides of the UN divide in Cyprus. In addition to identifying the problems of democracy due to lack of legislation or problems with implementation, the project will lay out clear policy recommendations as to how to overcome the problems stemming from the laws as well as from the implementation.

UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR

Political Science and International Relations

Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta, Cyprus, 2004 – Present

Sabancı University, Istanbul, Turkey, 2001

Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul, Turkey, 1999 - 2004

Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, 1997 - 1998

Designed and taught more than a dozen undergraduate courses as well as more than five graduate courses on areas but not limited to conflict resolution, international negotiations, international relations, globalization, Turkish foreign policy and Cyprus conflict. Assessed students in the various aspects of course performance.

EDUCATION

1994-1999

PhD - Political Science, University of Missouri-Columbia, USA.

Dissertation Title: *Cyprus Conflict: Continuing Challenge and Prospects for Resolution in the Post-Cold War Era*

Fields of Specialization:

International Relations (Primary Field)

Comparative Politics (Secondary Field)

Public Administration/Policy (Tertiary Field)

International Law/Conflict Resolution (Outside Field)

Methodological Skills (Game Theory, Content Analysis, Interviewing)

1992-1993

Master of Arts - International Relations, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, USA.

Masters Thesis Title: *Democracy in Turkey*

Fields of Specialization:

War, Foreign Policy and Conflict Resolution

Western Europe (European Union)

Middle East

1986-1991
University,

Bachelor of Arts - Foreign Language Education (English), Boğaziçi (Bosphorus)

Istanbul, Turkey.

Honor Student List, Ranked second in both the Faculty of Education and the Department of Foreign Language Education

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

- “Lessons from the Collapse of Crans Montana: A View on the Formulation of the Turkish Cypriot Position” (with Devrim Şahin) Sideris Pubs, Expected Date of Publishing. Fall 2024.
- “Cyprus: Political Developments and Data in 2023: Stalemate in the Cyprus Question, a New President in the South and Business as Usual in the North”, European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook, 28 August 2024 <https://doi.org/10.1111/2047-8852.12464>. (with Hubert Faustman).
- Track II Diplomacy: The Way Out in the Eastern Mediterranean, Edited book, EUROPolitika, Istanbul, (May 2024).
- “Time for a New Ost-politik Targeting the EU’s Engagement with the Turkish Cypriot Community” in Track II Diplomacy: The Way Out in the Eastern Mediterranean, Edited book, EUROPolitika, Istanbul, (May 2024), (with Devrim Şahin).
- “The instrumentalization of post-truth politics in Turkey: the case of the 2023 elections” (with Oğuz Ufuk Haksever). Turkish Studies, Advanced Online Publication. 5 March 2024, DOI: 10.1080/14683849.2024.2322547.
- “İttihadist Resurgence at the Century of the Republic of Turkey” (with Devrim Şahin) in Culture, Society and Political Economy in Turkey, Edited by Isabel David and Kumru F. Toktamış, Oxford: Peter Lang Publishing, Expected Date of Publishing. Fall 2024.
- “A Century of Greek-Turkish Relations,” (with Devrim Şahin) in Handbook of Greek-Turkish Relations. Edited by Antonis Derisiotis and Nikos Christofis, London: Transnational Press in London, 2024.
- “Turkish Foreign Policy during the Cold War: The Cyprus Issue and other Determining Factors,” (with Devrim Şahin) in A Companion to Modern Turkey's Centennial: Political, Sociological, Economic and Institutional Transformations Since 1923. Eds. Alpaslan Özerdem and Erdi Öztürk, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023.
- “Russia and Turkey: A Roller Coaster Relationship between Securitization and Cooperation” (with Devrim Şahin), Uluslararası İlişkiler, Advanced Online Publication, 7 July 2023, pp. 1-18, DOI: 10.33458/uidergisi.1319286
- Conflict Resolution in the Mediterranean: Energy as a Potential Game-Changer, Edited Policy Report, Eds. Ahmet Sözen, Nimrod Goren and Camille Limon, Diplomeds - The Council for Mediterranean Diplomacy and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), 2023.
- “Lebanon and Israel: Natural Resources and Security Interests as Catalysts for Conflict Resolution” (with Michael Harari) in “Conflict Resolution in the Mediterranean: Energy as a Potential Game-Changer, Edited Policy Report, Eds. Ahmet Sözen, Nimrod Goren and Camille Limon, Diplomeds - The Council for Mediterranean Diplomacy and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), 2023.
- “Cyprus: Leveraging the Energy Factor to Support Peacemaking” in “Conflict Resolution in the Mediterranean: Energy as a Potential Game-Changer, Edited Policy Report, Eds. Ahmet Sözen, Nimrod Goren and Camille Limon, Diplomeds - The Council for Mediterranean Diplomacy and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), 2023.
- “Cyprus: Political development and data for 2022: The two sides drifting further apart”, European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook, Volume 62, Issue 1, December 2023, pp. 87-111. (with Hubert Faustman).
- “The Complexity Effect in U.S.-Turkey Relations: The Restructuring of the Middle East Regional Security”, Uluslararası İlişkiler, Vol. 19, No. 74, 2022, pp. 21-35, DOI: 10.33458/uidergisi.1115070. (with Devrim Şahin).
- “Cyprus: Political development and data for 2021: Yet Another Wasted Year in the Cyprus Conflict”, European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook, Volume 61, Issue 1, November 2022, pp. 94-110. (with Hubert Faustman).
- “The Collapse of Turkey's Three-Pillar Engagement Policy” (with Devrim Şahin) in EU Conditionality in Turkey, Eds. Cenap Çakmak, Lexington Press. August 2022.

- “Turkey on the frontline between the West and the Middle East” (with Devrim Şahin) in *EU Conditionality in Turkey*, Eds. Cenan Çakmak, Lexington Press. August 2022.
- “Cyprus: Political development and data for 2020”, *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*, Volume 60, Issue 1, November 2021, pp. 84–102. (with Hubert Faustman).
- Turkish Foreign Policy II*, Edited book, Anadolu University, Eskişehir, (July 2020). (with Nejat Doğan).
- “Cyprus Question and the Eastern Mediterranean” in *Turkish Foreign Policy II*, Eds. Nejat Doğan and Ahmet Sözen. Eskişehir: Anadolu University, 2020.
- “Cyprus: Political development and data for 2019”, *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*, Volume 59, Issue 1, December 2020, pp. 82–97. (with Hubert Faustman).
- “Cyprus: Political development and data for 2018”, *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*, Volume 58, Issue 1, December 2019, pp. 56–68. (with Hubert Faustman).
- Turkish Foreign Policy I*, Edited book, Anadolu University, Eskişehir, (October 2019). (with Nejat Doğan).
- “Cyprus: Political development and data for 2018”, *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*, Volume 57, Issue 1, December 2019, pp. 61–69. (with Hubert Faustman).
- “Yet Another Case of Electoral and Government Epidemic? The Turkish Cypriot Legislative Election of January 2018?” *South European Society & Politics*, (Published online on 13 November 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2018.1537175>). (with Sertaç Sonan).
- “Re-engaging the United Nations in Cyprus” in *Cyprus and the Roadmap for Peace: A Critical Interrogation of the Conflict* (Eds: Michalis S. Michael and Yücel Vural), Edward Elgar Publishing, 2018, pp. 135-144.
- “Maximizing the Potential of a Japan-Turkey Strategic Relationship: The Security of Middle Eastern Energy Supplies” in *Economic Dynamics of Global Energy Geopolitics* (Ed: Ahmet Salih İkiz), IGI Global, 2018, pp. 192-214. (with Devrim Şahin).
- “Maintaining a Collaborative Environment Between Turkey and Israel on the Issue of Energy Resources: The Crisis Management Role of the United States” in *Economic Dynamics of Global Energy Geopolitics* (Ed: Ahmet Salih İkiz), IGI Global, 2018, pp. 242-261. (with Devrim Şahin).
- “Cyprus”, *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*, Volume 56, Issue 1, October 2017, pp. 60–69. (with Hubert Faustman).
- “The Role of Azerbaijan in Israel’s Alliance of Periphery”, *MERIA Journal*, Volume 21, Number 1, Summer 2017. (with Aynur Bashirova).
- “A Common Vision for a Way Out of the Cyprus Conundrum”, *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Volume 15, Issue 4, Winter 2017, pp. 27-36.
- “Cyprus”, *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*, Volume 55, Issue 1, December 2016, pp. 59–68. (with Hubert Faustman).
- “Change and Continuity in Turkish Foreign Policy: Evaluating Pre-AKP and AKP Periods’ National Role Conceptions”, *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Volume 13, No. 52, 2016, pp. 47-66. (with Mehtap Kara).
- “Cyprus”, *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*, Volume 54, Issue 1, December 2015, pp. 69–77. (with Hubert Faustman).
- “Solving Cyprus by blending Idealism with Pragmatism” in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* (Ed: James Ker Lindsey), I.B. Tauris, 2015, pp. 245-253.
- “Cyprus”, *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*, Volume 53, Issue 1, December 2014, pp. 78–91. (with Hubert Faustman and Erol Kaymak).

- “Cyprus 2015, SeeD and Civic Society Building” in *Challenging History: Oral History Work in Cyprus* (Ed: Holger Briel), University of Nicosia Press, 2014, pp. 153-165 (with Meltem İkinci).
- “The Cyprus Challenge: Heading towards the Defining Moment” in *Turkey and the European Union* (Eds: Firat Cengiz and Lars Hoffmann), Routledge, 2014, pp. 46-63.
- “Perception of Axis Shift in Turkish Foreign Policy: An Analysis through “Butterfly Effect” in *İzmir Review of Social Sciences*, Vol. 1, Issue 1 (2013). (with Devrim Şahin).
- “Cyprus” in *The Political Economy of Divided Islands: Unified Geographies, Multiple Polities* (Ed: Godfrey Baldaccino), Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp. 102-118.
- “Turkey’s New Cyprus Policy: Transforming a Military Base into a Basin of Cooperation” in *Debating Security in Turkey: Challenges and Changes in the Twenty-First Century* (Ed: Ebru Canan Sokullu), Lexington Books, Maryland 2013, pp. 109-122.
- “Heading Towards the Defining Moment in Cyprus: Public Opinion vs Realities on the Ground”, *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 14:109-129, Issue 1 (January 2012).
- “The Fifth Wave: Turkish Cypriots and Emergence of New ‘Nation-States’ in the Post-9/11 Era”, *Journal of Central European Political Studies*, Vol. 4: 43-68 (2011).
- “A Paradigm Shift in Turkish Foreign Policy: Transition and Challenges” in *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 11:103-123, Issue 1 (March 2010).
- “A Theoretical Evaluation of Different Faces of Power: US-Turkey Relations Towards Iraq”, *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Volume 6, No 24 (Winter 2010), p. 55-78.
- “The Cyprus Question in Turkey-EU Relations” in Lucie Tunkrova and Pavel Saradin (eds.) *The Politics of EU Accession: Turkish Challenges and Central European Experiences* (Routledge 2010).
- “The Turkish Cypriot Legislative Election of April 2009: Towards the 'Last Roll of the Dice' in the Cyprus Conflict?” *South European Society & Politics*, Vol. 14: 337-350, Issue 3 (September 2009).
- The Cyprus Conflict: Looking Ahead* (Eastern Mediterranean University Publishing, Mağusa – North Cyprus, 2008, (ISBN: 978-975-01580-1-8).
- Reflections on the Cyprus Problem: A Compilation of Recent Academic Contributions* (Eastern Mediterranean University Publishing, Mağusa – North Cyprus, 2007, ISBN: 978-975-01580-0-1).
- “The Cyprus Conflict and the UNFICYP” in *2nd International Conference on Security: Challenges to Peace Operations in the 21st Century* (Eds: Siret Hürsoy and Nesrin Ada), İzmir University of Economics Press, İzmir 2007, pp. 117-123.
- “The Cyprus Impasse: And the Way Out?” in *Thinking Outside the Box* (Eds: Kalipso Nikolaidis et al.), Oxford University Press, Oxford (2007).
- “The Annan Plan: State Succession or Continuity” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 43: 125-141, Issue 1 (January 2007) (with Kudret Özersay).
- “Terrorism and the Politics of Anti-Terrorism in Turkey” in *National Counter-Terrorism Strategies - Legal, Institutional, and Public Policy Dimensions in the US, UK, France, Turkey and Russia* (Eds: Robert W. Ortung, Andrey Makarychev), IOS Press, Washington DC 2006, pp. 155-164.
- “The Annan Plan: A Model of Governance in Multiethnic Society” in *Culture in International Relations* (Ed: Zuzana Lehmannova), CEEISA & CZUNA Publication, Prague 2006, pp. 95-128.

- “A Review article of VanderLippe, John M., *The Politics of Turkish Democracy: İsmet İnönü and the Formation of the Multi-Party System, 1938-1950*, (State University of New York Press, Albany, 2005).” *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, (Forthcoming 2006).
- “Turkish Democratization in Light of its EU Candidate Status” in *The Constitution for Europe and an Enlarging Union: Union in Diversity?* (Eds: Kirstyn Inglis and Andrea Ott), Europa Law Publishing, Amsterdam, 2005, pp. 279-305.
- “Turkish Cypriot Early General Elections of February 2005: The Rise of CTP/BG” *South European Society & Politics*, Vol. 10: 465-475, Issue 3 (Autumn 2005).
- “Türkiye’de Kopenhag Kriterleri Çerçevesinde Demokratikleşme ve Türk Dış Politikasına Yansımaları” in Öger Öktem Tanör (ed) *Bülent Tanör Armağanı* (İstanbul: Legal Yayıncılık, 2004).
- “A Review article of *Disaccord on Cyprus: the UN Plan and After*, (Eotheon Press, 2003).” *Turkish Studies*, Vol.5: 112-114, Issue 3 (2004).
- “Turkish Cypriot General Elections of December 2003: An Appraisal” *South European Society & Politics*, Vol. 9: 122-136, Issue 3 (2004) (with Ali Çarkoğlu).
- “A Review article of *Storm Clouds Over Cyprus*, 2nd edition, (Eotheon Press, 2002).” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 36: 147-148, Issue 2 (2004).
- “A Model of Power Sharing in Cyprus: From the 1959 London-Zurich Agreements to the Annan Plan” *Turkish Studies*, Vol.5: 61-77, Issue 1 (2004).
- “A Review article of *Dangerous Neighborhood: Contemporary Issues in Turkey’s Foreign Relations*, (Transaction Publishers, 2004).” *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol. 37: 285-7, Issue 2 (2003).
- “Is International Political Economy (IPE) A Fad?” *Ekonomi ve Yönetim Bilgileri Dergisi*, (Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi) Vol. 2: 58-64, Issue 1 (2003).
- “The Fall of the Consociational Democracy and the Rise of a New State in Cyprus.” 5th International Seminar on Democracy and Human Rights in Multiethnic Societies, Institute for Strengthening Democracy in Bosnia, Democracy Papers, pp. 45-84, Konjic, Bosnia and Herzegovina, (2003).
- “Emergence of Nation States and Problematic Political Concepts in Four 'Waves': From the French Revolution to the End of the Cold War” *METU Studies in Development*, Vol. 29: 159-173, Issue 1-2 (2002).
- “AB Sürecinde Kıbrıs Uyuşmazlığı: Tünelin Ucundaki Işık [Cyprus in the EU Process: The Light at the End of the Tunnel]” *Foreign Policy* (Turkish), May-June/July-August 2002.
- “Negotiating a Resolution to the Cyprus Problem: Is Potential EU Membership a Blessing or a Curse?” *Journal of International Negotiation*, Vol. 7: 261-285, Issue 2 (2002) (with Birol Yeşilada).
- “Küreselleşme ve Amerika’nın İkilemi [Globalization and the American Dilemma: Globalization and the American Dilemma: Contributions and Setbacks of Globalization]” *Karizma*, Vol. 9, 2002.
- “Cyprus Conflict: Continuing Challenge and Prospects for Resolution” *Third International Congress for Cyprus Studies*, Vol. 3: 89-119 (2000).
- The Cyprus Conflict and the Negotiations: A Political and International Law Perspective* (Can Reklam, Ankara - Turkey, 1998, ISBN: 975-94471-1-8).
- The Cyprus Problem and the European Union* (A booklet published and distributed to the foreign offices and embassies around the world by the World Council of Turkish Cypriot Associations) (Ankara - Turkey, 1998).
- “Advertisement in Turkish and Cyprus Turkish Newspapers,” *Journal for Cypriot Studies*, Vol. 3: 183-196, Issue 2 (1997).

“Cyprus Conflict and the Distorted Facts: A Post-Modern Approach,” *Söylem* [Discourse], Fall 1996 (Cyprus).

“Careerism in the North Cyprus Parliament,” *Journal for Cypriot Studies*, Vol. 2: 191-208, Issue 3 (1996).

“EU Enlargement into the Mediterranean Countries: Prospects for Cyprus, Malta, and Turkey,” *Söylem* [Discourse], Summer 1996 (Cyprus).

CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES WITH PAPER PRESENTATION

“Ripeness and Comfortable Stalemates: A Critical Analysis of the Cyprus Conflict” (with Fadıl Ersözer) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (San Francisco, USA, April 3th - 6th, 2024).

“Main Tenets in the Russian Foreign Policy Doctrine: Understanding the Continuity and Change during 1993-2023” (with Vera Luibchak) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (San Francisco, USA, April 3th - 6th, 2024).

“Russian-Turkish Relations: Understanding the Unique Conflictual Cooperation” (with Vera Luibchak) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (Montreal, Canada, March 15th - 18th, 2023).

“The Revival of Peker’s Party State System under Erdoğan: Turkey’s All-powerful Presidential System as an Executive Coup” (with Devrim Şahin) Paper presented at the Turkey at 100: (Dis)Continuities and (Dis)Contents Conference, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Lisbon (Portugal, February 8th -10th, 2023).

“International realm from an anarchical society to pluralism” (with Devrim Şahin) Paper presented in the 15th European International Studies Association (EISA) Conference (Athens, Greece, 1-4 September 2022).

“Quantum relations in the face of the demons of Pandemonium” (with Devrim Şahin) Paper presented in the 15th European International Studies Association (EISA) Conference (Athens, Greece, 1-4 September 2022).

“Time for a comprehensive framework: Demanding pursuits and concerns of a pluralistic global society,” (with Devrim Şahin) Paper Presented in the the Power Politics of Nature – 14th European International Studies Association (EISA) Conference, 16 September 2021.

“The Multiplayer chess board - The Transformation of Traditional Patterns of the Mediterranean,” (with Devrim Şahin) Paper Presented in the The Power Politics of Nature – 14th European International Studies Association (EISA)Conference, 17 September 2021.

“Authoritarianism’s Third Wave: The roller effect of the populist-nationalist winds” (with Devrim Şahin) Paper presented at the CEE-International Studies Association Conference (Belgrade, Serbia, June 17th - 19th, 2019).

“Regional Security Complexity in US-Turkey Relations: Trump as an Effect of and Feedback on the Erosion of the US-led Liberal International Order” (with Devrim Şahin) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (Toronto, Canada, March 27th - 30th, 2019).

“Power-Sharing Democracy as an Alternative Form of Governance for Deeply Divided Societies” (with Gül Pınar Gülboy) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (Lund University, Sweden, 16-17 April 2015).

“The “Paradigm Shift” Debate in Turkish Foreign Policy: Evolution of Davutoğlu’s Discursive Formation on Foreign Policy Principles” (with Mehtap Kara) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (New Orleans, USA, 18-21 February 2015).

“An Alternative Governance To Overcome The Gap Between Local And Global Through Power Sharing: The Case Of Cyprus” (with Gül Pınar Gülboy) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (New Orleans, USA, 18-21 February 2015).

“Ripeness and conflict resolution: Is this the right time to solve the Cyprus problem?” (with Fadıl Ersözer) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (New Orleans, USA, 18-21 February 2015).

- “A New Holistic Multi-Track Peacebuilding Design for Cyprus Conflict: Blending Idealism with Pragmatism” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (Toronto, Canada, 26 - 29 March 2014).
- “United we Frame ?: Turkish and American Foreign Policies on the Syrian Conflict” (with Berna Numan) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (Toronto, Canada, 26 - 29 March 2014).
- “Any Hope for a Settlement according to the UN established parameters in Cyprus?: Scrutinizing the Cyprus 2015 Poll Results” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (San Francisco, USA, 3 - 6 April 2013).
- “The Diffusion of Global Turmoil in the International System: An Analysis of US Security Strategies in the Post-September 11 Era on the Case of the Tension in Turkey-Israeli Relations” (with Devrim Şahin) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (San Francisco, USA, 3 - 6 April 2013).
- “Potential of the Turkish Model/Experience for the Arab Spring” (with Devrim Şahin) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (San Diego, USA, 1 - 4 April 2012).
- “Perception of Axis Shift in Turkish Foreign Policy: An Analysis Through "Butterfly Effect"” (with Devrim Şahin) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (San Diego, USA, 1 - 4 April 2012).
- “The Power of Press in (Re)shaping Foreign Countries Images: Turkey in the Leading Articles of British Press” (with Nilyufer Hamid-Turksoy) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (San Diego, USA, 1 - 4 April 2012).
- “Heading Towards the Defining Moment in Cyprus” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (Montreal, Canada, 16 - 19 March 2011).
- “The Cyprus Challenge in the Turkey-EU Relations: Heading towards the Defining Moment” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (Montreal, Canada, 16 - 19 March 2011).
- “Towards a Comprehensive Solution in Cyprus: Breaking Away from the Prisoner’s Dilemma” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (New Orleans, USA, 17 - 20 February 2010).
- “A ‘common future’ in Cyprus? Public opinion in Cyprus on the Settlement Process” (with Ebru Canan Sokullu) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (New Orleans, USA, 17 - 20 February 2010).
- “A Paradigmatic Shift: New Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy Making” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (San Francisco, USA, 26 - 29 March 2008).
- “The Cyprus Negotiations and the Basic Parameters” Paper presented at the conference “The Cyprus Conflict: Looking Ahead”, in Eastern Mediterranean University (Famagusta, North Cyprus, 7-8 May 2007).
- “Clash of Civilizations or Consensus of Civilizations: The Case of the Turkish membership of the EU” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (Chicago, USA, 28 February-4 March 2007).
- “Terrorism and the Politics of Anti-Terrorism in Turkey.” Paper presented at the Advanced NATO Workshop (Washington DC, USA, 4-6 May 2006).
- “Peacekeeping Operation in Cyprus” Paper delivered at the 2nd International Conference on Security Challenges to Peace Operations in the 21st Century (İzmir, TURKEY, 5-7 April 2006).
- “Changing Fundamental Principles in Turkish Foreign Policy making.” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (San Diego, USA, 22-25 March 2006).
- “Assessing the Cyprus Bargaining Space Following EU Membership” (with Birol Yeşilada, Brian Efirid, Jacek Kugler and Harry Anastasiou) Paper presented at the conference CEEISA/International Studies Association Conference (Istanbul, Turkey, 20-23 July 2005).
- “Turkish-EU Relations at a Crossroad: Turkey’s Democratization Attempts in Light of Its Candidate Status” Paper presented at the conference Enlargement and the Future of the European Union: Parallel Paths or Crossroads? (Warsaw, Poland, 1-4 July, 2004).

- “The Cyprus Negotiations: From the 1963 Inter-communal Negotiations to the Annan Plan” Paper presented at the conference Sixth Global Leadership Forum (Istanbul, 24-27 June, 2004).
- “The US Hegemony in US-Turkish Relations Towards Iraq.” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (Montreal, Canada, 17-20 March 2004).
- “Analysis of the Bargaining Space in the Cyprus Negotiations: Prospect for Peace in 2004?” (with Birol Yeşilada, Jacek Kugler, Harry Anastasiou and Brian Efirid) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (Montreal, Canada, 17-20 March 2004).
- “The Role of the European Union as a Third Party in Resolution of External Conflicts: Lessons from Cyprus.” Paper will be presented at the 16th Nordic and 4th Baltic Peace Research Conference under common title “New Security Challenges as Challenges to Peace Research” (St. Petersburg, Russia, 11 – 13 September 2003).
- “Governance in Multi-Ethnic Societies: The Case of Annan Plan for Cyprus.” Paper presented at the CEEISA/International Studies Association Conference (Budapest, Hungary, 26-28 June 2003).
- “Expected Utility Analysis of the Cyprus Problem.” (with Birol Yeşilada and Jacek Kugler) Paper presented at the CEEISA/International Studies Association Conference (Budapest, Hungary, 26-28 June 2003).
- “The Opportunity Cost of Customs Union: The Case of Turkey Establishing Customs Union with the European Union.” (with Veysel Ulusoy) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (Portland, OR, USA, 25 February-1 March 2003).
- “The Copenhagen Criteria and the Challenge of Democratization in Turkey.” (with Prof. Birol Yeşilada) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (Portland, OR, USA, 25 February-1 March 2003).
- “Legal System of Cyprus: The Fall and the Rise of Consociational Democracy in Cyprus.” Paper presented at the Democracy and Human Rights in Multiethnic Societies Conference (Konjic, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 8-12 July, 2002).
- “Democratization in Turkey: Copenhagen Criteria and Reflections on the Turkish Foreign Policy.” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (New Orleans, LA, USA, 24-27 March 2002).
- “Settling Protracted Ethnic Conflicts in the Post-Cold War Era: The Case of the Cyprus Conflict.” Paper presented at the 14th Annual Meeting of the International Association for Conflict Management (IACM), Cergy (Paris), France, 24-27 June 2001.
- “The Fourth Wave: The Problematic State Sovereignty.” Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Conference (Chicago, IL, USA, April 2001).
- “A Game Theoretic Analysis of the Cyprus Negotiations: Implications for Cyprus's Membership in the EU.” (with Prof. Birol Yeşilada) Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference (Chicago, IL, USA, February 2001).
- “Cyprus Conflict: Continuing Challenge and Prospects for Resolution.” Paper presented at the Third International Congress on Cyprus Studies, Eastern Mediterranean University (TRNC, 13-17 November 2000).
- “Cyprus Negotiations: A Survey of the Elite (Decision Makers) Attitudes Through Game Theory.” Paper presented at the conference “Confederal Structure: A Time for a New Look for Cyprus” organized by Foreign Policy Institute of Turkey (Kyrenia, TRNC, March 2000).
- “Elite Views on the Cyprus Conflict.” Paper presented at the conference “Peacemaking in Cyprus: Two Peoples, Two States” at the Federation of Turkish Canadian Associations (Toronto, Canada, May 1999).
- “The EU and Conflict Resolution: The Case of Cyprus Conflict.” Paper presented at the Conference on The Current European Union Agenda (The European Union Center, University of Missouri, April 1999).

“The Current Impasse in the Cyprus Negotiations: Are We at the End of the Road?” (with Birol A. Yesilada). Paper presented at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association in Chicago. (Chicago, IL, April 1999).

“Integration with Global Financial Markets and Domestic Political Reform: Comparing Poland and Turkey” (with Birol A. Yesilada and Janusz Puzniak). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association in Chicago. (Chicago, IL, USA, April 1997).

“Cooperation on Economic Sanctions: A Case Study on the Cooperation of Turkey and the US in Sanctioning Iraq.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Midwest (St. Louis, MO, USA, October 1996).

Selected Invited Lectures and Speeches

“Conflict Resolution in Cyprus: Where To?”, Seminar presented for the Master’s students of the Institute of International Relations, University of Tübingen, 30 January 2023.

“Cyprus Conflict and the Broader Lessons: Challenges and Opportunities for Conflict Resolution”, Seminar presented for the EUROSUD South European Studies Consortium, Virtual, 12 October 2022.

“Cyprus Issue as a Protracted Conflict”, Speech delivered in “Unending Peace Processes: Comparative Discussion” organized by Leonard Davis Institute of International Relations, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Virtual, 7 April 2022.

“Cyprus Issue in the broader changing power configurations in the Eastern Mediterranean”, Speech delivered in “Talking the Cyprus Issue Together.” Conference Organized by Eastern Mediterranean University Cyprus Policy Center and Sabahattin Zaim, Virtual, 11 December 2021.

“Changing Power Balances in the Eastern Mediterranean”, Speech delivered in International Conference on Security Studies in Cooperation organized by Eastern Mediterranean University Cyprus Policy Centre and Adam Mickiewicz University, Virtual, 17 November 2021.

“The Conflict in Cyprus and the Broader Lessons that Emerge from it in Relation to the Challenges and Opportunities for Conflict Resolution”, Seminar presented for the EUROSUD South European Studies Consortium, Virtual, 13 October 2021.

“A common European future or a permanent division”, Speech delivered in the seminar organized by Association for Social Reform, Virtual, 6 October 2021.

“A New Era in Cyprus Diplomacy? Scenarios for Future”, Speech delivered in the panel organized by SETA Brussels ASBL, Virtual, 12 August 2021.

“Ankara’s Strategic Autonomy and Membership in the Transatlantic Club in Turkey Between the USA, EU and Russia: Turkish Foreign Policy between Geopolitical Changes and Old Alliances”, Speech delivered in the conference organized by Permanent Open Space for Dialogue and Friendship, Virtual, 12 June 2021.

“Making Sense of Developments in the Eastern Mediterranean”, Speech delivered in the panel organized by Center for International and European Studies, Virtual, 16 November 2020.

“The Outcome of the recent Turkish Cypriot Selections”, Speech delivered in the panel organized by European Policy Center, Virtual, 3 November 2020.

“Democratic Values and the Future of Turkey”, Speech delivered in the panel organized by Centre in Modern Turkish Studies at Carleton University and Council of Turkish Canadians, Virtual, 31 October 2020.

“Building a Peaceful Future in Cyprus”, Speech delivered in the panel organized by Turkish Heritage Organization, Virtual, 9 October 2020.

“The Case of (Higher Education in) Northern Cyprus/EMU - Problems of Success” Speech delivered at ZOIS (Zentrum für Osteuropa und Internationale Studien - Center for East European and International Studies), (Berlin, Germany, 3 March 2020).

“Quo Vadis Cyprus Conflict and Prospects for Resolution” Seminar delivered at University of Pecs. (Pecs, Hungary, 14 November 2019).

“Eastern Mediterranean (Natural Resources): Basin for Cooperation and Prosperity or a New War Zone?” Seminar delivered at University of Pecs. (Pecs, Hungary, 14 November 2019).

“Role of Social Scientists in Public Debates: Evidence from Cyprus” Seminar delivered at University of Glasgow. (Glasgow, Scotland, 16 October 2019).

“The Cyprus Conflict in Shifting Geopolitical Contour” Seminar delivered at the ISODARCO Conference. (Kyrenia, Cyprus, 8 April 2019).

“The Cyprus Conflict: The Role of Third Parties” Seminar delivered at the American University of Rome. (Rome, Italy, 11 February 2019).

“The European Union has died in North Cyprus. Will the United States of Europe be born from Ankara?” Speech delivered at Partito Radicale Nonviolento Transnazionale e Transpartito. (Rome, Italy, 9 February 2019).

“Innovative Approaches to Conflict Prevention” Speech delivered at the 2019 Warsaw Dialogue Forum, (Warsaw, Poland, 21-23 November 2018).

“The Cyprus Conundrum: Political developments and New Tensions in the Eastern Mediterranean” Speech delivered at the Officers Club of Italian Forces, (Rome, Italy, 3 May 2018).

“Separatist Movements: A Political Perspective” Seminar delivered at Department of Law, Eastern Mediterranean University. (Famagusta, Cyprus, 22 December 2017).

“Cyprus: On the Way to Unification?” Seminar delivered at the Peace and Conflict Research, Institute of Political Science, University of Tübingen. (Tübingen, Germany, 3 February 2017).

“A New Security Architecture for Unified Cyprus” Seminar delivered at Department of Political Science and International Relations, Eastern Mediterranean University. (Famagusta, Cyprus, 8 March 2016).

“New Trends in the Middle East and the Wider Region” Speech delivered at the panel “New Geopolitics of the Region” organized by the Diplomatic Academy, University of Nicosia. (Nicosia, Cyprus, 8 December 2016).

“The 15 July 2016 Coup Attempt in Turkey and its Effects on the Cyprus Conflict” Speech delivered on the panel

“Turkey and the West after the Attempted Coup” organized by the Jean Monnet Center of Excellence at the University of Nicosia and the European Commission Representation in Cyprus (EU House, Nicosia, Cyprus, 8 December 2016).

“Cyprus Conflict and the Peace Negotiations” Speech delivered at Ankara Bar Association. (Ankara, Turkey, 11 March 2016).

“Where are we on the Cyprus peace Negotiations?” Speech delivered at European Policy Center. (Brussels, Belgium, 3 February 2016).

“The Way Forward in Cyprus” Speech delivered at Friedrich Ebert Foundation. (Berlin, Germany, 27 November 2015).

“Need for a More Inclusive Peace Process in Cyprus” Speech delivered at the panel ‘The voice of the Cypriot Youth-Our expectations from a unified Cyprus’, University of Central Lancashire Cyprus. (Pile, Cyprus, 23 November 2015).

“SCORE INDEX – Social Cohesion and Reconciliation Index” Seminar delivered at Department of Political Science and International Relations, Eastern Mediterranean University. (Famagusta, Cyprus, 11 November 2015).

“Solving the Cyprus Problem: Blending Idealism with Pragmatism” Speech delivered at the Law School, Bologna University. (Bologna, Italy, 5 November 2015).

“Power of Ideas in Peacebuilding” Key Note Speech delivered at the Opening Ceremony of the Academic Year of Rovenna Campus, Bologna University. (Rovenna, Italy, 5 November 2015).

“On the Way to Unification in Cyprus?” Seminar delivered at the Peace and Conflict Research, Institute of Political Science, University of Tübingen. (Tübingen, Germany, 14 July 2015).

“Civic Participation in Cyprus” Gave a seminar in UNDP-ACT sponsored bi-communal conference. (Nicosia, Cyprus, 8 May 2015).

“Peace in Cyprus” A TED Talk delivered at TedxEmuniversity 2014. (Famagusta, Cyprus, 14 November 2014).

“A New Holistic Design for Cyprus Conflict: Blending Idealism with Pragmatism” Lecture delivered at the Blue Helmets Forum “UNFICYP: 50 Years of Peacekeeping” (Graz, Austria, 15-17 October 2014).

“Solving the Cyprus Conflict: Blending Idealism with Pragmatism” Lecture delivered at Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) (Berlin, Germany, 5 May 2014).

“The Cyprus Issue - Prospects for Reunification and Regional Implications” Lecture delivered at Austrian Institute of International Affairs (OIIP) (Vienna, Austria, 18 October 2013).

“The Role of Bi-Communal Initiatives in the Post-Conflict Era in Cyprus: Reflections from My 20 Something Years of Experience” Lecture delivered at the Final Workshop of CORE – “Cultures of Governance and Conflict Resolution in India and Europe” (Nicosia, Cyprus, 11 October 2013).

“The Need for Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) as a Parallel Track to Official Peace Negotiations in Cyprus” Lecture delivered at the Conference “RECONSTRUCTIONS: Pre- and Post-Conflicts: Emerging Powers and the Future of the World Order” (Nicosia, Cyprus, 2 September 2013).

“Power of Ideas in Peacebuilding” A TED Talk delivered at Tedxnicosia 2013. (Nicosia, Cyprus, 9 March 2013).

“The Anatomy of the Cyprus Conflict and Insight into the Peace Negotiations” Lecture delivered at Central European University (Budapest, Hungary, 27 February 2013).

“Paul Harris Rotary Ambassadorial Peace Scholar Ahmet Sözen’s experience with peace-building in Cyprus” Speech delivered at “Peace is Possible: One Community at a Time” Rotary International Conference, (Portland, OR, USA, 23 June 2012).

“The Anatomy of the Cyprus Conflict and Insight into the Peace Negotiations: Utilizing Cyprus 2015 Initiative’s Island-wide Public Opinion Poll Results” Lecture delivered at Peacemakers Conference in Koç University (Istanbul, Turkey, 19 June 2012).

“The EU and the Eastern Mediterranean from the new Turkish foreign policy perspective” Speech delivered at “EU-Turkey” Conference organized by the Jean Monet Chair at the University of Nicosia, the European Parliament Office in Cyprus and OPEK - the Association for Social Reform, (Nicosia, Cyprus, 28 November 2011).

“Paradigm Shift in Turkish Foreign Policy and the Cyprus Negotiations” Lecture delivered at the Foreign Ministry (The Hague, Netherlands, 28 April 2011).

“The Cyprus Conflict and the Turkey-EU Relations” Lecture delivered at the Turkije Instituut (The Hague, Netherlands, 28 April 2011).

“Changing Turkish Foreign Policy and the Cyprus Conflict” Lecture delivered at Azerbaijan State University (Baku, Azerbaijan, 22 December 2010).

“Changing Turkish Foreign Policy and its Effects on the Cyprus Conflict” Lecture delivered at the NATO International School of Azerbaijan (Baku, Azerbaijan, 21 December 2010).

- “From Dispute to Agreement: Possible Resolutions of the Cyprus Problem” Speech delivered at the Conference “Conflict Avoidance and Resolution in the Eastern Mediterranean Region” organized by the Chartered Institute of Arbitrators/European Branch (Istanbul, Turkey, 2-4 May 2008).
- “A Paradigmatic Shift in Turkish Foreign Policy Making” Speech delivered at the Conference “Turkey: Challenges, Prospects and Dynamics” organized by the Moshe Dayan Center, Tel Aviv University (Tel Aviv, Israel, 30 April 2008).
- “New Turkish Foreign Policy Parameters” Speech delivered at the Conference “Turkey-Syria Relations” organized by the Faculty of Literature and Social Sciences in Damascus University. (Damascus, Syria, 27-28 February 2008).
- “Globalization and Global Governance” Lecture delivered at the IAPSS Annual Academic Conference with the theme “Sovereignty in a Globalizing World.” (Cluj-Napoca, Romania, 11-15 January 2008).
- “Defining Moments in World Politics: Role of the EU in Cyprus Conflict” Speech delivered at the European Parliament in the Conference organized by Nonviolent Radical Party, Transnational and Transparty, the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE). (7 December 2007, EU Parliament, Brussels, Belgium).
- “The Current Cyprus Problem and the Turkish Approach” Speech delivered at the Conference “Turkey, USA and the European Union Towards 2010” organized by Globe Research at the Center for American Studies (Rome, Italy, 19 November 2007).
- Invited as the Director of Cyprus Policy Center (CPC) to the “State of Europe VIP Policy Summit” organized by the Friends of Europe. This is a high level Policy Summit that includes such participants as the President of the EU Commission and other high-level EU officials, several EU member states’ foreign ministers, powerful NGO and business leaders. (Palais d’Egmont, Brussels, 4 October 2007).
- “The Fundamental Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy Making: A Case of Breaking the Clash of Civilizations” Speech delivered at the Conference “Turkish Foreign Policy and the Frontiers of Europe” in the Italian Senate (Rome, Italy, 6 June 2007).
- “The Cyprus Stalemate: Looking Ahead” Speech delivered at the Conference “Cyprus: In Search for Peace” in the Foreign Journalists Association (Rome, Italy, 20 April 2007).
- “Where We are in the Cyprus Conflict and the Way Out.” Speech delivered at the Conference EU Border Conflicts organized by EUBorderConf (Brussels., Belgium, 25 November 2005).
- “The Current Cyprus Impasse and Prospects for a Comprehensive Solution.” Speech delivered at the Conference Conflict Resolution in Cyprus and Israel-Palestine Comparative Perspectives organized by Tel Aviv University (Tel Aviv., Israel, 6-7 November 2005).
- “A Snapshot of the Current Cyprus Impasse and the Way Out.” Speech delivered at the Conference organized jointly by TUSIAD-US, Institute of Turkish Studies and the Cyprus Policy Center (Washington DC., USA, 2 November 2005).
- “The Current Impasse in the Cyprus Conflict and the Prospects for the Way Out.” Lecture delivered at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (Stockholm, Sweden, 4 March 2005).
- “The Cyprus Conflict and the Necessity to Lift the Isolation on the Turkish Cypriots.” Lecture delivered at the Foreign Relations Committee in the Swedish Parliament (Stockholm, Sweden, 3 March 2005).
- “Turkey’s Cyprus Policy and the European Union” Speech delivered at the conference Turkey-EU Relations organized by the Danish Institute of International Studies (Copenhagen, Denmark, 2 April 2004).
- “Border Crossings in Cyprus” Presentation delivered at the Crossing the Border Conference in Södertörn University (Stockholm, Sweden, 23-25 October 2003).
- “Tackling the Cyprus Problem: Chances for a Mediated Solution” Roundtable discussant at the International Studies Association Conference (Portland, OR, USA, 25 February-1 March 2003).

“The Cyprus Question. Will it be Solved.” Lecture delivered at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs. (Stockholm, Sweden, 26 August 2002).

“Co-operation in Divided Cities: The Case of Nicosia.” Presentation made at the conference organized by the Swedish Institute on “Practical Co-operation in Divided Cities.” (Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 6-8 April, 2002).

“The EU-Turkey Relations in the New Millennium” Organized and chaired the panel as the director of ISTAM (Istanbul Strategic Research Center) (University of Bahcesehir, Istanbul, Turkey, 1 May 2001).

“Negotiation Simulation” Organized and conducted for 120 university students from European countries at the AEGEE (Association Des Etats de L’Europe) Peace Summit (Kusadasi, Turkey, August 2000).

REFERENCES (in alphabetical order)

Prof. Dr. Mustafa Aydın
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