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**EDUCATION**

Habilitation (Dozentur) Faculty of Economics (1970)

Istanbul University

Ph. D. (Political Science) Faculty of Economics (1966)

Istanbul University

M.A. (Government) Columbia University (1964)

New York, New York

B.A. (Government) Oberlin College (1962)

Oberlin, Ohio

Secondary School: Tarsus American School for Boys

Tarsus, TÜRKİYE

El Cerrito High School (1958)

El Cerrito, California

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

-Native speaker of Turkish

-Fluent reading, speaking and writing knowledge of English

-Moderate reading and limited speaking knowledge of French

-Moderate reading and limited speaking knowledge of German

## **ACADEMIC and ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS**

### **CURRENT POSITION:**

Emeritus Professor of Political Science

Istanbul Bilgi University

### **PAST POSITION:**

Professor of Political Science (1998-2014)

Department of International Relations

Istanbul Bilgi University

### **PREVIOUS POSITIONS HELD:**

Rector, Istanbul Bilgi University (1998-2001)

Professor of Political Science (1993-1998)

Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences

Koç University (Istanbul)

Chair, International Relations (1992-1993)

Professor of Political Science (1984-1993)

Faculty of Political Science

Istanbul University

Professor of Political Science (1976-1984)

Faculty of Economics

Istanbul University

Associate Professor of Political Science (1970-1976)

Faculty of Economics

Istanbul University

Assistant Professor of Political Science (1966-1970)

Faculty of Economics

Istanbul University

Third Lieutenant, Artillery and Instructor (1973-1974)

Staff Colleges of the Turkish Armed Forces, İstanbul

#### VISITING APPOINTMENTS HELD AT FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS

Nuffield College, Oxford University

Fall 2013

St. Anthony's College, Oxford University

Spring 2002

Dept. of Political Science, University of Iowa

Spring and Summer 1991

Fall-Spring 1983-1984

Summer 1983

Spring 1975

Fall-Spring 1967-1968

Dept. of Political Science

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

Summer 1989

Dept. of Political Science

University of California, Berkeley, California

Summer 1987

Summer 1985

Summer 1984

Fall 1982

Dept. of Political Science

University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona

Fall-Spring 1981-1982

Spring 1983

Dept. of Political Science ,

University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky

Fall-Spring 1975-1976

Dept. of Social Sciences

Southern Oregon College, Ashland, Oregon

Summer 1975

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **BOOKS (English)**

TURKEY'S DIFFICULT JOURNEY TO DEMOCRACY: TWO STEPS FORWARD ONE STEP BACK. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

THE LEGISLATIVE CONNECTION: THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION IN KENYA, KOREA AND TURKEY with Joel D. Barkan, C. L. Kim and Malcolm Jewell. Durham: Duke University Press, 1984.

STUDENTS AS A POLITICAL FORCE IN TURKEY: 1853-1962. Unpublished Master's Essay, Columbia University, 1964.

### **BOOKS (Turkish)**

TBMM'NİN ETKİNLİĞİ (Editor) İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı, 2000 (The Effectiveness of the Turkish Parliament)

İSTANBUL'DA SİVİL TOPLUM ÖRGÜTLERİ TARİHİ, with Ahmet N. Yücekök and Mehmet Alkan. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1997 (A History of Associational Life in İstanbul).

FİNANSAL PİYASALARIN DERİNLEŞMESİ ULUSLARARASI SEMPOZYUMU BİLDİRİLERİ (Co-editor with Gül G. Turan) İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi, 1996. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Deepening of Financial Markets.

MEVDUAT TOPLAYAN KURUMLARIN KAMU TARAFINDAN DÜZENLENMESİ ULUSLARASI SEMPOZYUMU BİLDİRİLERİ (Co-editor with Gül G. Turan) İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi, 1996. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Public Regulation of Depository Institutions).

Özelleştirme ULUSLARASI SEMPOZYUMU BİLDİRİLERİ (Editor.) İstanbul : Koç Üniversitesi, 1995. (Proceedings of the International Symposium on Privatization)

KIRSAL GELİŞMEDE KÖYLER, KÖY ÖRGÜTLERİ VE DEVLET. İstanbul: İ.Ü. Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1988) (Villages, Village Organizations and the State in Rural Development)

SİYASAL DEMOKRASİ, SİYASAL KATILMA, BASKI GRUPLARI VE SENDİKALAR. İstanbul: Türkiye Denizciler Sendikası, 1986. (Political Democracy, Political Participation, Pressure Groups and Labor Unions)

SİYASAL SİSTEM VE SİYASAL DAVRANIŞ. İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1983. (The Political System and Political Behavior)

NATO İTTİFAKININ STRATEJİK VE POLİTİK SORUNLARI. İstanbul: İ. Ü. İktisat Fakültesi, 1972. (The Strategic and Political Problems of NATO)

CUMHURİYET TARİHİMİZ. İstanbul: Çağlayan, 1969. (A History of the Turkish Republic)

DEMOKRASİ VE PİYASA: DOĞU AVRUPA VE LATİN AMERİKA'DA SİYASAL VE EKONOMİK REFORMLAR (Translation into Turkish of Adam Przeworski's book Democracy and the Market). Ankara: Türk Demokrasi Vakfı, 1995.

#### JOURNAL ARTICLES (English AND OTHER Foreign Languages)

"Never Quite Making It: Turkey's Repeated Attempts at Democracy," TURKISH STUDIES, XXIV: 3-4 (2023), pp. 451-475.

"East-West Relations: A New Cold War," TRANSATLANTIC POLICY QUARTERLY, XXI:4 (Winter 2022-2023), pp. 65-86.

"The Dialectics of Confrontation? Thirty Years After," RUSSIA IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS, No. 4, October-December 2021, pp. 126-130.

"The Rise of Populist Electoral Authoritarianism in Turkey: A Case of Culturally Derived Recidivism," STUDIA SOCIOLOGICZNO-POLITYCZNE, 2(07)/2017, pp. 83-102. Republished in Jerzy J. Wiatr, NEW AUTHORITARIANISM: CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY IN THE 21ST CENTURY (Opladen and Berlin: Barbara Budrich, 2019), pp. 57-76.

"The Southeast Anatolia Project Advances with the Construction of the Ilisu Dam," ECONOMIC DIALOGUE: TURKEY (İstanbul: Özgencil, October 2017), pp.

"The First World War A Hundred Years Later," TURKISH POLICY QUARTERLY, Vol. 13, No. 1. Spring 2014, pp. 67-77.

"The Role of the EU in changing the Role of the Military in Turkish Politics," with Yaprak Gürsoy, ERIS: EUROPEAN REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, Vol. 1, Spring 2014, pp. 132-141.

"One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Success and Failure in Recent Turkish Foreign Policy," AUSTRAL, Vol.2, No. 3, January/June 2013, pp. 125-145.

"Encounters with the Third Kind: Turkey's New Political Forces are Met by Old Politics," HUNGARIAN REVIEW, Vol. 4, No. 4, JULY 2013, PP. 7-11.

"Area and International Studies in Turkey: The Case of the United States," ALL AZIMUTH: A JOURNAL OF FOREIGN POLICY AND PEACE, Vol. 1, No.1, January 2012, pp. 50-64.

"From an Underdeveloped Country to a Regional Power," RUSSIA IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS, Vol. 10, No. 1, January-March 2012, pp. 60-78.

"Estranhos companheiros ou novos aliados: a aventura nuclear do Brasil e da Turquia no Iran," POLITICA EXTERNA (Brasil), Sept.-Nov. 2010, pp. 131-140. English language version appears as "Strange Bedfellows or New Allies: Brazil and Turkey's New Adventure in Iran, HLO QUARTERLY, Vol. 1, Winter 2011, pp. 40-48.

"Multiplying Vectors: A Framework for Maximizing Turkey's Freedom in Implementing Foreign Policy," NEW PERSPECTIVES ON TURKEY, No. 40 (Spring 2009), pp. 217-224.

"Unstable Stability: Turkish Politics at Crossroads," INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (London), Vol. 83, No.2, March 2007, pp. 319-338.

"Old Soldiers Never Die: The Republican People's Party of Turkey " SOUTHERN EUROPEAN POLITICS, Vol. 11, no.3-4, September-December 2006, pp. 559-578.

-----, Şeref İba and Ayşe Zarakol, "Interparty mobility in the Turkish Grand National Assembly: Curse or Blessing?" EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF TURKISH STUDIES Thematic Issue No. 3 Being an MP in Turkey, <http://www.ejts.org/document400/html>

"Volatility in Politics, Stability in Parliament: An Impossible Dream? The Turkish Grand National Assembly During the Last Two Decades," JOURNAL OF LEGISLATIVE STUDIES (Summer 2003) pp. 151-176.

"Ukraine, Russia and Turkey: rivalry or cooperation?" INSIGHT TURKEY (April-June 2000)

----- and Dilek Barlas, "Turkish-Greek balance: A Key to Cooperation in the Balkans," EAST EUROPEAN QUARTERLY (January 1999)

"Mediterranean Security in the Light of Turkish Concerns," PERCEPTIONS, June-August, 1998. The article also appears in Antonio Marquina, ed. MUTUAL PERCEPTIONS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN: UNITY AND DIVERSITY. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1998.

----- and Gün Kut, "Political-Ideological Constraints on Intra-Basin Cooperation on Transboundary Waters," NATURAL RESOURCES FORUM, May 1997.

"The Changing Role of the Military in Turkish Politics," MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS (London), Autumn, 1997.

"The Changing Representative Roles of the Grand National Assembly: The Background to the current Political Impasse in Turkish Politics," EXTENSIONS, Spring 1997.

"Water Problems: Can the United Nations Help? A Discussion with Special Reference to the MiddleEast," WATER INTERNATIONAL, June 1996. An earlier version entitled "Los Problemas del Agua: Pueden Ayudar los Naciones Unidas?" has appeared in Modesto Seara-Vasquez, ed. LAS NACIONES UNIDAS A LOS CINCUENTA ANOS. Mexico, D.F., Fondo di Cultura Economica, 1995.

"Leadership Change in Turkey," MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS (London) 1994.

"Turkey and the Middle East Water Crisis: Problems and Solutions," WATER INTERNATIONAL. March 1993. A Russian Language translation entitled "Tursiya I Bliknii Vostok: Problemi Vodnih Resursov," has appeared in ÇÖLLERİ ÖZLEŞDİRMEĞİN PROBLEMALARI; Askhabad: Türkmenistan Bilimler Akademiyası, ESKATO/UNEP Halkara Merkezi, Çöller İnstitutı, 1994.

"The Relevance of American Constitutionalism to Other Nations," ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ SİYASAL BİLGİLER FAKÜLTESİ DERGİSİ. January-June 1991.

"Stability versus Democracy: The Dilemma of Turkish Politics," TOPLUM VE EKONOMİ. September 1991.

"Turkish Political Parties and the European Community," YAPI VE KREDİ ECONOMIC REVIEW. October 1988.

"Education, Participation and Support for Democratic Norms," with Edward N.Muller and Mitchell Seligson. COMPARATIVE POLITICS. October 1987.

"The Recruitment of Cabinet Ministers as a Political Process: Turkey, 1946-1980," INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MIDDLE EAST STUDIES. November 1986.

"The Role of Legislatures in Policy Processes," İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ İKTİSAT FAKÜLTESİ MECMUASI, Special Issue No. 2, 1985.

"Changing Horses in Midstream: Party Changers in the Turkish Grand National Assembly," LEGISLATIVE STUDIES QUARTERLY. February 1984.

"Policymakers' Assumptions About Peasant Society: Myth or reality?" POLICY STUDIES REVIEW. August, 1984.

"Atatürk's Reforms As A Nation and State Building Process," SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE. 1984:2.

"Turkey: The Reshaping of Domestic and External Politics," MIDDLE EAST ANNUAL. II: November, 1983.

"Measuring Political Participation: A Cross Cultural Application," with Ersin Kalaycıoğlu. COMPARATIVE POLITICAL STUDIES. April 1981.

"Attitudinal Correlates of Political Democracy: The Case of Korea and Turkey," ORIENT (Hamburg). 1980: 1.

"Whither Turkish Foreign Policy?" CONFLICT. November 1980.

"Military Influence and Coalition Governments as Inputs into Ministerial Attitudes and Job Risks, 1961-1972," İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ İKTİSAT FAKÜLTESİ MECMUASI, Vol. 34, No. 1-4, 1974-1975, pp. 49-67

#### CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDITED VOLUMES (English)

"Liberal Democracy Under Stress: Eroding Socio-Economic and Technological Bases," Modesto Seara Vazques, ed., PANDEMIC: THE CATASTROPHIC CRISIS. Huatulco, Oaxaca: Universidad del Mar, 2021, pp. 239-258. Also published in a parallel volume in Spanish as "La democracia liberal bajo estas: Erosionando las bases socioeconomicas y tecnologicas," PANDEMIA: LA CRISIS CATASTROFICA, pp. 259-280. A Turkish language adaptation appeared in the journal REFLEKTİF as "Liberal Demokrasi

Zorlanıyor: Ekonomik ve Teknolojik Değişimin Etkileri Üzerine Düşünceler," II:2 (2021), PP. 311-327. A Russian language translation was published in RUSSIA IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS (2023) pp. 36-53

"Turkey's Never Ending Search for Democracy," Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting, eds., HANDBOOK OF TURKISH POLITICS. London: Routledge, 2019, pp.27-36.

"Reorienting Turkish Foreign Policy: Successes, Failures, Limitations," in Spyridon N. Litsas and Aristotle Tziampiris, eds., THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IN TRANSITION: MULTIPOLARITY, POLITICS AND POWER. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015, pp. 133-146.

"Two Steps Forward and One Step Back: Turkey's Democratic Transformation," in Carmen Rodriguez, Antonio Avalos, Hakan Yılmaz and Ana I. Planet, eds., TURKEY'S DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS. New York: Routledge, 2014, pp. 43-67.

"Being elected As an Independent Deputy in a Party Environment," in Elise Massicard and Nicole F. Watts, eds., NEGOTIATING POLITICAL POWER IN TURKEY: BREAKING UP THE PARTY. New York: Routledge, 2013, pp. 157-178.

"The Water Dimension in Turkish Foreign Policy," Ayşegül Kibaroglu, Waltina Scheumann and Annika Kramer, eds., TURKEY'S WATER POLICY: NATIONAL FRAMEWORKS AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. Heidelberg: Springer, 2011, pp. 179-197.

"Political Benefits Expected by Turkey for its Participation in the G-20," Wilhelm Hofmeister, ed., G20: PERCEPTIONS AND PERCEPTIONS FOR GLOBAL GOVERNANCE. Singapore: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2011, pp. 153-163.

"University Governance in Turkey." in Celia Kerslake, Kerem Öktem and Philip Robins, ed., TURKEY'S ENGAGEMENT WITH MODERNITY (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2010)

"The United States and Turkey: Limiting Unilateralism," in Davis Bobrow, ed., HEGEMONY CONSTRAINED (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), pp. 81-100.

"Post-conflict role of the United Nations: Opportunities and Limitations," in Mustafa Aydın, Çağrı Erhan ve Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe, eds., REGIONAL IN/SECURITY: REDEFINING THREATS AND RESPONSES (Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 2007) pp. 251-257.

"The Turkish Political System: Instability and Hurdles," in Bertil Duner. ed. TURKEY: THE ROAD AHEAD (Stockholm: Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 2002)

"Water and Turkish Foreign Policy" in Lenore Martin and Dimitris Keridis, ed. THE FUTURE OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004)

"International Aspects of Water Issues," in Turkish Embassy, ed. WATER AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHEASTERN ANATOLIA. London: Turkish Embassy, 2000.

"Providing Istanbul with Drinking Water: The Politics of Water Security in a Rapidly Growing Metropolis," with Gül Turan, in Steven C. Lonergan, ed. ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE, ADAPTATION AND SECURITY. Dordrecht, Holland: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999.

"Turkey's Emerging Relationship with Other Turkish Republics," with Gül Turan, in Libby Rittenberg, ed. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TURKEY IN THE POST-SOVIET ERA: GOING WEST AND LOOKING EAST. Westport, Conn.: Westwood, 1998.

"The Rising Waters of the Caspian Sea and Possibilities for International Cooperation," in Michael H. Glantz and Igor S. Zonn, eds., SCIENTIFIC, ENVIRONMENTAL, AND POLITICAL ISSUES IN THE CIRCUM-CASPIAN REGION. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997.

"The Democratic Anomalies: Why Some Countries That Have Passed Vanhanen's Democratic Threshold are not Democracies," in Tatu Vanhanen et al. PROSPECTS OF DEMOCRACY: A STUDY OF 172 COUNTRIES. London: Routledge, 1997.

"Regional Organizations for Water Utilization in the Middle East," in Michael H. Glantz, ed. THE ROLE OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF CLIMATE CHANGE. Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 1995.

"Throwing the Baby Out with the Bath Water: Responding to Political Change in Europe and in the World and NATO," PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION. Ankara: Turkish Grand National Assembly, 1995.

"Evolution of the Electoral Process," in Metin Heper and Ahmet Evin, eds. POLITICS IN THE THIRD TURKISH REPUBLIC. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994.

"The Turkish Legislature: From Symbolic to Substantive Representation" in Gary Copeland and Samuel C. Patterson, eds. PARLIAMENTS IN THE MODERN WORLD: CHANGING INSTITUTIONS. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.

"Regional Organization for Water Utilization in the Middle East," PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON WATER PROBLEMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS. Champaign, Illinois: International Water Resources Association, October 1993.

"The Politics and Economics of Turkish Policy Reforms in the 1980s," with Anne O. Krueger in Robert Bates and Anne O. Krueger, eds. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERACTIONS IN ECONOMIC POLICY REFORM: EVIDENCE FROM EIGHT COUNTRIES. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993.

"Politicians: Populist Democracy," in Metin Heper, Ayşe Öncü and Heinz Kramer, eds. TURKEY AND THE WEST: CHANGING POLITICAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITIES. London: I. B. Tauris 1993.

"Religion and Political Culture in Turkey," in Richard L. Tapper, ed. ISLAM IN MODERN TURKEY: RELIGION, POLITICS AND LITERATURE IN A SECULAR STATE. London: I. B. Tauris, 1991. (Parts of this chapter has also been translated into Turkish and appeared in ÇAĞDAŞ TÜRKİYE'DE İSLAM. İstanbul: Sarmal Yayınevi, 1991)

"Stages of Development in the Turkish Republic," in Ralph H. Hattox and Heath W. Lowry, eds. PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD CONGRESS ON THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF TURKEY. İstanbul: ISIS Press, 1989. Also reprinted in revised form in Turkish Political Science Association, PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY. Ankara: 1989.

"Turkey and the European Community: Toward the Year 2000," in Turkish Political Science Association, TURKEY IN THE YEAR 2000. Ankara: 1988.

"Political Parties and the Party System in post-1983 Turkey," in Ahmet Evin and Metin Heper, eds. STATE, DEMOCRACY AND THE MILITARY : TURKEY IN THE 1980S. Berlin: deGruyter, 1988.

"The Evolution of Political Culture in Turkey," in Ahmet Evin, ed. MODERN TURKEY: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE. Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1984.

"Continuity and Change in the Turkish Bureaucracy: The Kemalist Period and After," in Jacob Landau, ed. ATATÜRK AND THE MODERNIZATION OF TURKEY. Boulder: Westview Press, 1984.

"The Development of Violence As A Feature As a Feature of Turkish Political Life," PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE UNITY OF THE SCIENCES. New York: International Cultural Foundation, 1979.

"The Shaping of Democracy in Developing Societies," PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE UNITY OF THE SCIENCES. New York: International Cultural Foundation, 1979.

#### OTHER PUBLICATIONS (English)

<https://valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/thaw-in-turkish-armenian-relations-a-hopeful-begin/>  
(Turkish Armenian Relations: A Hopeful Beginning)

TURKEY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION: THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN. The European Institute of the Mediterranean. Barcelona: leMed Papers, no. 1. 2007.

WESTERNIZATION AND SECULARISM IN CONTEMPORARY TURKEY. Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Arbeitspapier 2603. Ebenhausen: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Mai 1989.

VILLAGES, VILLAGE ORGANIZATIONS AND THE GOVERNMENT IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT. Occasional Paper Series No. 20. Iowa City: Comparative Legislative Research Center, 1982.

SURVEY RESEARCH IN A DEVELOPING COUNTRY: FIELD WORK IN TURKEY. Occasional Paper Series No. 7. Iowa City: Comparative Legislative Research Center, 1975.

#### JOURNAL ARTICLES (Turkish)

"Sosyal Bilimler ve Sosyal Bilimciyi Düşünürken," REFLEKTİF, VOL.1., NO. 1, October 2020, pp. 145-153  
(Thinking about Social Science and the Social Scientist)

"Başkanlık Sistemi ve Ülkemizde Başkanlık Sistemi Tartışmaları," YENİ TÜRKİYE, Vol. 9, No. 51, March-April 2013, pp. 525-530. (Presidential systems and the presidential system debate in Turkey)

"Türk Siyasi Partilerinde Lider Oligarşisi, Evrimi, Kurumsallaşması ve Sonuçları," İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ SİYASAL BİLGİLER FAKÜLTESİ DERGİSİ, No. 45, October 2011, s. 1-21. (The evolution, institutionalization and consequences of oligarchic leadership in Turkish political parties)

"Demokrasi Tip ve Tipolojileri," İDEA: İNSAN BİLİMLERİ DERGİSİ, 2: 1, Spring 2010, pp. 111-35 (Types and Typologies of Democracy)

"Uzmanlık İletişimi Konusu Olarak Dil," NEW PERSPECTIVES QUARTERLY TÜRKİYE. 8:4 (2010), 13-15  
(Language as an Means of Specialized Communication-diplomacy)

"Türkiye'de Siyasal Bilimin Gelişmesi: Tarihçe ve Kurumsal Gelişmeler," İ.Ü. SİYASAL BİLGİLER FAKÜLTESİ DERGİSİ. 40 (2009), 13-30. (The Development of Political Science in Turkey: History and Institutional Developments)

"Kalite Sorununu Aşmada Atama ve Yükseltme Kriterleri," ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER, 4: 13, Spring 2007, pp. 129-136. (Appointment and promotion criteria in overcoming quality problems)

"Cumhuriyet'in 75. Yılında Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültür," YENİ TÜRKİYE, IV:23-24, September-December 1998, pp. 826-833 (Political culture in Turkey at the 75th anniversary of the republic)

"Ortadoğu'da Su Krizi ve Türkiye: Sorunlar ve Çözümler," İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ SİYASAL BİLGİLER FAKÜLTESİ DERGİSİ, 3-5, 1993, PP. 219-232. (The water crisis in the Middle East, problems and solutions).

"Köyün Resmi Önderlerinin Etkinliğini Belirleyen Sosyo-Ekonomik Etkenler," İDARE HUKUKU VE İLİMLERİ DERGİSİ. 5: 1-3.(1984). (The socio-economic determinants of the political efficacy of formal village leadership)

"Parlamentar Demokraside Denetim İşlevi ve Türkiye," ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ SİYASAL BİLGİLER FAKÜLTESİ DERGİSİ. 33:1-33 (1978). (The legislative oversight function: Turkey)

"Silahlı Kuvvetler, Bakanlar, Koalisyonlar," İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ İKTİSAT FAKÜLTESİ MECMUASI. 31: 69-87 (1974-5). (Armed forces, ministers, and coalition governments)

"Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Son Döneminde Öğrenci Siyasal Faaliyeti, İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ İKTİSAT FAKÜLTESİ MECMUASI, 29: 171- 190 (1970) (Student political activism during the latter stages of the Ottoman Empire)

"Milli Gücün Bir unsuru Olarak Diplomasi," DIŞ POLİTİKA. 1972 (Diplomacy as an instrument of national power)

"Parti Disiplini," İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ İKTİSAT FAKÜLTESİ MECMUASI. 28: 79-102.(1968-9). (Party discipline)

#### CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDITED VOLUMES (Turkish)

"Popülist Düşüncenin ve Siyasetin Evrimi," Sencer Ayata, ed., OTORİTER POPÜLİZM VE DEMOKRASİ (Ankara: Sosyal Demokrasi Derneği, 2023), pp. 229-253 (Evolution of populist thinking and politics)

"Türk Parlamentosunda Partilerarası Hareketlilik," Anayasa Hukuku Araştırmaları Derneği, ed., TBBM YÜZÜNCÜ YIL ARMAĞANI (İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 2022), pp. 517-539 (Inter-party Mobility in the Turkish Parliament)

"Amerikan Başkanlık Sistemi," Ömer Osmanoğlu, ed., TÜRKİYE TİPİ CUMHURBAŞKANLIĞI HÜKÜMET SİSTEMİ TARTIŞMALARI (İSTANBUL: DEMOKRASİYİ GÜÇLENDİRME DERNEĞİ, 2022), pp. 81-102 (The American Presidential System).

"Üç İntihal Hikayesi: Yenemediğimiz Bir Hastalık," Fahri Apaydın and Kadir Sinan Çelik, eds., "AKADEMİDE ETİK İHLALLERİ: YAŞANMIŞ VAKALAR I (ANKARA: NOBEL, 2021), pp. 159-167 (Three Cases of Plagiarism: an incurable disease)

"Eksen Kayması mı, Eksen Kaybı mı? Türk Dış Politikasının Son Yıllardaki Serencamı," Nazım Engin, Erhan Aslanoğlu, Oral Erdoğan, Burhan Can Karahasan, Kenan Tata, eds. TÜRKİYE EKONOMİSİNDE KALKINMA VE DÖNÜŞÜM (İSTANBUL: İMGE KİTABEVİ, 2018), PP. 567-584. (Shift or Loss of Axis: Recent Adventures of Turkish Foreign Policy)

"Türk Dış Politikasında Gerçekçilik, Öngörü, Liderlik," in Ümit Özdağ and Yelda Demirağ, eds. STRATEJİK DERİNLİKTE SAVRULAN TÜRK DİŞ POLİTİKASI (Ankara: Kripto, 2016), pp. 17-22. (Turkish foreign policy veering off its course through Strategic Depth)

"Türkiye'de Parlamento ve Seçimler," in Mehmet Kabasakal, ed., TÜRKİYE'DE SİYASAL YAŞAM: DÜN, BUGÜN, YARIN (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2016), pp. 99-125 (Elections and the parliament in Turkey).

"Parlamentar Seçkinler, Siyasi ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Değişme," GÜLTEN KAZGAN'A ARMAĞAN: TÜRKİYE EKONOMİSİ (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2004), pp. 381-392. (Parliamentary elites, political and socio-economic change)

"Denizcilik Bakanlığı Kurulmalı mı Kapatılmalı mı?" in GÜNDÜZ AYBAY ARMAĞANI (İstanbul: Aybay Yayınları, 2004), pp. 53-66.(Should there be a ministry of maritime affairs?)

"Cumhuriyet Devrimleri," in Mehmet Kabasakal, ed., ÇAĞDAŞ VE DEMOKRATİK TÜRKİYE ARAYIŞLARI (İstanbul: Buke Yayınları, 2002) (Republican Reforms)

"Türkiye-Amerika Birleşik Devletleri İlişkileri," in Murat Metinsoy and Mustafa Eroğlu, eds. Değişen DÜNYA VE TÜRKİYE'NİN DİŞ POLİTİKA GÜNDEMİ (İstanbul: Don Kişot, 2001) (Turkish-US Relations)

"Soğuk Savaş Döneminde Avrupa'nın Güvenlik Anlayışı," AVRUPA SAVUNMA VE GÜVENLİK KİMLİĞİ, AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ VE NATO İLİŞKİLERİNİN GELECEĞİ, TÜRKİYE'YE ETKİLERİ (İstanbul: Harp Akademileri, 2001) (European Views on Security During the Cold War).

"Türk Devrimi: Bir Kopuş mu Geçmişin Devamı mı?" OSMANLI, Cilt VII (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999) (The Turkish Revolution: A Break With the Past or Its Continuation?)

"Siyasette Liderlik Anlayışı ve Parti İçi Demokrasi," TOPLAM KALİTE YÖNETİMİ VE SİYASETTE KALİTE, Cilt I (İstanbul: Kalder-Tüsiad, 1996) (The Meaning of Leadership in Politics and Internal Democracy in Political Parties)

"Siyasal Bilimler," in CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE TÜRKİYE'DE BİLİM. Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 1997.(Developments in Political Science During the Republic)

"Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültür ve Demokrasi," in Rona Aybay, ed. DEMOKRASİ KÜLTÜRÜ. İstanbul: Aybay Yayınları (1996) (Political culture and democracy in Turkey)

"Ortadoğu'da Su Sorunu ve Türkiye," in ORTADOĞU BARIŞ SÜRECİ VE TÜRKİYE. İstanbul: Hava Harp Okulu Yayınları, 1995. (The Water Problem in the Middle East and Turkey)

----- and Dilek Barlas "Batı İttifakına Üye Olmanın Türk Dış Politikası Üzerindeki Etkileri," in Faruk Sönmezoğlu, ed. TÜRK DİŞ POLİTİKASININ ANALİZİ. İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1994. (The Effects of Turkey's membership in the Western Alliance on its foreign policy)

"Değişen Dünyada Neler Değişmedi," DÜNYA NEREYE GİDİYOR? İstanbul: Hava Harp Okulu Yayınları, 1994.(Those aspects which have not changed in the changing world political environment)

"Türkiye'de Siyasal Yozlaşma Süreci," in Türker Alkan, ed. SİYASAL AHLAK VE SİYASAL AHLAKSIZLIK. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1993. (The process of degeneration or corruption in Turkish politics)

"Su Sorunu, Türkiye ve Ortadoğu: Sunuş," in Sabahattin Şen, ed. SU SORUNU, TÜRKİYE VE ORTADOĞU. İstanbul: Bağlam, 1993. (The water problem, Turkey and the Middle East)

"Türk Toplumunda Laikliğin Kökeni, Önemi ve Sürekliliği Üzerine," BAHRI SAVCI'YA ARMAĞAN. Ankara: Mülkiyeliler Birliği Vakfı, 1988. pp. 493-505. (The origins, the significance and the continuity of secularism in Turkey)

"Ulusal Egemenlik ve Siyasal Katılma," MİLLÎ EGEMENLİK SEMPOZYUMU: BİLDİRİLER. Ankara: Büyük Millet Meclisi, 1985. (National sovereignty and political participation)

"Siyasal Bilimde Metot," in Ruşen Keleş, ed. SOSYAL BİLİMLERDE ARAŞTIRMA METOTLARI. Ankara: Türkiye ve Ortadoğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü, 1972. (Methods in Political Science)

#### RESEARCH EXPERIENCE:

1. Project Director of Turkey. 1998-2001. Politics of the Agricultural Use of Water in the Mediterranean Basin, a seven country project supported by the European Union and administered by Research Committee 12 of the E.U.
2. Project Director (1990-1991): I designed the survey instrument, directed its implementation and wrote the final report of the project on "The Socio-Economic Background of the Members of the Union of Banking and Insurance Workers." A mail questionnaire was used.
3. Project Director (1978-1980) : Designed the survey instrument and implemented the field work as part of a broader project on Political Conditions of Rural Development in Turkey, assisted by Ersin Kalaycıoğlu. Project was funded by the Comparative Legislative Research Center of the University of Iowa.
4. Field Director (1973-1974): Directed the implementation of the survey instrument prepared by the Comparative Legislative Research Center of the University of Iowa for the Legislatures and Political Development Project.

#### PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

President, International Political Science Association (20016-2018);

Program Chair, XXI World Congress of Political Science of the International Political Science Association; Santiago, Chile, July 12-16, 2009;

Member of Executive Committee (elected summer 2000 and reelected 2003), Vice President and Chair of the Committee on Research and Training (2003-2006) of the International Political Science Association

President, Turkish Political Science Association (2001-2009)

Chair, Local Organizing Committee , First World International Studies Conference, Istanbul. 24-27 August 2005.

Member, Board of Editors, INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW (2012-)

Member, International Advisory Board. EUROPEAN POLITICAL SCIENCE (2004-)

Member, Board of Editors, ULUSLARARASI HUKUK VE POLİTİKA (2004-)

Member, Board of Advisors, TURKISH POLICY QUARTERLY (2003- )

Member, Advisory Editorial Board, INSIGHT TURKEY (2002- 2010)

Member, Board of Advisors, MUHAFAZAKAR DÜŞÜNCE (2004-)

Member, Editorial Advisory Board, INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW (2000-2006)

Member, Editorial Advisory Board INTERNATIONAL STUDIES QUARTERLY (1996-1998 )

Member, Editorial Advisory Board, PERCEPTIONS: Journal of International Affairs (1996-2012)

Member, Board of Advisers MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS (1994- ) (London: Pinter Publishers and later Routledge)

Director (1986-1993) Center for the Study of the Middle East and the Balkans, Faculty of

Political Science, Istanbul University

Vice President (1986-2001) Turkish Political Science Association

Member, Board of Editors INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF TURKISH STUDIES (USA) (1980-1993)

Member and Secretary (1983-1985) Board of Directors of the Turkish Studies Association (USA)

Acting Director (1976-1981) Institute of Political Science, Faculty of Economics, Istanbul University

Editor CURRENT TURKISH THOUGHT, Istanbul: Redhouse Press(1969-1981)

#### OTHER PUBLICATIONS (TURKISH)

DIŞ SİYASETE İLİŞKİN GÖZLEMLER (İstanbul: Tüsiad Küresel Siyaset Forumu makale dizisi, no.1, December 2021) (Observations on Turkish Foreign Policy), 29 pages

#### OTHER ACTIVITIES

##### A) Newspaper and Media

Honorary Member, Turkish Journalists Association (2023-)

Member, PRESS COUNCIL OF TURKEY (2021-)

Senior columnist (politics) for the economics daily DÜNYA (İstanbul) (1994-2022 and TR MONITOR (2018-) (Dünya has been renamed Nasıl Bir EKONOMİ in November 2022-)

Contributor, On Turkey Series, German Marshall Fund of the United States, 2013-2019)

Coordinator and director of the program “Dünya Tartışıyor” (The World Debates) a half hour program of analysis of a domestic or an international issues or problems on NTV, a news channel in Istanbul (October 2001-May 2002)

Political columnist for the TEB BULLETIN, an internet publication of the Turkish Economics Bank (Istanbul) (1999-2000)

Lead columnist for the political and economic quarterly LİDERLER (Istanbul) (1996-1999)

Political columnist for the daily GÜNEYDİN (istanbul) (1992-1993)

Political writer and analyst for the financial monthly FİNANS DÜNYASI (Istanbul) (1999-2010)

#### A) Business

Member of the Board (INDEPENDENT), Mares A.Ş. (2020-) (Hotel management, Koç Group)

Member of the Board (INDEPENDENT), Çelebi Hava Servisi A.Ş. (2014-2019) (Airport ground services and cargo)

Member of the Board of Directors (INDEPENDENT), Indokordsa Corporation, Jakarta (2009-) (Produces cord yarn and cloth for car tires, Sabancı Group)

Member, Board of Directors, TEMSA Corporation (1988-2009) (Temsal builds busses, small trucks, commercial vehicles, Sabancı Group)

Member, Board of Directors. Öner Stock Brokerage Corporation (1992-2013)

#### B) Foundations

Member, Board of Directors and Secretary General, Global Relations Forum (2017-2022)

Member, Board of Directors, TESAV Foundation (Turkish Economic and Social Research Foundation) and Trustee (2016-)

Member, Board of Directors, TESEV Foundation (Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation) (1997-2007) and founding trustee

Chairman, Board of Trustees, SEV Foundation (2006-2014 ) and Member, Board of Directors (1998-2006) , SEV Foundation (Health and Education Foundation runs hospitals and a network of primary and high schools) and a member of the Board of Trustees

Founding member and Trustee-ÇEKÜL (Environmental and Cultural Heritage Protection Foundation)(1990-)

Member of the Board of Directors-TEGV (Education Volunteers Foundation)(2006-2015 ) and a founding trustee