
**THE SEVENTH METU CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

***HEGEMONY OR EMPIRE?
PROSPECTS FOR CONTEMPORARY
WORLD ORDER***

**MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
JUNE 18 – 20, 2008
ANKARA
FEAS BUILDING B, METU**

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

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DATES AND VENUE

Dates: Wednesday, June 18 – Friday, June 20, 2008

Venue: METU Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences (FEAS) Building B

REGISTRATION

Registration and Information Desk is located on the first floor of the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences (FEAS) Building B. The desk is open at the following times:

Wednesday, June 18	9:00-17:30
Thursday, June 19	9:00-17:30
Friday, June 20	9:00-17:30

BADGE

Participants should kindly wear name badges during the Conference. Name badges will be provided in participants' conference packs at the Registration Desk.

SESSIONS

Sessions are moderated by Chairs who monitor and administer the meetings. Each paper will be presented for about 20 minutes, and will be followed by a brief discussion. The Chair may decide and change the order of presentations as well as time allocated for each presentation.

CONFERENCE COCKTAIL

The Chair of the Department of International Relations invites all participants to the cocktail at the front garden of the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences B-Building (FEAS-B). The cocktail will take place on Wednesday, June 18 between 18:00-20:00.

PROGRAM**18 JUNE 2008, WEDNESDAY****REGISTRATION**Time: **09:00-17:30**Place: **FEAS Building B****OPENING CEREMONY**Time: **10:00-10:30**Place: **G-110**

Prof. Dr. Meliha B. Altunışık (Chair, Department of International Relations, METU, Turkey)

KEYNOTE SESSIONTime: **10:30-12:30**Place: **G-110**Chair: **Faruk Yalvaç** (METU, Turkey)**Ian Clark** (Aberystwyth University, UK)

“World Order and Hegemony as an Institution of International Society”

Alex Callinicos (King's College, UK)

“Does Capitalism Need the State System?”

LUNCH / 12:30-14:00**SESSIONS – 1 / 14:00-15:30**

Session 1-A. US Hegemony and the World Economy (Panel organized by the Turkish Social Science Association, TSSA)

Place: **G-102**Chair: **Galip Yalman** (METU / TSSA, Turkey)**Korkut Boratav** (TSSA, Turkey)

“A Comparison of Two Cycles of the World Economy: 1988-1997 and 1998-2007”

Ergin Yıldızoğlu (METU, Turkey)

“From Hegemony to Empire and back to Imperialism”

Session 1-B. Perspectives on the Rise of China in the New Global Order

Place: G-104

Chair: **Jianping Yang** (Texas A&M University, USA)

Çağdaş Üngör (Binghamton University, USA/ Marmara University, Turkey)

“Countering American Hegemony: A Viable Option for China?
Dynamics of the Sino-US Relations in the Post-Cold War Era”

Ceren Ergenç (Boston University, USA/ METU, Turkey)

“How Threatful is China’s African Policy? A Critical Assessment of
China’s Rise”

Zan Tao (Peking University, China)

“Turkey’s Perceptions on China as a Rising Power”

Bahadır Pehlivanürk (Hacettepe University, Turkey)

“China and Asian World-System: A New Hegemonic Contender?”

Session 1-C. Debating the Westphalian State System

Place: G-106

Chair: **Zana Çitak** (METU, Turkey)

Dirk Rohtus (Leuven University, Belgium)

“Multilevel-governed Belgium: Example of a post-Westphalian State?”

Ergün Olgun (Former Undersecretary of the President of TRNC)

“How Far Can The Multi-Tier Governance Experience of Belgium Be
Used As A Model For Helping Resolve The Cyprus Quagmire”

Birol Başkan (Qatar University, Qatar)

“The Legacy of Political Islam: Implications for the Westphalia State
System?”

COFFEE BREAK / 15:30-16:00

SESSIONS– 2 / 16:00-17:30

Session 2-A. Keynote Speech on International Migration

Place: G-102

Chair: **Kemal Kirişçi** (Boğaziçi University, Turkey)

Aristide R. Zolberg (New School for Social Research, USA)

“International Migration in the Era of Globalization and Its
Implications for Sending and Receiving Countries”

Session 2-B. Global Political Economy and Hegemony

Place: G-104

Chair: **Kees van der Pijl** (University of Sussex, UK)

Örsan Şenalp (Transnational Institute, Holland), **Mehmet Gürsan Şenalp** (Atılım University, Turkey)
“Hegemony and Empire of Transnational Capital: Transnational Capitalist Class Strategies and the Expansion of the Lockean Heartland”

Mehmet Türkay (Marmara University, Turkey), **Eren Deniz Tol** (Muğla University, Turkey)
“Conflicted and Collided Hierarchies in the Image of Global Governance: Nation-State, National Economy and Capital”

Ercan Gündoğan (European University of Lefke, TRNC)
“Gramscian Theory: Problems and Possibilities of Enquiry”

Session 2-C. Environmental Issues: Cooperation vs. Hegemony

Place: G-106

Chair: **Şule Güneş** (METU, Turkey)

Derya Kap (METU, Turkey)
“Regional Seas Programme in the Context of the Mediterranean”

Berda Gönül Tural (METU, Turkey)
“Environmental Protection through ECHR”

Pınar Köse (METU, Turkey)
“EIA at the Focus of Environmental Protection”

CONFERENCE COCKTAIL

18:00-20:00

METU, FEAS Building B

19 JUNE 2008 / THURSDAY

REGISTRATIONTime: **09:00-17:30**Place: **FEAS Building B**

SESSIONS- 3 / 09:30-11:00

Session 3-A. Global Capitalism and the StatePlace: **G- 102**Chair: **Pınar Bedirhanoglu** (METU, Turkey)

Julian Saurin (University of Sussex, UK/ METU NCC, TRNC)
 “Constant Revolutionising, Renewed Authority and Endless
 Dispossessions: On the Continuing Need to Revisit Capitalism, the
 State and Imperialism”

Ulrich Brand (University of Vienna, Austria)
 “The Internationalization of the State as the Reconstitution of
 Hegemony”

Session 3-B. US in World Politics (Roundtable organized by the Foreign Policy Institute)Place: **Blue Seminar Room****Seyfi Taşhan** (President, Foreign Policy Institute, Turkey)**Orhan Morgil** (Hacettepe University, Turkey)**Ersel Aydınli** (Bilkent University, Turkey)**Reşat Arım** (Rtd. Ambassador) (Foreign Policy Institute, Turkey)**Oktay Aksoy** (Rtd. Ambassador) (Foreign Policy Institute, Turkey)**Session 3-C. Imperial Legacies and State-Building**Place: **G-104**Chair: **Ebru Boyar** (METU, Turkey)

Elif Hatun Kılıçbeyli (Çukurova University, Turkey)
 “The Russian Empire and State System”

Geoff Kennedy (York University, Canada / METU NCC, TRNC)
 “Republican Discourses and Imperial Projects: Empire and Liberty
 in American Political Discourse”

Serdar Palabıyık (METU, Turkey)
 “The Ottoman Case: Still an "Empire" in the Nineteenth Century?”

COFFEE BREAK/ 11:00-11:30 SESSIONS– 4 / 11:30-13:00
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Session 4-A. European Union in World Order**Place: G-102**Chair: **Atila Eralp** (METU, Turkey)**Dorothee Schmid** (The French Institute of International Relations, France)

“The Union for the Mediterranean: A Case Study of EU Foreign Policies in a Transition Time”

Ettore Greco (Institute of International Affairs, Italy)

“Does the EU have the Potential of becoming a Hegemonic Power?”

Session 4-B. State and Society in the Middle East**Place: G-104**Chair: **Kıvanç Ulusoy** (İstanbul University, Turkey)**Husam Mohamad** (University of Central Oklahoma, USA)

“Democracy Building and US Policy towards the Arab World”

Nur Köprülü (International Cyprus University, TRNC)

“Obstructing Counter-Hegemonic Power: Conflicting Identities in Jordan”

Aylin Topal (METU, Turkey)

“Hegemony through Fear: The Case of Turkey”

Session 4-C. Turkish Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: Internal & External Challenges and Future Prospects I / Impact of Internal Challenges on Turkish Foreign Policy (Panel Series organized by International Relations Council, UIK, Turkey)

Place: G-106

Chair: **Ersin Onulduran** (Ankara University, Turkey)

Fuat Keyman (Koç University, Turkey)
“Globalization, Modernity and Identity: In Search of Viable Foreign Policy for Turkey”

Kemal Kirişçi (Boğaziçi University, Turkey)
“Is Turkey Becoming a "Trading State": Implications for Turkish Foreign Policy”

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu (Sabancı University, Turkey)
“Democratization of Polity and Turkey’s International Relations”

Gencer Özcan (Yıldız Teknik University, Turkey)
“Civil-Military Relations and Turkish Foreign Policy”

LUNCH/ 13:00-14:00

SESSIONS– 5 / 14:00-15:30

Session 5-A. Neoliberal Hegemony and the State in Turkey

Place: G-102

Chair: **İlhan Uzgel** (Ankara University, Turkey)

Yıldız Atasoy (Simon Fraser University, Canada)
“Neoliberalism and State Transformation in Turkey”

Yonca Özdemir (METU Northern Cyprus Campus, TRNC)
“Turkey under the Hegemony of Washington Consensus: Economic Policies under the AKP Government”

Galip Yalman (METU, Turkey)
“Politics and Discourse in Contemporary Turkey”

Session 5-B. Theory and Practice in International Politics

Place: G-104

Chair: **Nuri Yurdusev** (METU, Turkey)

Nimet Beriker (Sabancı University, Turkey)

“The Missing Link between Liberal Theory and Realistic Practice”

Pınar Bilgin (Bilkent University, Turkey)

“Theory and Practice in Security Studies: A Critical Perspective”

Faruk Yalvaç (METU, Turkey)

“On the Common Saying: 'This May be True in Theory, but it does not Apply in Practice'”

Session 5-C. Turkish Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: Internal & External Challenges and Future Prospects II/ External Challenges for Turkey's International Relations (Panel Series organized by UIK)

Place: G-106

Chair: **Ali Karaosmanoğlu** (Bilkent University, Turkey)

Mustafa Aydın (TOBB University of Economics and Technology, Turkey)

“Relations with the Superpower; Challenges after the Presidential Elections”

Atila Eralp (METU, Turkey)

“Relations with the European Union and the Future of Turkey's Western Connection”

Meliha Altunışık (METU, Turkey)

“Challenges and Opportunities in the Middle East”

Özdem Sanberk (Ret. Ambassador, Former Undersecretary of MFA, Turkey)

“Regional Challenges; Black Sea, the Caucasus and the Russian Federation”

COFFEE BREAK / 15:30-16:00

SESSIONS – 6 / 16:00-17:30

Session 6-A. Global Rivalries in Eurasia**Place: G-102**Chair: **Hüseyin Bağcı** (METU, Turkey)

Andrei Zagorski (Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Russia)
 “Russia: A Status Quo Power No Longer Capable of Keeping the *Status Quo*”

Kees van der Pijl (University of Sussex, UK)
 “Global Rivalries along the Balkans-Caucasus-Central Asia Corridor”

Session 6-B. Turkish Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: Internal & External Challenges and Future Prospects III/ Search for Alternative Visions in Turkish Foreign Policy- Roundtable (Panel Series organized by UIK)**Place: G-104**Chair: **Mustafa Aydın** (TOBB University of Economics and Technology, Turkey)**İlter Turan** (Bilgi University, Turkey)**Ali Karaosmanoğlu** (Bilkent University, Turkey)**Soli Özel** (Bilgi University, Turkey)**Ahmet Evin** (Sabancı University, EPC, Turkey)**Ahmet Davutoğlu** (Amb., Chief Advisor to Prime Minister, Rep. of Turkey)

20 JUNE 2008 / FRIDAY

REGISTRATIONTime: **09:00-17:30**Place: **FEAS Building B**

SESSIONS – 7 / 09:30-11:00

Session 7-A. Middle East in World Politics I**Place: G-102**Chair: **İhsan Dağı** (METU, Turkey)

Peter Mandaville (George Mason University, USA)
“Islamism and Anti-Hegemonic Politics”

Session 7-B. Regions in World Politics**Place: G-104**Chair: **Ceren Ergenç** (Boston University, USA / METU, Turkey)

Nilufar Amjadali (Imam Khomeini International University, Iran)
“The New Face of Regionalism in New World Order”

Aysun Uyar (Ryukoku University, Japan)
“Regionalism in East Asia: A New Path for Japan as a Hegemonic Pretender?”

İkboljon Qoraboyev (University of Montpellier 1, France)
“Contending Political Rationalities of Central Asian Regionalism”

Session 7-C. Hegemonic Processes in the Post-Cold War Era

Place: G-106

Chair: **Fulya Kip-Barnard** (METU, Turkey)

Sait Yılmaz (Beykent University, Turkey)
“Hegemony in the 21st Century”

Ali Chousein Oglou (University of Sussex, UK)
“Gradual Decline in the Greek National Sovereignty and Hegemony in the post-Cold War Era: The Inclusion of International Actors in the Greek Minority Policy of Western Thrace”

Burcu Gökçe Yılmaz Akın (METU, Turkey)
“Transnational Hegemony”

COFFEE BREAK / 11:00-11:30

SESSIONS – 8 / 11:30-13:00

Session 8-A. Middle East in World Politics II

Place: G-102

Chair: **Meliha Altunışık** (METU, Turkey)

Sandra Halperin (Royal Holloway, University of London, UK)
“Anglo-American Political Economy and Global Restructuring: The Case of Iraq”

Fawaz A. Gerges (Sarah Lawrence College, USA)
“Hegemony and the Middle East: Blowback and Implications to World Order”

Session 8-B. Politics of European Integration

Place: G-104

Chair: **Sevilay Kahraman** (METU, Turkey)

Majid Bozorgmehri (Imam Khomeini International University, Iran)
“Three Generations of Regionalism through Regional Integration in EU”

Rıza Acar Kutay (METU, Turkey)
“Emergence of Public Sphere(s) in European Union: A Critical Inquiry for the European Governance”

Beste İşleyen (İzmir University of Economics, Turkey)
“EU as a Global Actor: A New Institutional Approach”

Session 8-C. Imperial Dreams Resurfaced; Discussions of Empire Today I/ Empire Revisited: Theories’ Response to Empire (Panel Series organized by the Council for International Relations, UIK)

Place: G-106

Chair: **Mitat Çelikpala** (TOBB University of Economics and Technology, Turkey)

Nuri Yurdusev (METU, Turkey)
“Nation State vs Empire”

Ersel Aydınli & Aytaç Denk (Bilkent University, Turkey)
“A Counter-Hegemonic Challenge in Post-International Politics: The Dynamics of Non-State Actor Balancing”

W J Korab-Karpowicz (Bilkent University, Turkey)
“Empire and International Order”

C. Akça Ataç, (Hacettepe University, Turkey)
“Empire of Law: An Inevitable but Unsustainable Model of World Order”

LUNCH/ 13:00-14:00

SESSIONS– 9 / 14:00-15:30

Session 9-A. US Foreign Policy and World Order**Place: G-102**Chair: **Dimitri Tsarouhas** (METU, Turkey)**Inderjeet Parmar** (Manchester University, UK)

“Global Interventionism: The Foreign Policies of Clinton, Obama and McCain in the Wake of the Bush Revolution”

Gencay Şaylan (European University of Lefke, TRNC)

“The Sustainability of US Hegemony in the Formation of the World Order since the 1990s”

Session 9-B. Imperial Dreams Resurfaced; Discussions of Empire Today II/ Empire Strikes Back; Contemporary Imperial Manifestations
(Panel Series organized by UIK)**Place: G-104**Chair: **C. Akça Ataç** (Hacettepe University, Turkey)**Çağrı Erhan** (Ankara University, Turkey)

“The First Empire of the New Imperial Age: Recent Tendencies in American Foreign Policy”

Taşansu Türker (Ankara University, Turkey)

“The Third Rome and After: Imperial Aspirations of Russia”

Lerna Yanık (Bilkent University, Turkey)

“Looking at Turkey's Metaphors, Seeing Pax Ottomana”

Emel Oktay (Hacettepe University, Turkey)

“A Reluctant Imperialist: The EU's Fragile Promise of Stability to Its Neighborhood”

Session 9-C. Central Asia in World Politics**Place: G-106**Chair: **Süha Bölükbaşı** (METU, Turkey)**Sergey Markedonov** (Institute for Political and Military Analysis, Russia)

“Russia and the South Caucasus: Changing Dynamics”

Elkhan G. Mehtiyev (Peace and Conflict Resolution Center, Azerbaijan)

“Russia and the South Caucasus: A View from Azerbaijan”

Sergiy Glebov (Odessa State University, Ukraine)

“Russia and Energy Security in the South Caucasus: Explications on the Black Sea Region”

COFFEE BREAK / 15:30-16:00

SESSIONS – 10 / 16:00-17:30

Session 10-A. Environmental Politics and the EU**Place: G-102**Chair: **Şule Güneş** (METU, Turkey)**John Vogler** (Keele University, UK)

“The EU as a Counter-Hegemonic Actor? EU-US Controversies and the International Climate Change Regime”

Session 10-B. State and Security in Turkey**Place: G-104**Chair: **Filiz Zabçı** (Ankara University, Turkey)**Pınar Bedirhanoglu** (METU, Turkey)

“Changing Security Relations in Turkey within Neoliberal Globalisation”

Pınar Bilgin (Bilkent University, Turkey)

“The Uses of ‘Geopolitical Truths’ in Turkey: Searching for Epistemological Certainty at a time of Ontological Insecurity”

Anna M. Agathangelou & Barış Karaağaç (York University, Canada)

“The Peripheral Empire and the Turkish Armed Forces: Sites of Accumulation, Military Industry Complex and (In) Security on the borders of the New Europe”

Tuba Ünlü (METU, Turkey)

“Turkish Civil-Military Relations during the Europeanization Process”

Session 10-C. Counter-Hegemonic Forces and Moments**Place: G-106**Chair: **Sait Akşit** (METU, Turkey)**Cenap Çakmak** (Muğla University, Turkey)

“Dancing with the Superpower: Growing Role of International Society, the United States, and the International Criminal Court”

Matthew Morgan (Carleton University, Canada)

“Overcoming the Imperial Subject: The World Social Forum and Counter Hegemonic Strategies for a Post-Political Age”

Irmi Maral-Hanak (University of Vienna, Austria)

“Cultural Hegemony? The Example of Language Use in International Development Co-operation in Tanzania/East Africa”

CLOSING SESSION / 17:30-18:00 / G-110
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List of Participants

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- Aksoy, Oktay** (Foreign Policy Institute, Turkey)
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- Keyman, Fuat** (Koç University, Turkey)
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