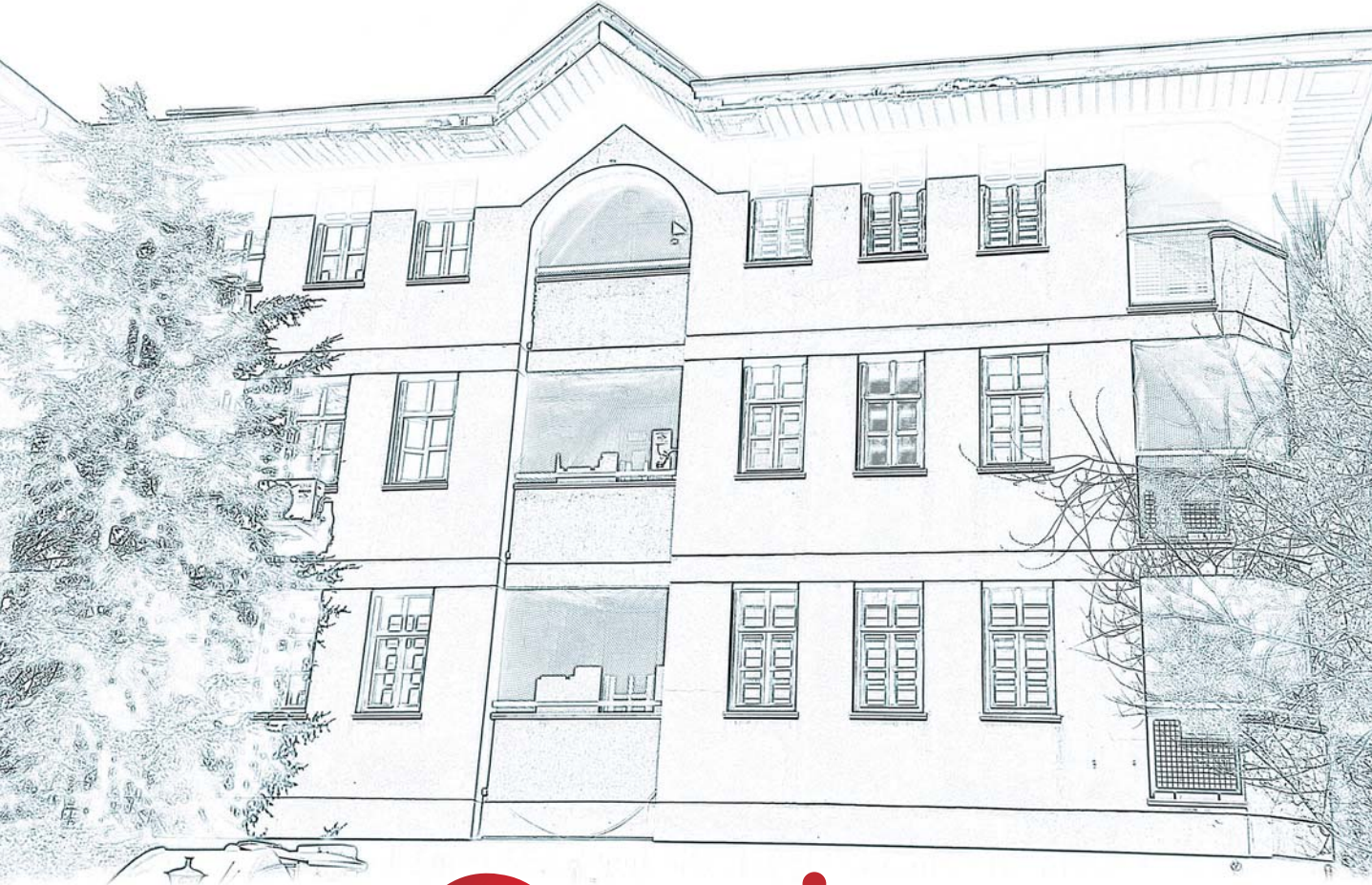


CENTER FOR EURASIAN STUDIES

2015

ANNUAL REPORT



AVİM
AVRASYA İNCELEMELERİ MERKEZİ
CENTER FOR EURASIAN STUDIES

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ANNUAL REPORT

ANKARA
February 2016



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AVRASYA İNCELEMELERİ MERKEZİ
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We thank  for the studio photographs in this report.

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About AVİM

AVİM, founded in 2009, is an independent, non-profit think tank based in Ankara that operates under the umbrella of Turkmeneli Cooperation and Culture Foundation. AVİM carries out its work with researchers and analysts who are Master's and PhD students, PhD Candidates and holders of doctoral degrees, and administrative personnel.

Our Mission

AVİM aims to provide researchers, scholars, journalists, policy makers, and the broader community with comprehensive and in-depth perspectives about the current political affairs in the regions which are strategically important to Turkey, particularly Europe, the Balkans, the Wider Black Sea Region, the Caucasus and Central Asia. AVİM also seeks to contribute to the understanding of challenges and opportunities that Turkey faces within the changing global geopolitical context. The geopolitical position of Turkey requires utmost attention and vigilance to the developments in the Eurasian region with two hinges on the Balkans and the Caucasus. AVİM attributes particular attention to these two regions in its studies. Within this framework, AVİM has a special interest in the controversial Turkish-Armenian relations.

Our Vision

AVİM envisions building a network of scholars and experts on the Eurasian region to facilitate intellectual interchanges and cooperation. Pursuing this vision, AVİM collaborates with national and international governmental and non-governmental organizations, independent policy institutions and universities, and aims to enhance those partnerships.

What We Do

AVİM publishes books and reports based on original research, conference proceedings and policy briefs both in print and electronic format. It organizes national and international conferences and workshops on the political developments in the Eurasian region. AVİM prepares a daily bulletin with news, commentaries and analyses covering the evolving new Eurasia on its website and distributes it via email reaching currently to 7,000 recipients.


AVİM publishes the following three peer-reviewed academic journals.


- Ermeni Arařtırmaları (in Turkish; since 2001)
- Review of Armenian Studies (in English; since 2002)
- International Crimes and History / Uluslararası Suçlar ve Tarih (bilingual in English and Turkish; since 2005)

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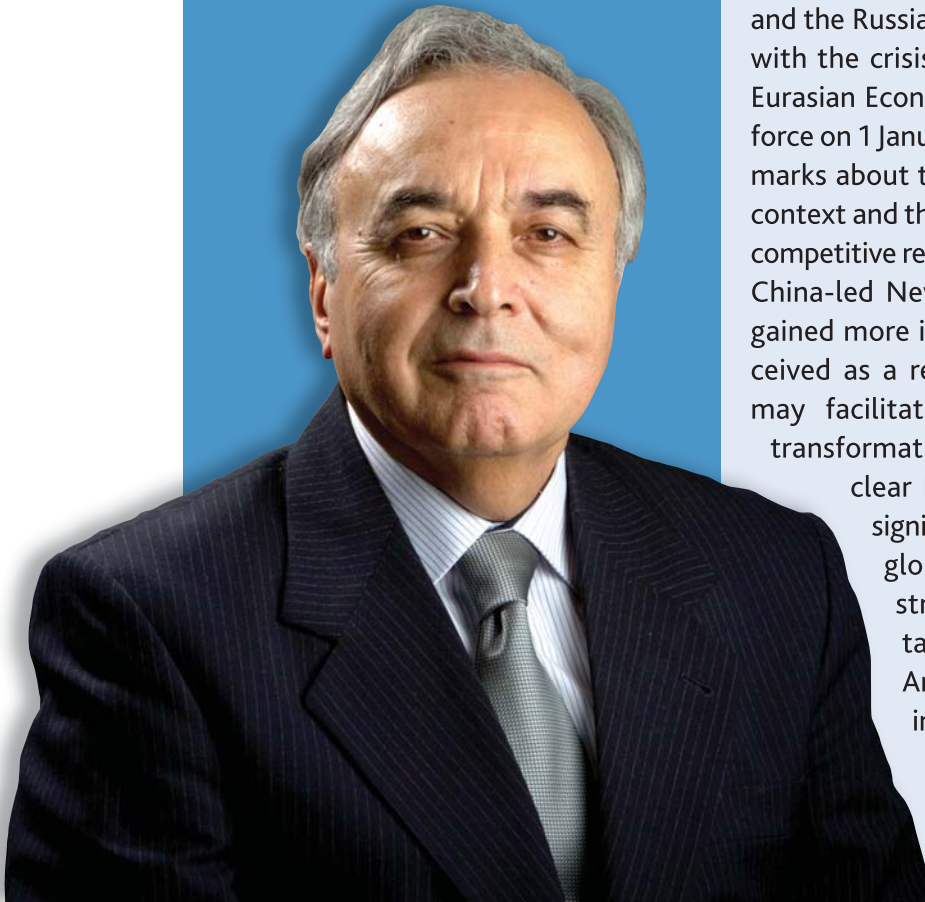
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Foreword

AVİM Director

Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç



I am pleased to present AVİM 2015 Annual Report, where you may find information about AVİM's activities and publications in 2015.

2015 has been an interesting and active year for the Eurasian region. The situation in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine continues to raise concerns about a new era of strained relations between the West and the Russian Federation, augmented with the crisis in Syria. The Russia-led Eurasian Economic Union that came to force on 1 January 2015 causes question marks about the emerging geopolitical context and the possibility of a renewed competitive regionalism. Meanwhile, the China-led New Silk Road Project that gained more in content in 2015 is perceived as a remarkable initiative that may facilitate dramatic geopolitical transformations. The Iran-P5+1 Nuclear Deal is likely to result in significant changes and to lead global players review their strategic calculations. Certainly, the turmoil in the Arab World has had its echo in Eurasia.

These developments indicate that the Eurasian

region is likely to evolve and shift to the center of gravity of the world geopolitics in the coming decades.

This apparent trend brings about significant opportunities for the Eurasian countries and Turkey. On the other hand, in order to benefit from the newly emerging geopolitical context, these countries need to overcome various issues that hinder their development and security, and, as a consequence, the progress of the region as a whole. Overcoming these issues is the crucial challenge that awaits the policy makers of these countries.

As AVİM, we have sought to analyze these developments to facilitate analytical and realistic assessments of the developments in the Eurasian region and to share our findings with the academic and policy-making circles and the wider interested public.

Overall, within this emerging geopolitical context in 2015, we have continued our activities and publications in an amplified manner, which can be attested by referring to the increase in the number of national and international events that AVİM organized, enriched content and scope of its publications and the field research that our experts carried out. In 2015, the second edition of *Armenian Diaspora: Diaspora, State, and the Imagination of the Republic of Armenia* by

AVİM's expert Dr. Turgut Kerem Tuncel was published. The 50th, 51st, and 52nd issues of *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, 31st and 32nd issues of *Review of Armenian Studies* (in English) and the 15th issue of *International Crimes and History / Uluslararası Suçlar ve Tarih* (bilingual in English and Turkish) were also released. Eight conference books and one report were also published in 2015. In addition to these, we have continued publishing commentaries and policy analyses on our website and have continued in distributing a daily bulletin via email.

Among the politically significant developments and events in 2015, the events, publications and discussions dedicated to the centenary of the 1915 have had a significant weight. For this reason, a great portion of our activities were dedicated to the analyses of the events related to the centenary of 1915.

It is gratifying to observe that AVİM's activities and publications are met with the attention of academic and policy-making circles. This encourages us to keep ourselves in track.

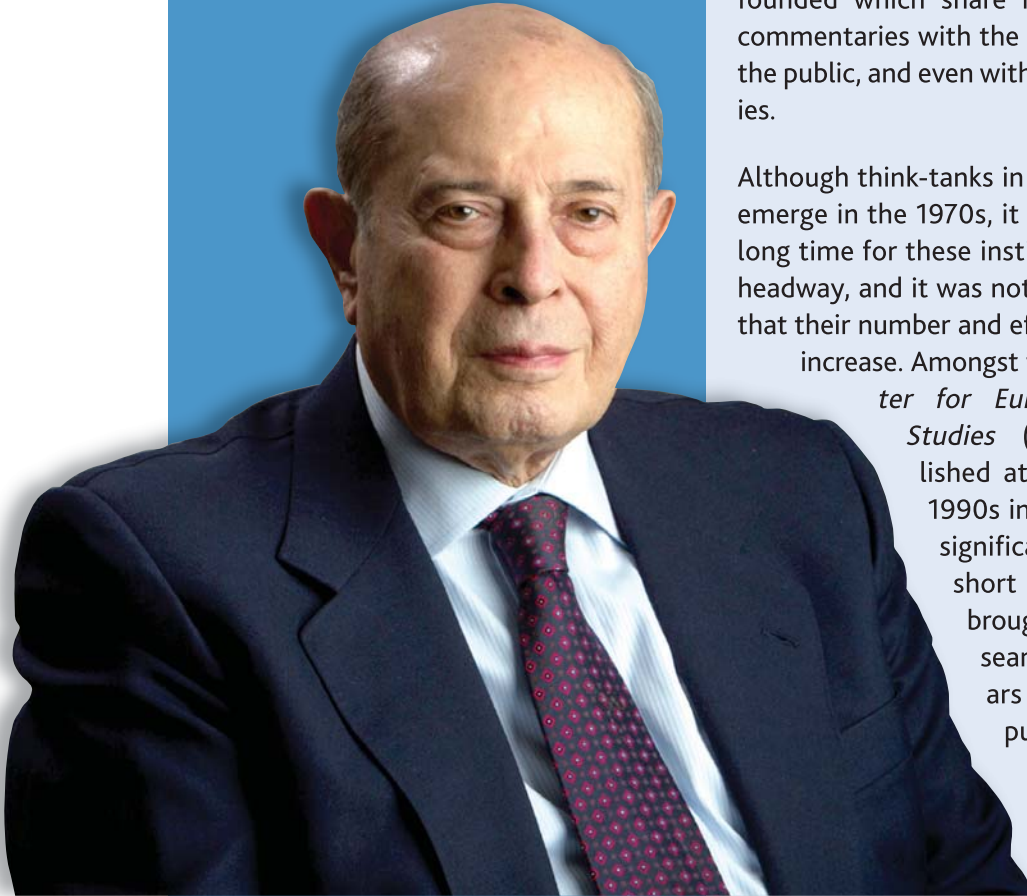
In the following pages, please find detailed information about AVİM's activities and publications in 2015.

I would like extend our gratitude to everyone who have shown interest in our work and who have supported us.

On the Past and the Future of AVİM

AVİM Honorary Chairman

Ambassador (R)
Ömer Engin Lütem



Today, advances in technology have brought about an increased flow of information and with it a need for the categorization and interpretation of that information so as to present it to the wider public. To serve this purpose, specialized scientific institutions were founded which share information and commentaries with the media as well as the public, and even with the official bodies.

Although think-tanks in Turkey began to emerge in the 1970s, it took a relatively long time for these institutions to make headway, and it was not until the 2000s that their number and efficacy started to increase. Amongst them is the *Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies* (ASAM), established at the end of the 1990s in Ankara, made a significant progress in a short span of time, brought some fifty researchers and scholars in its staff and published numerous books and journals.

The Armenian Question was brought into the forefront of Turkey's agenda in the face of several developments. The attempts of Robert Kocharyan, who was elected as President in 1998 to include the matter of the recognition of the 1915 events as genocide by the international community in the government program, the increased efforts of the Armenian lobby in the United States to bring the mentioned genocide claims to the attention of the United States Congress, and the tendency which emerged in EU member states towards Turkey, which has attained the 'candidate status', to accept these claims and the decisions taken by the member states' parliaments on the subject of genocide have contributed to an increased attention to the Armenian Question in Turkey.

Turkey's attempts to prevent these efforts through diplomacy were met with a gap in the literature in Turkey regarding the historical and legal dimensions of the Armenian Question. In this regard, to carry out research on this subject, Institute for Armenian Research (ERAREN) was established on our behalf in the late-2000s under ASAM. As of 2001, ERAREN, which was composed of scholars, most of whom have earned the title of professor in the later years, began publishing two journals, namely the *Armenian Studies*, which is issued four times a year, and the *Review of Armenian Studies* which is issued twice a year. On the other hand, with the intention of bringing together writers and scholars in Turkey who work on the Ar-

menian Question and to compare and contrast their studies, in the years 2002 and 2004, two big meetings, under the name of *Armenian Studies Turkish Congress*, were organized with the participation of more than one hundred scholars and writers. In addition, in 2005, ERAREN started publishing the journal *International Crimes and History*, particularly to shed light on the Turkish and Muslim communities who were deported from the Balkans and Caucasia to the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century.

In the past 15 years, *Armenian Studies* and *Review of Armenian Studies* have been published on a regular basis. In this time-frame, 52 issues of *Armenian Studies*, comprising of 380 articles and 10,628 pages, and 5,162 pages of *The Review of Armenian Studies* with 199 articles in 32 issues have been published. As such, by exceeding 15,000 pages, the two journals make up the most substantial body of work concerning the Armenian Question and Turkey-Armenia relations in Turkey.

Following the closure of ASAM after ten years of extensive work, ERAREN resumed its activities under the auspices of the *Turkmeneli Cooperation and Cultural Foundation* based in Ankara in response to the requests expressed by different segments in Turkey. To replace the Institute, on 2 January, 2009, Center for Eurasian Studies (AVİM) was established under our presidency and took over the responsibilities of ERAREN. In addition to this, AVİM

also assumed the task of carrying out research on Eurasia, a highly significant region for Turkey.

In 2015, the Armenian Question and the genocide claims were once again brought to the world's attention by means of large-scale memorial services in Armenia and the diaspora for the 100th anniversary of the resettlement of the Armenians. Consequently, there has been an increase in the studies on this matter undertaken by AVİM. In connection to this, in 2015, AVİM published the 50th, 51st and 52nd issues of *Armenian Studies* one of which was a special issue entitled the *100th Anniversary of the Resettlement of the Armenians*. Likewise, the 31st and 32nd issues of *Review of Armenian Studies* were published, one of which was dedicated to the "100th Anniversary". In addition to these, AVİM scholars made numerous publications on the AVİM Daily Bulletin and the website on issues related to the Armenian Question and Armenian relations.

Besides these, in 2015, AVİM held 10 meetings on the subjects of the Armenian Question and Turkey-Armenia relations. Two of these meetings were international meetings. Our research reveals that AVİM has held the largest number of meetings related to these topics in 2015 in Turkey. A conference book has been published for each meeting that includes the conference proceedings.

Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç became the director of AVİM in 2013. Even though studies on the Armenian Question carried on at full speed after this date, AVİM began making an effort to put more emphasis on studies concerning Eurasia, the region that encompasses all of Turkey's neighbors, except for the Middle East, including the Black Sea, the Caspian region, Caucasia, and the Central Asian Turkic Republics that has great significance for Turkey's security and economic relations.

In 2015, AVİM organized six meetings, one of which was international and two on issues relating to Caucasia. The speeches and presentations delivered at the meetings have been compiled and published as conference books.

AVİM intends to work more closely on Eurasia and organize events related to this region in the coming days.

AVİM, just like ERAREN, embraces objectivity and honesty in its studies and strives to maintain a scientific approach above every-day politics, to train specialists, and to make academic and scholarly contribution to Turkey's interests in the international arena. AVİM will henceforth continue its activities in line with these principles.

I extend my warmest compliments to the President of AVİM, Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç, and the young researchers and scholars for their hard work and express my confidence in the success of their future studies.

Activities

5-6 January 2015

**Presantation of AVİM Honorary Chairman
Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem at *Turkish-
Armenian Relations in the 19th-20th Century:
Resentments, Disappointments and the Search for
New Ways to Reconcile Symposium***



On 5-6 January 2015, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem made a presentation at *Turkish-Armenian Relations in the 19th-20th Century: Resentments, Disappointments and the Search for New Ways to Reconcile Symposium* (19-20.yy.da Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri Kaynaşma - Kırgınlık - Ayrılık - Yeni Arayışlar Sempozyumu) coordinated by İstanbul University Faculty of Letters, İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Institute of Turkish Revolution History, and İstanbul Branch of the Turkish Hearths.



The Symposium continued for three days with the participation of 74 scholars from Turkey, the United States, Azerbaijan, Poland and Russia who discussed Turkish-Armenian relations and exchanged views on possible steps which can be taken in the future on this subject.



23 January 2015

Meeting with Center for Public Debate based in the Netherlands

On 23 January 2015, AVİM held a meeting with Center for Public Debate (CPD) based in the Netherlands.

The CPD is an organization which aims to facilitate objective public debate on matters involving the Turkish community in the Netherlands and thus contribute to the friendly relations among different communities. In line with this, at the meeting between AVİM and CPD, the parties engaged in discussions on genocide claims upheld by the Armenian community in the Netherlands as well as various issues which are of relevance to the Turkish community in this country, and initiatives which can be taken in the face of these developments.



Conference titled *Turkish-Armenian Controversy in the Light of the January 28 Perinçek-Switzerland Hearing*

3 February 2015

On 3 February 2015, AVİM organized a conference titled *Turkish-Armenian Controversy in the Light of the January 28 Perinçek-Switzerland Hearing* (28 Ocak İsviçre-Perinçek Duruşmasının Işığında Türk-Ermeni Sorunu) at Ankara University Culture and Art House.

The meeting, moderated by the Honorary Chairman of AVİM Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem, was attended by Prof. Dr. Sadi Çaycı (faculty member at the Department of Law at Başkent University), researcher Şükrü Server Aya, and the Director of AVİM Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç. At the meeting, the speakers discussed the matters raised by the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) with regards to the January 2008 Perinçek-Switzerland Hearing and assessed the contemporary Turkish-Armenian relations and the legal and historical dimensions of the events of 1915.

In 2005, Doğu Perinçek spoke against the labelling of the 1915 events as genocide and described genocide claims as 'an imperialist lie' in a number of speeches he delivered during his visit to various cities in Switzerland. Consequently, the Switzerland-Armenia Association in Switzerland opened a lawsuit against Perinçek on the basis of denying the 'Armenian genocide'. Perinçek was found



guilty by Swiss courts. In response, Perinçek appealed to the ECtHR against Switzerland and in 2013 the ECtHR ruled in favor of Perinçek which was, in return appealed by Switzerland. The hearing which took place on 28 January 2015 at the Grand Chamber reaffirmed the decision in favor of Perinçek and the final verdict was given on 15 October 2015.

The Perinçek vs. Switzerland Case was a turning point which nullified the attempts by the 'genocide lobby' to frame the rejection of the characterization of the 1915 events as genocide as a crime. In this regard, this case plays a significant role for Turkish-Armenian relations which have been shaped by the 1915 events up to this day.

13 February 2015

Round Table Meeting with Richard Giragosian, the Director of the Yerevan-based Regional Studies Center



On 13 February, 2015 a roundtable meeting was held with Richard Giragosian, the Director of the Yerevan-based Regional Studies Center during his visit to AVİM.

Giragosian and AVİM analysts exchanged views on the current state of affairs in the South Caucasus, as well as Turkish-Armenian relations within this setting.

AVİM seeks to establish and maintain strong ties with think-tanks and experts from the Eurasian region and particularly the Caucasus, and likewise to contribute to the understanding of different viewpoints and perspectives embraced by these think-tanks and experts.

Presentation of AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç at the Conference titled *The Armenian Question from 1915 to 2015*

14 February 2015

On 14 February 2015, AVİM's Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç made a presentation at the conference titled *The Armenian Question from 1915 to 2015* (1915'ten 2015'e Ermeni Meselesi) organized by Atatürkist Thought Association at Cumhuriyet Daily Conference Hall

In his speech, Ambassador (R) Kılıç touched upon why and how the Armenian population, known as the 'loyal nation', organized rebellions against the Ottoman Empire and discussed the support of the Armenian population to the Tsarist Russia, which had invaded Eastern Anatolia during the First World War. Ambassador (R) Kılıç, in his presentation, discussed the scope and implementation of the Law of Resettlement, which was passed on 27 May 1915, the requests voiced by Armenians at Sevres, the Treaty of Lausanne, the Armenian acts of terror during the years 1975-1985, the first steps taken by Turkey in response to Armenian accusations, leading legal developments particularly the effect of the decision of the ECtHR on the Perinçek vs. Switzerland Case on Turkish-Armenian relations



24 February 2015

*Meeting titled **Turkic Council and Cooperation in Eurasia in the Light of Recent Regional Developments***

On 24 February 2015, AVİM, Center for Strategic Research of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey (SAM), and the Turkic Council organized a meeting titled *Turkic Council and Cooperation in Eurasia in the Light of Recent Regional Developments* (Türk Keneşi ve Bölgedeki Gelişmeler Işığında Avrasya'da İşbirliği).



The meeting opened with a short clip introducing the Turkic Council and was followed by the opening remarks of the Secretary General of the Turkic Council Ambassador Ramil Hasanov and the Deputy Undersecretary of the Turkish Republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ali Kemal Aydın. The meeting proceeded with the



opening speeches of the President of the Center for Strategic Research of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey (SAM) Prof. Dr. Ali Resul Usul, Director of AVİM Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç, and the introductory speech by the Former Secretary General of the Turkic Council Ambassador (R) Halil Akıncı.

Following the presentations on the organizational structure and future plans of the Turkic Council, which was established in 2009, the meeting came to an end with a Q&A session.

Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking States was established by the Nakhcivan Agreement signed at the Summit of the Heads of the Turkic Speaking States in 2009 held in Nakhchivan to facilitate cooperation and collaboration between Turkic speaking states. The members of the Council are Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkey. The Turkic Council was established a new regional cooperation mechanism in Eurasia and particularly in Central Asia and the Caucuses to facilitate international cooperation by encouraging the establishment of strong ties between Turkic speaking states. Despite being based on a common history, language, identity and culture, the Turkic Council moves much beyond these four common themes. On the contrary, the Council is taking the necessary steps to transform the already existing bilateral relations in the fields of economy, science, education, transportation, customs and tourism into a multilateral framework for cooperation.

11 March 2015

Speeches Delivered by AVİM Senior Analyst Aslan Yavuz Şir and AVİM Analyst Hazel Çağan Elbir at the Meeting Organized by Süleyman Demirel University Law and Justice Club



On 11 March 2015, AVİM Senior Analyst Aslan Yavuz Şir and AVİM Analyst Hazel Çağan Elbir delivered speeches at the meeting organized by Süleyman Demirel University Law and Justice Club.



At the meeting that was on Turkish-Armenian relations from 1915 to present, Aslan Yavuz Şir and Hazel Çağan Elbir each delivered a presentation titled *Turkish-Armenian Relations as the 100th Anniversary of the Law of Resettlement Approaches and The Three Stages of the Armenian Terror*, respectively. The meeting ended with a Q&A session.

Opening Speech Delivered by AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç at the 35th Annual Conference titled *Turkish Americans Unite: Challenges and Opportunities* Organized by the Assembly of Turkish-American Associations (ATAA)

12-14 March 2015



On 12-14 May 2015, AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç delivered an opening speech at the 35th Annual Conference titled *Turkish Americans Unite: Challenges and Opportunities* organized by the Assembly of Turkish-American Associations (ATAA).

The participants to the 35th Annual Conference titled *Turkish Americans Unite: Challenges and Opportunities* organized by ATAA, which has 60 local branches in the United States and works for the progress of the Turkish community and Turkish-U.S. relations, included Turkish-American community leaders, representatives of organizations, students, Turkish, American and Azerbaijani diplomats, and members of U.S. Congress and politicians.

The conference, which lasted for three days, included discussions on the political and economic relations between Turkey and the U.S, public and political activities organized by the Turkish community in the U.S, entrepreneurship, as well as the Turkish-Armenian controversy.

17 March 2015

Meeting on *Montenegro and the Balkans*



On 17 March 2015, AVİM and the Center for International Political and Economic Relations at Ankara University Faculty of Political Science organized a meeting titled *Montenegro and the Balkans* (Karadağ ve Balkanlar).

The meeting, of which Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Montenegro Ambassador (R) Miodrag Vlahovic was guest of honor, the Vice Chair of the Department of International Relations at Ankara University Prof. Dr. Çınar Özen and Director of AVİM Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç attended as speakers.

The topic of discussion was predominantly centered on Montenegro and its importance in the political history of the Balkans, the rise of Serbian nationalism, and the referendum held in Montenegro. Alongside the aforementioned matters, the speakers also touched upon the debates centered on Montenegro's NATO and EU membership perspective.

Given Turkey's geopolitical status, it is necessary to divert more attention towards the Caucuses and the Balkans which are two key regions in Eurasia. In line with this, AVİM has allocated more time and resources on conducting research and studies on this region. Developments in the Balkans and global actors such as NATO, the EU, and the Russian Federation have great significance for Turkey. For this reason, as a country located in the Balkans, the conference held on Montenegro was an important event with regards to the analysis of the ongoing geopolitical developments.

Attendance to the 18 March Martyrs' Day Ceremony Organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

18 March 2015



On 18 March 2015, AVİM staff attended the 18 March Martyrs' Day Ceremony organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The ceremony was organized in remembrance of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his brothers in arms, soldiers who lost their lives in Gallipoli, diplomats who lost their lives to Armenian terrorist acts, and the deceased civil servants and their families.

18 March 2015

Conference by AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem for Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) Members on the Armenian Question

On 18 March 2015, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem held a conference on the Armenian Question organized by TRT Educational Directorate under the framework of the training program for TRT members.

In this context, Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem delivered a detailed presentation and expressed his views on the emergence of the Armenian Question and the stages it has been through since the mid-19th century.

24-25 March 2015

Presentation of AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç at the Summit for Strategic Studies

On 24-25 March 2015, AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç made a presentation at the Summit of Strategic Studies organized by Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM) and the U.S.-based Near East South Asia (NESA).

With the attendance of more than 100 participants from 80 research centers, discussions on the fight against radicalization, global powers in the Middle East and North Africa, security issues in the Mediterranean, and climate change were carried out.

Speech by AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç at the Conference titled *Turkey-Russia Relations and Developments in Ukraine*

27 March 2015

On 27 March 2015, AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç delivered a speech at the conference titled *Turkey-Russia Relations and Developments in Ukraine* (Türkiye - Rusya İlişkileri ve Ukrayna'daki Gelişmeler) held at the U.S Embassy in Ankara.

Participants to the conference discussed the effects and implications of the crisis in Ukraine on Turkey-Russia relations.

Speeches by AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem and AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç at the Conference organized by Ankara Rotary Club

1 April 2015

On 1 April 2015, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem and AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç each delivered a speech on the Armenian Question at Ankara Rotary Club.

Following the speeches by Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem and Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç, the audience raised their questions and voiced their opinions and comments on the subject in the Q&A session.

3 April 2015

Book Launch: *Adil Hafızanın Işığında: Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Giden Yol ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Sonu* (In the Light of Fair Memory: The Road to First World War and the End of the Ottoman Empire)

On 3 April, 2015 AVİM organized a meeting at Ankara University Culture and Art House on the occasion of introducing Altay Cengizer's book titled *Adil Hafızanın Işığında: Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Giden Yol ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Sonu* (In the Light of Fair Memory: The Road to First World War and the End of the Ottoman Empire). In his book Ambassador Altay Cengizer, Director General for Policy Planning at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, examines the political events which took place in the Ottoman Empire during World War I.

On 3 April, 2015 AVİM organized a meeting at Ankara University Culture and Art House on the occasion of introducing Altay Cengizer's book titled '*Adil Hafızanın Işığında: Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Giden Yol ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Sonu*'. In his book, Altay Cengizer, Director General for Policy Planning at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, examines the political events which took place in the Ottoman Empire during World War I.





Some of the discussions which took place at the meeting include; the state of the Ottoman Empire in the period 1908-1915, the reasons behind why the Ottoman Empire entered World War I, an assessment of history from what Cengizer refers to as the “Liberal imperialist approach”, the Young Turks, and the 1908 Revolution and the Committee of Union and Progress.

The book, *Adil Hafızanın Işığında*, begins with a quote from Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar,

The greatest of heroes, if not brought to life on paper, will cease to exist just like a candle blowing out in the wind, It will never be known... unless it is engraved in our memories, even miracles will be forgotten.

This quote clearly demonstrates Cengizer’s motivation behind writing this book and his perspective on the matter. It also points to another important aspect of his work; according to the author, the ‘liberal imperialist approach’ to history entails unjustified prejudice towards the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) which has come to be accepted as fact by the general public. Taking this as a starting point, the author hopes to recover the reputation of the CUP.

Cengizer dedicates the last section of his work to the Armenian events which emerged in the last quarter of the 19th century in the Eastern Vilayets of the Ottoman Empire. As expected, these events are now more frequently labelled as ‘genocide’ in the international arena. Cengizer’s book, written from the abovementioned perspective, has taken on greater significance in the face of these developments.

9-11 April 2015

**Speeches Delivered by AVİM Honorary Chairman
Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem and AVİM
Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç at the Conference
titled *Fake Armenian Genocide: Fiction and Reality***



On 9-11 April 2015, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem and AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç each delivered a speech at the Conference titled *Fake Armenian Genocide: Fiction and Reality* organized by the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences in Baku.

The Conference, attended by politicians and scholars from Germany, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and Turkey, was organized to draw the world's attention to the atrocities inflicted by Armenians on the public in Azerbaijan. At the conference, participants discussed the aggressive stance of Armenia towards Azerbaijan and the responsibilities of official and unofficial international organizations on this issue.

17 April 2015

Presentations of AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin, AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç and AVİM Senior Analyst Dr. Turgut Kerem Tuncel at the Panel on *Armenian Issue from a Historical and Strategic Perspective*



On 17 April 2015, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem, AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç and AVİM Senior Analyst Dr. Turgut Kerem Tuncel made presentations at the Panel on *Armenian Issue from a Historical and Strategic Perspective* (Tarihi ve Stratejik Perspektiften Ermeni Meselesi) organized by Kars Kafkas University.

The topics of discussion included violence as a political tool, Armenian atrocities, attacks on Turkish diplomats, claims of Armenia and the Armenian diaspora from Turkey and the arguments developed by Turkey in response to these claims in 2015. Participants to the panel consisted of students and faculty members from Kars Kafkas University and representatives from various civil society organizations based in Kars.

**Presentation of AVİM Director Ambassador (R)
Alev Kılıç at the Panel titled *The Current Crisis in
Ukraine and Its Implications on Turkey: Stakes,
Concerns and Repercussions***



On 20 April 2015, AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç made a presentation at the panel titled *The Current Crisis in Ukraine and Its Implications on Turkey: Stakes, Concerns and Repercussions* (Ukrayna'daki Kriz ve Türkiye Açısından Sonuçları: Riskler, Kaygılar ve Yansımalar) organized by the Center for Mediterranean Studies at Yaşar University and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

At the panel, in-depth discussions took place on the crisis in Ukraine and current developments with the attendance of prominent figures including former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia and the President of Georgian Institute for Strategic Studies Eka Tkeshelashvili, Senior Researcher at the National Institute for Strategic Studies Maryna Vorotnyuk, Member of the Faculty of the Institute of World Economy and International Sergey Utkin.

21 April 2015

Speech Delivered by AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç at the Conference on the *New Silk Road* organized by the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Ankara

On 21 April 2015, AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç delivered a speech titled *Turkey's and the West's Perspective on China's New Silk Road Project* at the conference on *The New Silk Road* (Yeni İpek Yolu) organized by the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Ankara.

The conference on the New Silk Road Project, which is expected to have a significant impact on the geopolitics of Eurasia as well as the World in the near future, was attended by diplomats from China and other countries, and representatives from various think-tanks who exchanged views on the developments and possible outcomes of this project.

22 April 2015

Meeting with Students from the University of California

On 22 April 2015, in coordination with the *Olive Tree Initiative*, a group of students from the University of California visited AVİM and attended a meeting with AVİM analysts.

At the meeting, AVİM analysts conveyed the Turkish perspective on Turkish-Armenian relations shaped particularly by the 1915 events to the participants. Following this visit, on 18 June 2015, once again in coordination with the *Olive Tree Initiative*, a second meeting was held in the same format with representatives of various organizations based in the USA.

24 April 2015

Presentations of AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem and AVİM Senior Analysts Aslan Yavuz Şir and Dr. Turgut Kerem Tuncel at the Conference titled *The Historical and Legal Dimensions of the Resettlement of the Armenians*



On 24 April 2015, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem and AVİM Senior Analysts Aslan Yavuz Şir and Dr. Turgut Kerem Tuncel each made a presentation at the conference organized by the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association of Kırıkkale titled *The Historical and Legal Dimensions of the Resettlement of the Armenians* (Ermeni Tehcirinin Tarihsel ve Hukuksal Boyutları) held at the Alumni Association of the Faculty of Political Science of Ankara University.

At this conference, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem and AVİM Senior Analysts expressed their opinions on the legal dimensions of the 1915 events.



24-25 April 2015

Presentation of AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç at the Conference titled *The Armenian Question: 100th Year*

AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç made a presentation at the conference titled *The Armenian Question: 100th Year* (100.Yılında Ermeni Sorunu) organized by the Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM) on 24-25 April 2015.

Participants to the conference discussed the activities undertaken by Armenia and the Armenian diaspora in 2015 to frame the events of 1915 as genocide and made an assessment of the possible topics of discussion that are likely to arise in the near future.



Presentations of AVİM Analysts at *Ankara International Relations Graduate Symposium*

25 April 2015



On 25 April 2015, AVİM Analysts Aslan Yavuz Şir, Hazel Çağan Elbir and Mehmet Oğuzhan Tulun each made a presentation at the *Ankara International Relations Graduate Symposium* (Ankara Uluslararası İlişkiler Lisansüstü Sempozyumu) organized by Yıldırım Beyazıt University Department of International Relations.

In the session moderated by Prof. Dr. Birol Akgün, Aslan Yavuz Şir, Hazel Çağan Elbir and Mehmet Oğuzhan Tulun delivered presentations titled *Emval-i Metruke and the Legal Dimensions of Turkish-Armenian Relations*, *The Three Stages of Armenian Terrorism*, and *An Analysis of Turkey-Armenia Relations after 2015 from a Comparative Politics Perspective*, respectively. With these presentations, AVİM Analysts delivered a well-rounded perspective to the audience on Turkey-Armenia relations and current developments in international politics.

26 April - 1 May 2015

Active Participation of AVİM Analyst Özge Nur Öğütçü in the Conference titled *Geopolitical Review of the Caspian: New Role for Azerbaijan*



On 26 April-1 May 2015, AVİM Analyst Özge Nur Öğütçü took active part in the conference titled *Geopolitical Review of the Caspian: New Role for Azerbaijan* organized by NATO International School of Azerbaijan in Baku.

The Conference, which was conducted in an open discussion format, brought together young and prospective scholars who work on or are interested in the Caspian region. Participants from Azerbaijan, EU member states, Turkey, and Canada exchanged views on topics related to developments taking place in the Caspian region and assessed the policies foreseen for this region.

**Presentation of AVİM Honorary Chairman
Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem at the
International Conference titled *Armenian Events
in the Light of Archival Documents***

27-28 April 2015



On 27-28 April 2015, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem made a presentation titled *In Search of Turkey-Armenia Reconciliation* at the international conference titled *Armenian Events In the Light of Historical Documents* (Türkiye-Ermenistan Arasında Uzlaşma Arayışları) organized by İstanbul Aydın University.

Participants to the conference included numerous Turkish and foreign scholars and researches who took part in discussions on the political implications of the events of 1915 and genocide claims.

28 April 2015

Presentations of AVİM Senior Analysts Aslan Yavuz Şir and Dr. Turgut Kerem Tuncel at the Symposium titled *Turkey-Armenia Relations in the 100th Year of the 1915 Events*



On 28 April 2015, AVİM Senior Analysts Aslan Yavuz Şir and Dr. Turgut Kerem Tuncel made presentations at the symposium titled *Turkey-Armenia Relations in the 100th Year of the 1915 Events* (1915 Olaylarının 100. Yılında Türkiye - Ermenistan İlişkileri) organized by Uludağ University International Relations Club as part of the 20th Foreign Affairs Week.

At the Symposium, Aslan Yavuz Şir discussed the increasing significance of the legal dimensions of the events of 1915 and Dr. Turgut Kerem Tuncel shared his research on the formation of the Armenian Diaspora and its current socio-political situation.



Symposium on the *Prospects for Turkish-Armenian Relations*

30 April 2015



On 30 April 2015, AVİM held a symposium at Ankara Palace titled *Prospects for Turkish-Armenian Relations*.

In the first session of the Symposium on *Current State of Turkish -Armenian Relations*, Altay Cengizer, Jeremy Salt, Orhan Gaffarlı and Uluç Gürkan presented their papers.

In the second session titled *Past Tragedies and the Legal Dimension*, Michael M. Gunter, M. Hakan Yavuz and Uluç Gürkan delivered their speeches.

The speakers of the third and the final session *Historical Aspects of the Controversy* were Tal Buenos, Seçil Karal Akgün and Christopher Gunn.

Ten scholars from Turkey, Azerbaijan, U.S.A, and Israel addressed an audience composed of the *corps diplomatique*, representatives various civil society organizations, and academics and researchers. The symposium was a reflection of the new perspectives and understandings which are becoming increasingly prevalent in Turkey and the World with respect to the Turkish-Armenian controversy.

At the symposium, speeches on the historical background of the genocide allegations were based on scholarly research and concrete analyses of archival documents. Compared with the earlier scholarly presentations in Turkey that was mostly providing rather general information and narratives, an important characteristic of these speeches are the specific and in-depth analyses of the important historical moments of the Turkish-Armenian controversy. This change demonstrates that in the near future there will be more specific, document-based and concrete historical studies. Such an improvement would help to the development of rational arguments that would ease the resolution of the Turkish-Armenian controversy.

The symposium also revealed the recent interest in the political aspects of the genocide claims in specific, and the Armenian-Turkish dispute in general. This is a very noteworthy sign revealing that as time progresses, pro-Armenian discourse that targets emotions, some of which emanate from religious affinities by relying on moral concepts such as empathy and conscience at the expense of historical facts derived from archival documents is losing its persuasiveness and people are getting more aware of the political abuse of that moral discourse. This may be an important development to achieve a fair and rational resolution of the Turkish-Armenian controversy.



Presentations of AVİM at *The 2nd Turkish-Armenian Relations and the Great Powers International Symposium*

5-8 May 2015



On 5-8 May 2015, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem, AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç and AVİM Analysts Aslan Yavuz Şir, Mehmet Oğuzhan Tulun and Dr. Turgut Kerem Tuncel made presentations at the symposium organized by Atatürk University with the title *The 2nd Turkish-Armenian Relations and the Great Powers International Symposium* (II. Uluslararası Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri ve Büyük Güçler Sempozyumu).

At the Symposium that was held in twenty-five sessions, a total of 135 scholars, 120 from Turkey and 15 from abroad, took part in in-depth and comprehensive discussions on the historical, political, social, economic and cultural aspects of Turkish-Armenian relations and the role of the Great Powers. At the Symposium, participants expressed their wishes to get together with scholars from the South Caucasian countries including Armenia, and other countries in the near future.

13 May 2015

Conference titled *The Policy of Mass Killings in the Early 20th Century in Colonial Africa: The Case of Genocide in Namibia and the Lessons Learned*



On 13 May 2015, Prof. Joseph Brian Diescho, an expert on strategic leadership, corporate and public relations, policy analysis, (social) transformation and change, diversity management, African politics, and constitutional democracy and the Director of the Namibian Institute of Public Administration and Management, gave a conference at AVIM titled *The Policy of Mass Killings in the Early 20th Century in Colonial Africa: The Case of Genocide in Namibia and the Lessons Learned*.

At the conference, attended by scholars, journalists, *corps diplomatique*, current and former diplomats, Prof. Diescho expressed his opinions on the colonization of Africa by Europe and its ongoing human and economic consequences. Prof. Diescho also voiced his opinions on the mass killings, which some scholars refer to as genocide, perpetuated by Germany against the Herero and Nama peoples in Namibia in the early 20th century. Within this framework, Prof. Diescho also informed the audience of the legal specifications of genocide.

This conference, held by Prof. Diescho, was significant for underlining the importance of this historical event which was overlooked in the speeches delivered by Papa Francis and Joachim Gauck on 12 April 2015 and 23 April 2015 respectively, which had spurred a lot of controversy at the time.

**Paper Presented by AVİM Honorary Chairman
Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem at the
Symposium titled *The Future of Turkish-Armenian
Relations, Fair Memory and Normalization on the
100th Anniversary of the 1915 Events***

14-15 May 2015



On 14-15 May 2015, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem presented a paper at the symposium titled *The Future of Turkish-Armenian Relations, Fair Memory and Normalization on the 100th Anniversary of the 1915 Events* (1915 Olaylarının 100.Yılında Türk-Ermeni İlişkilerinin Yarını, Adil Hafıza ve Normalleşme) organized jointly by Marmara University, Turkish Historical Society and Üsküdar Municipality.

The opening speeches delivered by Prof. Kemal Karpat and Prof. Justin McCarthy were followed by discussions on issues that are likely to gain importance in the near future such as legal implications of genocide claims and the effects of Armenian allegations on Turkish foreign policy.

15 May 2015

Book Launch: *Ermeni Katliamı Suçlaması, Yargılama ve Karar: Malta 1919-1921* (The Accusation of the Armenian Massacre, the Trial and the Judgement: Malta 1919-1921)



On 15 May 2015, AVİM organized an event for the occasion of launching Uluç Gürkan's book titled *Ermeni Katliamı Suçlaması, Yargılama ve Karar: Malta 1919-1921* (The Accusation of the Armenian Massacre, the Trial and the Judgement: Malta 1919-1921) at which the significance of the Malta Trials on genocide allegations today were discussed.

In his book, Uluç Gürkan moves beyond a mere descriptive study of history and argues that the prosecutions of 144 Ottoman officials by the British in Malta lacked evidence to proceed with a trial which in return makes any genocide allegations invalid. The discussions predominantly revolved around this argument and the possible consequences which may arise of it.

At the book launch, Gürkan expressed his views on the necessity to request the documents of the Malta Trials from the United Kingdom to use them as concrete evidence against genocide claims. Aside from the views conveyed in the book, this is an indication of the increased steps taken by Turkish intellectuals against genocide claims. This is a significant step forward for solving the Turkish-Armenian controversy.

Active Participation of AVİM Analyst Özge Nur Ögütcü in the *MOSAIC International Leadership Programme*

18-29 May 2015

On 18-29 May 2015, AVİM Analyst Özge Nur Ögütcü took active part in the *MOSAIC International Leadership Programme* (ILP) hosted by King Abdullah II Fund for Development in the capital of Jordan, Amman.

The Programme brought together 80 participants from 18 different countries and was supported by numerous organizations and foundations including the European Azerbaijan Society. The programme, which took place over a period of two weeks with participation of high profile speakers, provided participants with training on the topics of climate change, renewable energy, leadership, project management and entrepreneurship. The participants also had the opportunity to attend the World Economic Forum on the Middle East and North Africa which was held in Jordan at the time.

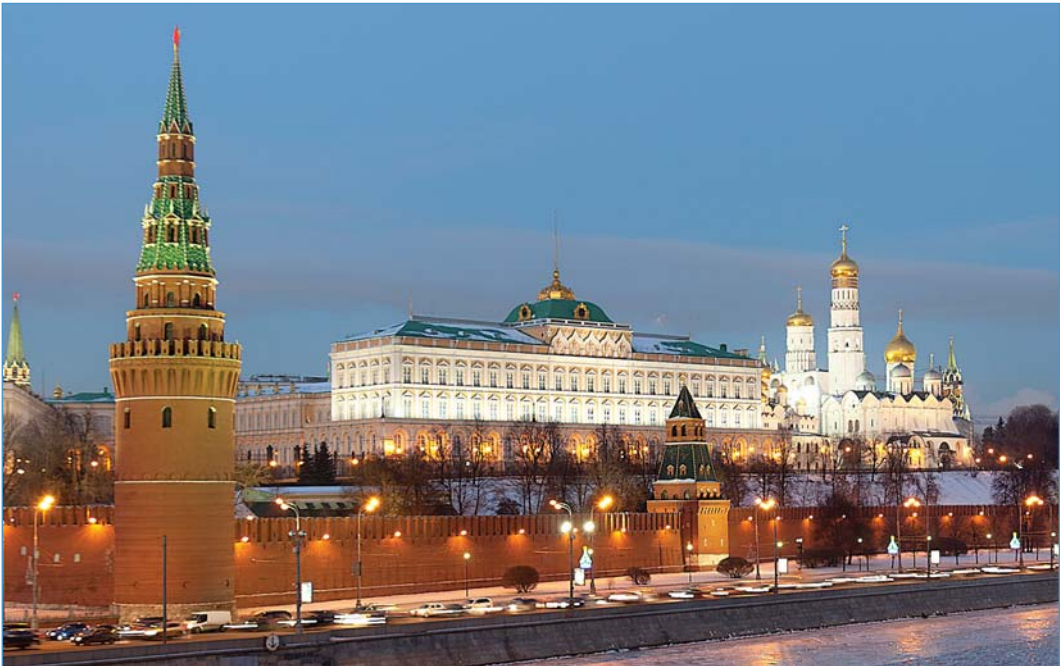


20-21 May 2015

AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç's Visit to Moscow

On 20-21 May 2015, AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç met with scholars affiliated with Moscow University Faculty of History and the Institute of Russian History

By means of this occasion, Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç and the scholars affiliated with these Moscow University Faculty of History and the Institute of Russian History discussed ways to strengthen ties between AVİM and universities and think-tanks based in Russia.



Panel on *Turkey and Latest Developments in Ukraine*

22 May 2015



On 22 May 2015, AVİM, in coordination with the European Union and Global Research Association, organized a panel on *Turkey and Latest Developments in Ukraine* (Ukrayna'da Son Gelişmeler ve Türkiye) with the attendance of Ambassador (R) Ertuğrul Apakan, Chief Monitor of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine as the speaker.

Ambassador (R) Ertuğrul Apakan expressed his views on the current situation in Ukraine and its effects on Turkey in the panel to which only a limited number of selected audience were invited.

22-23 May 2015

**Paper Delivered by AVİM Honorary Chairman
Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem at the
International Conference titled
*Armenian Question: Facts and Fiction***



On 22-23 May 2015, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem delivered a paper titled *Paris Peace Conference and the Armenian Question* at the conference titled *Armenian Question: Fact and Fiction* (Ermeni Sorunu: Sanallık ve Gerçeklik) organized by New Turkey Strategic Research Center.

In the concluding section of the conference, Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem also made an assessment under the heading *The Need for a New Strategy*.

Meeting with the Argentinian Press Members

26 May 2015

On 26 May 2015, seven journalists from Argentina visited AVİM and a meeting was held between these journalists and AVİM analysts.

AVİM specialists delivered three presentations on the events of 1915 as well as Turkish-Armenian relations and addressed the questions raised by the journalists. This meeting was an occasion for AVİM to convey its views on Turkish-Armenian relations to press members from Argentina, a country which is home to an influential Armenian community.

Lecture on the Armenian Issue Delivered by AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem and AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç at the Diplomacy Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

27 May 2015

On 27 May 2015, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem and AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç gave a lecture on the Armenian Issue to prospective officers at the seminar organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

12 June 2015

Conference on *Security and Stability Concerns in the South Caucasuses*



On 12 June 2015, AVİM organized a conference on *Security and Stability Concerns in the South Caucasuses* under the sponsorship of NATO Public Diplomacy Division. The Conference was coordinated by AVİM Analyst Özge Nur Ögütçü.

In the first session, Richard Giragosian (Director of the Regional Studies Center located in Armenia), Nika Chitadze (President of the Center for International Strategy and Security Studies; Faculty Member at the International Black Sea University in Georgia), Efgan Nifti (Expert at the Caspian Strategy Institute, İstanbul), Prof. Dr. Mitat Çelikpala (Faculty Member at Kadir Has University, İstanbul) delivered presentations on the threat perceptions and foreign policies of the countries in the South Caucasuses.

In the second session of the conference, Dr. Hüseyin Oylupınar, (Research Fellow at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute) Despina Afentouli (Representative of the NATO Public Diplomacy Division), and Dr. Nikolai Silaev (Member of the



Center for Caucasian Studies and Regional Security at MGIMO University in Moscow) expressed their views on the effects of the Ukrainian Crisis on the South Caucasus.

The audience consisted of representatives of foreign missions, ambassadors, current and former diplomats of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, scholars, and specialists.

The South-Caucasus, disproportionate to its size, has a vast importance within the context of the contemporary international relations due to its geographical location. The South Caucasus is a strategic region for the Eurasian and global powers and an important variable in the global geopolitics. In addition, the current crisis in Ukraine once again drew the attention of the global geopolitical players to Eurasia and the South-Caucasus gained further significance. Therefore, examining the current situation in the South-Caucasus in reference to the crisis in Ukraine and reflecting on alternative scenarios of conflict and cooperation has been an urgency in order to master actual and potential conflicts in the region.

15 June 2015

Meeting at the Embassy of Islamic Republic of Iran

On 15 June 2015, an AVİM delegation was invited to attend a meeting held at the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

At the meeting, Turkey-Iran relations with regards to Eurasia, developments in the South Caucasus, current state of affairs in the Turkish-Armenian relations, and prospective developments foreseen for the region of which Iran and Turkey are located were discussed.



Panel titled *The Political Dimension of the Armenian Issue*

18 June 2015



On 18 Jun, 2015, AVİM organized a panel titled *The Political Dimension of the Armenian Issue* (Ermeni Meselesi'nin Siyasi Boyutu) at Ankara University Guest House with the attendance of the experienced diplomat and politician Onur Öymen as speaker. The topic of discussion was centered on the political instrumentalization of the loss of Armenian lives in World War I in the international arena.

At the panel, emergence of the Armenian genocide allegations and their evolution through out the time, and the apparent or hidden agendas of states or non-state actors in taking part or taking sides in the discussions on the genocide allegations were discussed.

23 July 2015

Attendance of AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç to the Opening of the Deference Memorial



On 23 June 2015, AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç attended the opening ceremony of the monument put in place for the Turkish diplomats who were assassinated by Armenian terrorist groups.

The names of the Turkish diplomats assassinated by Armenian terrorist groups ASALA and the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide in the years 1974-1984 are engraved on the Deference Memorial.

AVİM Analyst Mehmet Oğuzhan Tulun's visit to Taiwan

24 August - 4 September 2015



On 24 August- 4 September 2015, AVİM Analyst Mehmet Oğuzhan Tulun attended the *West Asian Youth Taiwan Culture Camp* in Taiwan.

Mehmet Oğuzhan Tulun represented the Turkish group composed of the participants from the Public Administration Institute for Turkey and Middle East (TODAİE), Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD), Ministry of Economy, Anadolu Agency, and METU. Tulun's participation in the *West Asian Youth Taiwan Culture Camp* was realized under the framework of the agreement signed between AVİM and Taiwan National Chengchi University Institute of International Relations on 21 October 2013 which envisages establishing cooperation on matters related to economy and geopolitics.



8-9 September 2015

**Speech Delivered by AVİM Director Ambassador (R)
Alev Kılıç at the Symposium titled *Risks and
Challenges to Regional Security in the Middle
East and Caucasus: External Factors and
Internal Dilemmas***

On 8-9 September 2015, AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç delivered a speech at the symposium titled *Risks and Challenges to Regional Security in the Middle East and Caucasus: External Factors and Internal Dilemmas* organized by the Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM), PolitKontakt and TOBB University of Economics and Technology.

20 Speakers from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Germany, Iran, Iraq, Moldova, Russia, Syria, Turkey and Ukraine discussed prevailing security problems in the Middle East, terrorist acts inflicted by the ISIS and the PKK and their implication on the other regions such as the Caucasus and Europe.

AVİM's Visit to Various Institutions and Individuals on behalf of the Invitation Extended by the Institute for Political and International Studies in Iran

14-15 September 2015



On 14-15 September 2015, an AVİM delegation paid visits to various institutions and individuals in Tehran as the invitee of the Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS).

On 14 September, AVİM delegation attended a roundtable organized by the IPIS to discuss the New Silk Road Project, the situation in the Caucasus, and Turkey-Iran relations.

The following day, the AVİM delegation participated in a meeting attended by graduate and PhD students at the Caucasian Studies Institute. On the same day, the AVİM delegation met with Prof. Dr. Elaheh Koolae, the Head of the Department of Central Asian Studies at Tehran University Faculty of Law and Political Science, to discuss the ways to develop partnership between AVİM and Tehran University.



Finally, the delegation met with Ambassador Halil İbrahim Akça (General Secretary of the Economic Cooperation Organization), Ahsan Ali Mangi (Under General Secretary of the Economic Cooperation Organization) and Seyed Jalaledin Alavi (Deputy Secretary General of the Economic Cooperation Organization). The experts of the Economic Cooperation Organization also presentations on topics ranging from transportation to studies on economy and energy.

AVİM's Tehran visit has been a noteworthy step to realize its goal to build a network of scholars and experts on the Eurasian region to facilitate intellectual interchanges among diverse views and perspectives.

Presentation of AVİM Analyst Hazel Çığan Elbir at the International Forum titled *European Young Scientists' Viewpoints on Genocide Facts*

5-8 October 2015



On 5-8 October 2015, AVİM Analyst Hazel Çığan Elbir made a presentation at the International Forum titled *European Young Scientists' Viewpoints on Genocide Facts* held in the capital of Azerbaijan, Baku.

Participants from 19 countries took part in discussions revolving around topics such as Armenian genocide claims, the Khojaly Massacre, and obstacles faced by refugees.

6 October 2015

Attendance of AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç to the Opening Ceremony of Türkmeneli Cultural Days

On 6 October 2015, AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç attended the opening ceremony of Türkmeneli Cultural Days.

On 5-8 October, Türkmeneli Kültür Merkezi, which was established under the umbrella of Türkmeneli Cooperation and Culture Foundation to preserve and promote the Iraqi Turkmen culture, organized a three day event titled Turkmeneli Cultural Days encompassing art and calligraphy exhibitions by Turkmen artists, book promotions, poetry recitals, panels on Turkmen education, culture and press. The participants to the event included poets, authors and artists from Baghdad, Tuz Khormato, Kirkuk, Erbil, Mosul and Tel Afar as well as scholars from Azerbaijan and Turkey.



The 1915 Events and International Law Workshop

8-9 October 2015



On 8-9 October 2015, AVİM organized a workshop on the *1915 Events of and International Law* (1915 Olayları ve Uluslararası Hukuk) hosted by Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University.

The workshop was organized for scholars and legal experts to discuss the legal dimensions of the 1915 events. The essential idea of that informed this workshop has been the observation that the nature of debates currently taking place on this topic are predominantly rooted in the perceptions, memories and descriptions of the Turkish and Armenian sides, devoid of a historical approach and framed by the politicization of the legal dimensions of the events of 1915.

12 professors of Law from seven universities, lawyers, and AVİM analysts took part in discussions on the legal aspects of the events of 1915.

20 October 2015

Visit of a Delegation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia to AVİM

On 20 October 2015, a delegation composed of 10 diplomats from the Georgian MFA visited AVİM as part of their formal visit to various institutions and organizations in Ankara and Istanbul between 18 and 25 October 2015.

On this occasion, AVİM analysts delivered presentations on Turkey's policies with regard to the South Caucasus, followed by exchange of views with the Georgian diplomats.



Papers Presented by AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem and AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç at International First World War Conference (Turkish-Russian Perspectives)

12-15 November 2015



On 12-15 November 2015, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem and AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç presented papers at *International First World War Conference (Turkish-Russian Perspectives) Symposium* (Uluslararası I. Dünya Savaşı (Türk-Rus Penceresi)) organized at Turkish Historical Society in cooperation with Ege University, Dokuz Eylül University and İzmir Kâtip Çelebi University.

1 20 scholars from Turkey and other countries presented papers and discussed the social, economic, political, cultural and strategic aspects of the First World War. AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem presented a paper titled Britain's Policy towards the Ottoman Empire During the First World War and AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç delivered a concluding speech in the closing session.

9 December 2015

**Paper Presented by AVİM Analyst Hazel Çağan Elbir
at the Conference titled *Global Terrorism –
From Discourse to Strategy;
Young and Active Foreign Affairs***



On 9 December 2015, AVİM Analyst Hazel Çağan Elbir presented a paper at the Conference titled *Global Terrorism – From Discourse to Strategy; Young and Active Foreign Affairs* (Küresel Terörizm - Söylemden Stratejiye; Genç Dinamik Hariciye) organized by Bilkent International Relations and European Union Politics Club and the Center for Strategic Research Student Platform.

Various dimensions of terrorism were discussed in detail in two sessions titled *The Effects of Terrorism on Turkey and the Region and the Global Dimensions of Terrorism*.

Book Launch: *Ermeni Suçlamaları ve Gerçekler* (Armenian Accusations and the Realities)

9 December 2015



On 9 December 2015, AVİM held a book launch at AVİM Conference Hall with the attendance of İlker Başbuğ, former Chief of the General Staff of Turkey on the occasion of introducing Başbuğ's book *Ermeni Suçlamaları ve Gerçekler* (Armenian Accusations and the Realities), which was published in April 2015.

At the book launch, participants discussed the assessments made by a highest ranking general in the Turkish Armed Forces on genocide claims and the steps Turkey should take in the face of these accusations. At the meeting, Başbuğ expressed his view that the genocide accusations and the Armenian Question is fundamentally a security issue for Turkey.

9-13 December 2015

Active Participation of AVİM Analyst Özge Nur Ögütçü at the *Greek-Turkish Youth Symposium*



On 9-13 December AVİM Analyst Özge Nur Ögütçü displayed active participation in the *Greek-Turkish Youth Symposium* organized by Kadir Has University Center for International and European Studies (CIES) and *Navarino Network* in coordination with the NATO Public Diplomacy Division.

1 5 experts from think-tanks from Turkey and Greece and representatives from various institutions discussed topics relating to security, prevailing problems between Turkey and Greece and their possible solutions.

Book Launch: *Türk Dış Politikasının Başlıca Sorunları* (Major Issues of the Turkish Foreign Policy)

15 December 2015



On 15 December 2015, AVİM held a meeting to launch the book titled *Türk Dış Politikasının Başlıca Sorunları* (Major Issues of the Turkish Foreign Policy) written by Hüseyin Pazarcı, Faculty Member, Ambassador, Member of Parliament and Professor of Public International Law.

At the meeting Prof. Hüseyin Pazarcı shared his thoughts on the Armenian Question, bilateral relations with Greece, the Cyprus Question, problems related to Iraq and Syria, and Turkey's EU membership within the framework of international law as the main issues of the Turkish Foreign Policy.

16 December 2015

Conference on *Projections for the Future of Turkish-Armenian Relations*



On 16 December 2015, AVİM with the cooperation of *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung* held a conference titled *Projections for the Future of Turkish-Armenian Relations* coordinated by AVİM Analyst Özge Nur Ögütçü.

In the first panel titled *Future of the Turkish-Armenian Bilateral Relations*, Prof. Dr. Kemal Çiçek (Dean of the College Of Humanities at İpek University), Styopa Safaryan (Head of the Research Program of the Armenian Institute of International and Security Affairs), Dr. Aybars Görgülü (Project Manager at Public Politics and Democracy Studies (PODEM)), Ruben Mehrabyan (Associate Fellow at the Armenian Institute of International and Security Affairs; Editor of the First Armenian News and Analyses) and AVİM Analysts Mehmet Oğuzhan Tulun delivered their presentations.

In the second panel titled *Future of the Turkish-Armenian Relations in the Context of Regional Developments*, the speakers were Richard Giragosian (Director of the Regional Studies Center), Assist. Prof. Dr. Serdar Palabıyık (Department of International Relations, TOBB University of Economics and Technology), Dr. Alexander Iskandaryan (Director of the Caucasus Institute), AVİM Senior Analysts

Dr. Turgut Kerem Tuncel and Aslan Yavuz Şir.

In the third and final panel, the speakers, with the contribution of the participants, engaged in a general discussion in which an evaluation of the first two panels were made.

In 2015, Armenia and the Armenian diaspora resorted to every possible means to express their position on the alleged Armenian genocide. In addition to this, in 2015 reparation and territorial claims connected with the genocide allegations were openly expressed by the President of Armenia, exposing the actuality of these claims which are deliberately hid from the attention of the Turkish public.

In such a context, this conference, where Turkish and Armenian researchers and scholars came together to discuss the relations between these countries, can be conceived as a significant step forward for the just and rational solution of the long-standing controversy between Turkey and Armenia.



21 December 2015

Lecture on *Turkish-Armenian Relations from a Historical Perspective*



On 21 December 2015, the Honorary Chairman of AVİM Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem delivered a lecture to the members of the Bilkent International Relations and European Union Politics Society at Bilkent University on the topic of *Turkish-Armenian Relations from a Historical Perspective* (Tarihsel Perspektiften Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri).



The lecture, which was of introductory level, presented itself as an excellent opportunity for prospective political scientists to benefit from the knowledge and expertise of Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem, who is one of the leading experts of Turkish-Armenian relations.

**Paper presented by AVİM Director Ambassador (R)
Alev Kılıç at the Panel on *The Formation of a
New Power Balance and Eurasia***

21 December 2015



On 21 December 2015, AVİM Director Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç presented a paper titled *What Opportunities Do the Formations in Eurasian Formation Bring about for Turkey* at the panel on *The Formation of a New Power Balance and Eurasia* (Dünyadaki Yeni Güç Dengesinin Oluşumu ve Avrasya) organized by Ankara University Comparative Civilization and Peace Studies Research Center.

Presentations were delivered on topics revolving around Eurasia's changing position within the global geopolitics, China's new policies towards Eurasia, and the current situation in Iraq and the Iraqi Turkomans.

22 December 2015

Speech Delivered by AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem at İpek University



On 22 December 2015, AVİM Honorary Chairman Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem delivered a speech titled *Turkish Foreign Policy and the Armenian Question* at the conference organized by İpek University.

Following the speech, Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem addressed the questions raised by the audience.

Publications

Books



Armenian Diaspora: Diaspora, State and the Imagination of the Republic of Armenia

Author: Turgut Kerem Tuncel

Publisher: Terazi Publishing

Language: English

ISBN: 9786056061950

(Hardcover, 342 pages)

The first edition of Turgut Kerem Tuncel's book titled *Armenian Diaspora: Diaspora, State and the Imagination of the Republic of Armenia* was published in December 2014. The second edition of this book was launched in August 2015.

Armenian Diaspora: Diaspora, State and the Imagination of the Republic of Armenia is the slightly revised version of Dr. Tuncel's doctoral dissertation titled *Mayr Hayastan Im Hairenik: Memory and the Politics of Construction of the Armenian Homeland* that he defended in June 2014 at *Università degli Studi di Trento* Sociology and Social Research Doctoral Program. In his book, Dr. Tuncel examines the construction of the Republic of Armenia as a homeland after the collapse of the Soviet Union along the Armenia-Diaspora nexus through the analyses of the Armenian state discourse, the discourses of the major new-generation diaspora organizations in the U.S. and the discourses of the young Armenians, mostly U.S citizens, who undertake volunteer work, internships, and 'homeland tourism' programmes in Armenia organized by those organizations.

Conference Books



Conference Book No: 10

The Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: A Threat to Regional Peace, Security and Neighborly Relations / Ermenistan-Azerbaycan, Dağlık Karabağ İhtilafı: Bölgesel Barış, Güvenlik ve Komşuluk İlişkilerine Bir Tehdit

(Turkish / English; Hardcover 96 pages)

On 21 November 2014, AVİM, in collaboration with the Center for Strategic Studies under the Presidency of the Republic of Azerbaijan (SAM), held a conference titled *The Armenian-Azerbaijani, Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: A Threat to Regional Peace, Security and Neighbourly Relations*.

At the meeting, the speakers emphasized the geostrategic significance of the Caucasus and the security and stability concerns which are prevalent in the region. The speakers also underlined the key role the Caucasus will have for the global geopolitics in the near future. In this connection, the need to arrive at a resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, bearing in mind the principle of territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, before it paves the way for further problems was stressed.

The opening speeches and presentations delivered at the meeting have been compiled into a conference book titled *The Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: A Threat to Regional Peace, Security and Neighborly Relations / Ermenistan-Azerbaycan, Dağlık Karabağ İhtilafı: Bölgesel Barış, Güvenlik ve Komşuluk İlişkilerine Bir Tehdit* and published in January 2015 in both Turkish and English.



Conference Book No: 11

Regional Cooperation Possibilities and Prospects for the Future in the Caucasus

(English; Hardcover 92 pages)

On 9 December 2014, AVİM and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung organized a conference entitled *Regional Cooperation Possibilities and Prospects for the Future in the Caucasus* dedicated to the discussion of the current political situation in the South Caucasus and future possibilities.

In this conference, Honorary Chairman of AVİM Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem, Director of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Office in Turkey Dr. Colin Dürkop, AVİM's Senior Analyst Aslan Yavuz Şir, Regional Studies Center Program Coordinator Haykak Arshamyan, Assist. Prof. Dr. Serdar Palabıyık (TOBB ETU University), President of International Security Research Center and Lecturer at International Black Sea University Dr. Nika Chitadze, Director of AVİM Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç, Director of Regional Studies Center Richard Giragosian, Scholar in Residence at Religion, Society and Security Program in Carnegie Moscow Center Alexey Malashenko, Prof. Dr. Mitat Çelıkpala (Kadir Has University), Head of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Khazar University Dr. Mukhtar Hajizada, and Senior Fellow at Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies and Lecturer at Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University Giorgi Badridze delivered speeches.

The speeches delivered in this conference were collected in the conference book titled *Regional Cooperation Possibilities and Prospects for the Future in the Caucasus*. This conference book was published in February 2015.



AVİM

Türkmeneli İşbirliği ve Kültür Vakfı
AVRASYA İNCELEMELERİ MERKEZİ
CENTER FOR EURASIAN STUDIES

28 OCAK AİHM PERİNÇEK - İSViÇRE DURUŞMASININ IŞIĞINDA TÜRK-ERMENİ SORUNU



3 Şubat 2015, Ankara

Conference Book No: 13**28 Ocak AİHM Perinçek-İsviçre Duruşmasının Işığında Türk-Ermeni Sorunu****(Turkish; Hardcover 32 pages)**

The Perinçek v. Switzerland Case, to which Turkey, Armenia and France also involved as third parties, was finalized on 15 October 2015 with the decision of Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights that ruled in favor of Perinçek. The Grand Chamber judged that speaking rejecting the characterization of the 1915 events as genocide does not constitute hate crime or racial discrimination. Consequently, the ECtHR Grand Chamber ruled that Perinçek's freedom of expression cannot be restricted under these circumstances. As such, the judgement of the ECtHR Grand Chamber has significant implications for Turkish-Armenian controversy which have been shaped by genocide allegations. Moreover, an in-depth analysis of the stages of the case at hand plays an essential role for the understanding of the disagreement between Turkey and Armenia and the form it has taken today.

On 3 February 2015, AVİM organized a meeting to asses the hearing which took place on 28 January 2015. The speakers at the meeting included Prof. Dr. Sadi Çaycı (Vice Dean of the Faculty of Law at Başkent University), Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç (President of AVİM) and the researcher Şükrü Serve Aya. The discussion which took place at the meeting has been compiled into a conference book and published under the title *28 Ocak AİHM Perinçek-İsviçre Duruşmasının Işığında Türk-Ermeni Sorunu* (The Turkish-Armenian Question in light of the January 28 Perinçek-Switzerland Hearing).



Conference Book No: 14

Turkic Council and Cooperation in Eurasia in the Light of Developments across the Region / Türk Konseyi ve Bölgedeki Gelişmeler Işığında Avrasya'da İşbirliği

(Turkish / English; Hardcover 96 pages)

The Cooperation Council of the Turkic Speaking States (Turkic Council) was established by the Nakhchivan Agreement signed at the Turkic Summit of Heads of States held in Nakchivan in 2009 with the overarching aim to promote comprehensive cooperation among Turkic Speaking States. The founding and current members of the Turkic Council are Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkey.

The Turkic Council is an intergovernmental organization committed to the purpose and principles of the Charter of the United Nations (UN) and other universally recognized principles and norms of international law. Turkic Council aims to strengthen peace and stability and promote wide-ranging cooperation amongst its member states. By promoting deeper relations and solidarity amongst Turkic speaking countries, it aims to serve as a new regional instrument for advancing international cooperation in Eurasian continent, particularly in Central Asia and Caucasus.

The conference book titled *Turkic Council and Cooperation in Eurasia in the Light of Developments across the Region / Türk Konseyi ve Bölgedeki Gelişmeler Işığında Avrasya'da İşbirliği* is composed of the speeches delivered at the Turkic Council meeting in Ankara on 24 February 2015.

AVİM Conference Book 15

PROSPECTS FOR TURKISH-ARMENIAN RELATIONS

Proceedings of the Symposium Organized by AVİM on 30 April 2015



April 2015

 AVİM

Conference Book No: 15

Prospects for Turkish-Armenian Relations

(English; Hardcover 120 pages)

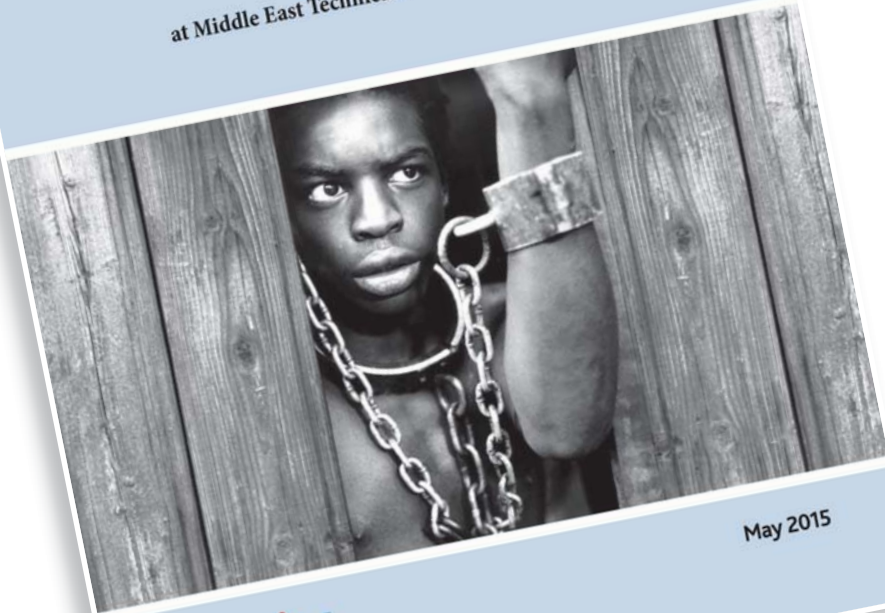
On 30 April 2015, AVİM organized a symposium titled Prospects for Turkish-Armenian Relations. Ten scholars from Turkey, Azerbaijan, Israel and the USA addressed an audience composed of the *corps diplomatique*, representatives of the civil society and the research community. Presentations at the symposium, questions and comments of the audience, and, most importantly the symposium itself were a reflection of the new perspectives that are taking root in Turkey and the world as regards to the Turkish-Armenian controversy.

AVİM collected the speeches in the conference book titled Prospects for *Turkish-Armenian Relations* (Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri için Olasılıklar) to contribute to the literature and the ongoing debates, and, ultimately, to the reconciliation between the Turks and the Armenians.

AVIM Conference Book 16

**POLICY OF MASS KILLINGS IN THE EARLY
20th CENTURY IN COLONIAL AFRICA:
THE CASE OF GENOCIDE IN NAMIBIA
AND THE LESSONS LEARNED**

Lecture Delivered by Prof. Joseph B. Diescho
at Middle East Technical University and AVIM in May 2015



May 2015

Conference Book No: 16

Policy of Mass Killings in the Early 20th Century in Colonial Africa: The Case of Genocide in Namibia and the Lessons Learned / 20. Yüzyıl Başında Sömürgeleştirilmiş Afrika'da Toplu Katliam Politikaları: Namibya'daki Soykırım ve Çıkarılan Dersler

- Joseph B. Diescho

(Turkish / English; Hardcover 40 pages)

Professor Joseph B. Diescho, currently the Executive Director of the Namibia Institute of Public Administration and Management, is an expert in strategic leadership, corporate and public relations, policy analysis, (social) transformation, diversity management, African politics, and constitutional democracy. Prof. Diescho has also carried out numerous campaigns under the auspicious of the United Nations for the Independence of Namibia.

In May 2015, Prof. Diescho visited Turkey to meet with different institutions in Ankara and Istanbul. In this timeframe, on 12 May 2015, Prof. Diescho delivered two lectures at the Department of International Relations in Middle East Technical University to a significantly large audience. The next day, on 13 May 2015, Prof. Diescho delivered a conference to a selected audience composed of scholars, journalists, *corps diplomatique*, and serving and retired diplomats of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In these lectures, Prof. Diescho conveyed his opinions on the humanitarian and economic consequences of the European colonization of Africa, which is still relevant up to this day.

Prof. Diescho also expressed his views on the mass killings, which some scholars argue amounted to genocide, perpetrated by Germany against the Herero and Nama peoples in Namibia in the early 20th century. Within this framework, Prof. Diescho also reflected on the legal specifications of genocide.

The conference book titled *Policy of Mass Killings in the Early 20th Century in Colonial Africa: The Case of Genocide in Namibia and the Lessons Learned / 20. Yüzyıl Başında Sömürgeleştirilmiş Afrika'da Toplu Katliam Politikaları: Namibya'daki Soykırım ve Çıkarılan Dersler* is composed of the lectures and the conference delivered by Prof. Joseph B. Diescho on his visit to Ankara on 12-13 May.



Conference Book No: 17

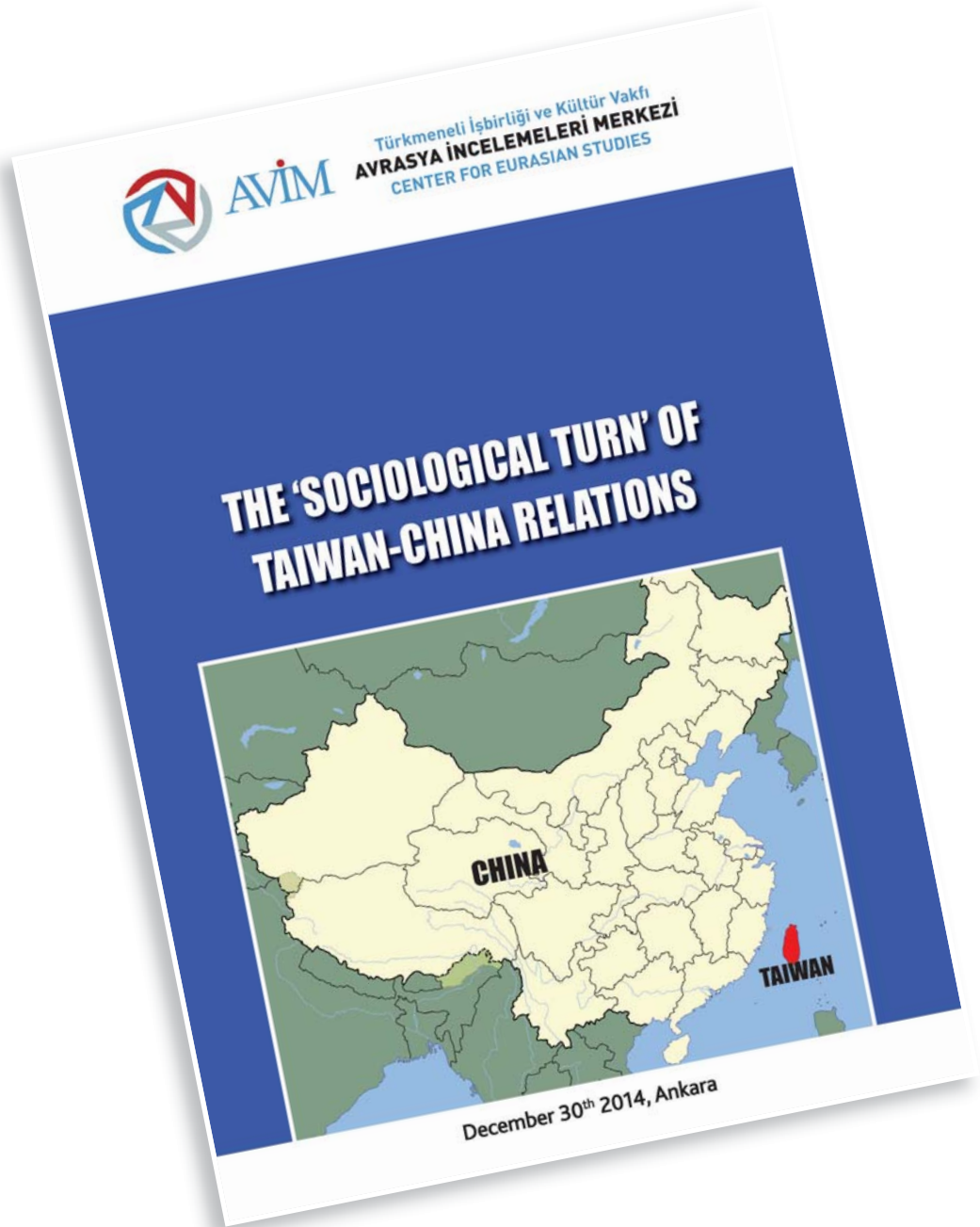
Security and Stability Concerns in the South Caucasus

(English; Hardcover 72 pages)

On 12 June 2015 AVİM organized a conference titled Security and Stability Concerns in South Caucasus under the sponsorship of NATO's Public Diplomacy Division. The Conference was composed of two panels for the discussions of the security perceptions and foreign policies of the countries in the South Caucasus within the context of global geopolitics and in reference to the impact of the crisis in Ukraine on the region.

AVİM collected the papers delivered in this conference, which represent both concordant and adverse views of prominent scholars and experts on the South Caucasus that would help researchers and policy-makers have a clearer and analytical picture of the region within the wider context of Eurasia, in a conference book with the same title.

Reports



The Sociological Turn of Taiwan-China Relations / Tayvan-Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti İlişkilerinde Sosyolojik Dönüşüm

Jenn Hwan Wang

(Turkish / English; Hardcover 48 pages)

Professor Jenn Hwan Wang, vice rector at the National Cheng-Chi University, paid a visit to AVİM as a visiting researcher in December 2014 during his visit to Ankara as part of a research project. During his stay in Turkey, Prof. Wang delivered a number of lectures in various universities and organisations which have been compiled into a report titled *The Sociological Turn of Taiwan-China Relations / Tayvan-Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti İlişkilerinde Sosyolojik Dönüşüm* and published by AVİM.

The report titled *The Sociological Turn of Taiwan-China Relations / Tayvan-Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti İlişkilerinde Sosyolojik Dönüşüm* makes a general assessment of the internal politics of Taiwan, its economic state, recent socio-political developments in the country, and PRC-Taiwan relations and its future.

Journals



ERMENİ ARAŞTIRMALARI

Ermeni Araştırmaları (Armenian Studies) was established in 2001 with the aim of publishing academic research and promoting inter-disciplinary debate between academics and researchers on issues falling within its scope of Armenian Studies. As a peer-reviewed journal *Ermeni Araştırmaları* is published three-times a year. Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem is the editor and Aslan Yavuz Şir is the managing editor of *Ermeni Araştırmaları*. *Ermeni Araştırmaları* is indexed by EBSCO and TÜBİTAK/ULAKBİM. The journal's language is Turkish.

Ermeni Araştırmaları accepts submissions on a range of subjects that include Armenian politics history, culture, socio-political developments in Armenia, regional and international politics of Armenia, Armenia-Turkey- relations, Armenia- Iran relations, Armenia's relations with the states in the Caucasus, Armenia-US relations, and Armenia-EU relations.

Since 2001, 52 issues of *Ermeni Araştırmaları* have been published. Previous issues include contributions from prominent scholars such as Justin McCarthy, Guenter Lewy, Edward Erickson, Norman Stone and Jeremy Salt. Experts on Armenian Studies and accomplished doctoral students were also among the contributors.

This year three issues of *Ermeni Araştırmaları* have been published, one of which was a Special Issue, with a total of 21 academic articles.

Ermeni Araştırmaları, Vol. 50, Special Issue on the 100th Anniversary of the Resettlement of the Armenians

- *Olaylar ve Yorumlar* (Facts and Comments) – Ömer Engin Lütem
- *Amerikan Kaynaklarından Kurtuluş Savaşı Başında Ermenilerle İlgili Gelişmeler* (Developments on the Armenian Issue at the Beginning of the Turkish Independence War Through American Sources) - Seçil Karal Akgün
- *Ermeni Meselesinin Genel Bir Değerlendirmesi* (A General Appraisal of the Armenian Issue) - Sina Akşin

- *Ermenistan'da Medya - Genel Bir Değerlendirme* (Media in Armenia - A General Approach) - Leyla Budak
- *Malta Yargılamaları* (The Malta Tribunals) - Uluç Gürkan
- *Kafkas Cephesinde Ermeni Gönüllü Birlikleri (1914-1916)* (Armenian Volunteer on the Caucasian Front 1914-1916) - Cemil Hasanlı
- *Amerikalıların Anadolu Gözlemleri: Emory Niles ve Arthur Sutherland'ın 1919 Saha Çalışması Notları* (Americans Investigating Anatolia: The 1919 Field Notes of Emory Niles and Arthur Sutherland) – Brian Johnson
- *Terör Algısının ve Teröre Karşı Verilen Tepkilerin Değişim Sürecinde Ermeni Terörü* (Armenian Terror in the Period of Change in the Perception of Terrorism and in the Reaction Toward Terrorism) - Birsen Karaca
- *Türkiye-Ermenistan İlişkilerinin Güncel Durumu* (Turkey-Armenia Relations Today) - Ömer Engin Lütem
- *"Droşak" Gazetesi: Açık Açık Terörizmi Savunan Bir Organ ("Droshak" Newspaper: A Newspaper That Openly Supported Terrorism)* - Jean-Louis Mattei
- *Ermenilerin Soykırımını Savını Yadsıyanları Cezalandırmak Veya Türkiye'den Tazminat Almak Amacı İle Yaptıkları Yargı Mücadeleleri* (Armenian Juridical Attempts to Convict Those Who Reject the Armenian Genocide Claims and to Get Reparations From Turkey) - Pulat Tacar

Ermeni Araştırmaları, Vol 51

- *Olaylar ve Yorumlar* - (Facts and Comments) Ömer Engin Lütem
- *Emevi-Abbasi İdaresinde Kafkasya Ermenileri ve Dini-Kültürel Gelişimleri* (Caucasian Armenians in Administration Umayyad-Abbasids and Religious-Cultural Development) - Mehmet Çog
- *Ermeni Komitelerinin Mali Kaynakları* (Financial Resources of the Armenian Committees) - Güler Yarcı

- *Ermenistan'ın Bolşevikleşmesi Sürecinde Türk-Ermeni İlişkilerine Bir Bakış (1920-1921)* (An Overlook to Turkish-Armenian Relations in the Process of Bolshevization of Armenia (1920-1921) - Hasan Demirci

Ermeni Araştırmaları, Vol. 52

- *Olaylar ve Yorumlar* (Facts and Comments) - Ömer Engin Lütem
- *Perinçek-İsviçre Davası Kararı Sonrasında Ermeni Soykırım İddiaları Konusunda Siyasi, Hukuki ve Akademik Etkileşim* (Political, Legal and Academic Interaction on the Armenian Genocide Allegations After the Decision of Perinçek v. Switzerland Case) - Alaeddin Yalçinkaya
- *Ermeni Asıllı Osmanlı Nazırlarından Gabriyel Noradunkyan Efendi* (An Ottoman Armenian Minister: Gabriyel Noradunkhian Effendi) - Ercan Karakoç
- *Tarih, Travma ve Kimlik: Ermeni Diasporada Kimlik ve Kimliğin Yeni Nesillere Aktarımı* (History, Trauma and Identity: Identity and Identity Transmission in the Armenian Diaspora) - Ebru Çoban Öztürk
- *İstanbul'da Bir İngiliz Konsolos Vekili: Fitzmaurice ve Ermeni Meselesine Dair Raporu* (A Vice-Consul in Istanbul: Fitzmaurice and His Report About Armenian Issue) - İhsan Burak Birecikli
- *Azerbaycan'da Su Kıtlığı ve Ermenistan ile Sarsang Rezervuarı Sorunu* (Water Scarcity in Azerbaijan and Sarsang Reservoir Issue With Armenia) - Tuğba Evrim Maden
- *Ermeni Sevk ve İskânının (Tehcirin) Altında Yatan Nedenler* (Reasons Behind the Relocation of Armenians) - M. Törehan Serdar
- *Kitap Tahlili (Book Review) "Türkler ve Ermeniler: Milliyetçilik ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Çatışma* (Turks and Armenians: Nationalism and Conflict in the Ottoman Empire" Takdim Yazısı (Preface) Alev Kılıç; Hazırlayanlar (Prepared by) Ekin Günaysu, Seher Çelen, Ali Murat Taşkent, Aslan Yavuz Şir, Mehmet Oğuzhan Tulun, Hazel Çağan Elbir



REVIEW OF ARMENIAN STUDIES

Review of Armenian Studies (RAS) is a biannual peer-reviewed academic journal published in English. RAS was established with the aim of publishing academic papers to stimulate inter-disciplinary debate between academics and practitioners on topics relating to Armenian Studies. Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem is the editor and Mehmet Oğuzhan Tulun is the managing editor of the RAS. The RAS is indexed by EBSCO and TÜBİTAK/ULAKBİM.

Since 2001, 32 issues of have been published. The content of the RAS mostly focuses on the following topics:

- Historical, political, and social research on the events of 1915
- The various aspects of the dispute over the events of 1915
- Politics in the Armenian world (in Armenia and in the Armenian Diaspora)
- Culture and society in the Armenian world (in Armenia and in the Armenian Diaspora)
- Bilateral relations of Armenia with other countries
- Regional and international politics of Armenia

In 2015, 31st and 32nd issues of the RAS were published.

The 31st issue of the RAS was designated as a special, extended issue that took into account the centenary of the Armenian Resettlement. The 31st issue contains the following articles and book review:

- Facts and Comments - Ömer Engin Lütem
- *A General Appraisal of the Armenian Issue* - Sina Akşin
- *Historiography and the Future of Multiculturalism in Europe: Perinçek v. Switzerland* - Tal Buenos

- *Lawfare Against Turkey: A Case Study on Armenian Claims on Insurgencies and Ottoman Counter-Measures during the WWI* - Sadi Çaycı
- *From Sevres to Lausanne: The Armenian Question (1920-23)* - Sevtap Demirci
- *The Armenian Forced Relocation: Putting an End to Misleading Simplifications* - Maxime Gauin
- *The Rise and Fall of ASALA and Armenian Revolutionary Federation Terrorism* - Christopher Gunn
- *A Century Later: Towards Turkish-Armenian Rapprochement?* - Michael M. Gunter
- *The Malta Tribunals* - Uluç Gürkan
- *Armenian Terror during the Change in the Perception of and Reaction towards Terrorism* - Birsen Karaca
- *Droshak Newspaper: A Newspaper That Openly Supported Terrorism* - Jean-Louis Mattei
- *The Perfect Ethnocide: A Review of Bas Kromhout's 'De Perfecte Genocide* - Armand Sağ
- *A Look at the Perinçek v. Switzerland Case: Examination of a Lawsuit to Understand the Current State of the Armenian-Turkish Dispute and Prospective Developments* - Turgut Kerem Tuncel
- *Lawyer's Blundering Foray Into History* (Book Review) - Jeremy Salt

The 32nd issue of the RAS has special significance in the sense that it contains five articles written by five Russian academics on issues pertaining to the South Caucasus. Not only do these articles bring a fresh Russian perspective to the journal's area of study, they also contain valuable insights and interpretations on political and historical issues that will be of interests to Turks, Armenians, and anybody else interested in the South Caucasus. The 32nd issue contains the following articles and book reviews:

- Facts and Comments – Ömer Engin Lütem
- *Activities of Organizations and Committees Founded by Armenians in Maraş and its Surroundings* - Nejla Günay
- *On a Booklet Dealing with the 'Righteous Turks'* - Maxime Gauin
- *Geopolitical, Trade and Economic Interests of Turkey and Iran in the Southern Caucasus* - Amur Gadzhiev,
- *Turkey's Policies in the Southern Caucasus and Regional Security Mechanisms* - Andrei Areshev
- *North-Western Caucasus in the Policies Pursued By Russia and the Ottoman Empire at the Final Stage of the Caucasian War* - Andrei Boldyrev
- *A Glimpse Of History: How the Treaty of Kars Was Signed (March Through October, 1921)* - Natalia Yu. Ulchenko
- *The Caucasus and Transcaucasia as Part of the Ottoman Empire (16th–17th Centuries)* - Svetlana Oreshkova
- *Understanding the Turkish-Armenian Controversy Over 1915* (Book Review) – Yunus Kaplan
- *Détruire les Arméniens* (Book Review) – Şakire Furtun
- *Historical Archives and the Historians' Commission to Investigate the Amernian Events Of 1915* (Book Review) – Özge Nur Öğütçü



ULUSLARARASI SUÇLAR VE TARİH / INTERNATIONAL CRIMES AND HISTORY

Uluslararası Suçlar ve Tarih / International Crimes and History (ICH) is an annual peer-reviewed bilingual (Turkish and English) academic journal dedicated to the study of inter-communal, inter-ethnic, inter-religious and international conflicts and crimes. For nine years of its publication, the ICH has been a platform for the scholarly investigation of conflicts and crimes registered in the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Eurasia Region, and the Middle East. Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem is the editor and Dr. Turgut Kerem Tuncel is the managing editor of the journal. The ICH is indexed in the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey-Turkish Academic Network and Information Center (TUBİTAK-ULAKBİM).

In February 2015, the 15th issue of the ICH was published. This issue included the following five articles.

- *The International Repercussions of the 1876 April Uprising within the Ottoman Empire* - Ayten Kılıç
- *Soviet Ethnic Cleansing of the Crimean Tatars* - J. Otto Pohl
- *World War I, Self-Determination, and the Legacies of Medieval Jurisprudence* - Karl Shoemaker
- *A Review of the Social Memory Literature: Schools, Approaches and Debates* - Turgut Kerem Tuncel
- *The Relocation and Internment of People of Japanese Descent in the USA during WWII* - Mehmet Oğuzhan Tulun

AViM Trainee Program

AVİM Trainee Program

AVİM offers trainee program opportunities all year round. Applicants from Turkey and other countries may apply for short and long term trainee programs. Participants to AVİM Trainee Program are expected to possess a high interest in Eurasian affairs. Ideally, AVİM provides trainee program opportunities to undergraduate students, fresh graduates and Master's and PhD students, who plan to pursue academic or diplomatic carriers.

AVİM Trainee Program participants are expected to provide assistance in organizational matters such as supporting the AVİM staff in organizing different events, monitoring of the developments in the Eurasian region as well as to contribute to AVİM reports and other publications.

AVİM Trainee Program participants are assigned specific topics relevant to their research interests during their trainee program. By the end of the trainee program period, participants are expected to submit a policy paper based on their studies. This helps the participants to focus on the subjects about which they want to gain a deeper knowledge of in a professional think-tank environment under the tutorship of the AVİM analysts.

In 2015, a total of 25 young researchers from Turkey, Afghanistan, Slovenia, Spain, and Ukraine participated in the AVİM Trainee Program.

Özge Nur Ögütçü is responsible for the coordination of the AVİM trainee program.

Candidates may contact Ms. Ögütçü at staj@avim.org.tr or o.ogutcu@avim.org.tr.



I was a participant of the AVİM Trainee Program from March to July 2015. I chose AVİM for the trainee program because I knew it would help me to deepen my knowledge of the Eurasian political context, as well as to put my previous academic experience I had on the region into practice. As a foreigner, it was always interesting to discuss topics on Turkey, its neighbors and the region with AVİM's analysts and to learn from them. I must say that the atmosphere with the staff and the rest of trainee program participants at the time was always pleasant. At the end of my stay at AVİM, I could really notice that I had gained knowledge and experience on the Eurasian region and that my contributions were valued and appreciated by the Center.

Miguel Moreno Vuelta

Master's Degree in International Relations, Spain



I participated in AVİM Trainee Program during my research stay at the Center for European Studies at Middle East Technical University. This program was an important part of my PhD curriculum and one of my friends recommended AVİM to me as an institution with a dynamic research environment. What I experienced at AVİM totally met my high expectations and even more. First of all, at AVİM I learned a lot from working with both young but extremely qualified analysts and with senior directors. Second, as a participant of the AVİM Trainee Program, I was able to take part in numerous meetings, conferences and workshops organized by the Center, which was extremely beneficial for my own research. Thanks to AVİM, I had pleasure to meet and talk to many talented scholars, high rank politicians and experts in different fields. Furthermore, AVİM grants its trainee program participants with quite some space for their creativity meaning that at any time one of us could come up with his/her own topic of interest and would be very encouraged to produce a commentary or an article that would later be published. Last but not the least, at AVİM I found a very friendly and warm international group of people who were always helpful and supportive. I sincerely recommend AVİM as a place for trainee program for the next generations of students.

Maryna Shevtsova

PhD Candidate at Humboldt University, Ukraine

I first joined the AVİM Trainee Program in November 2014, when I was a senior at the Department of Sociology at METU to expand my knowledge on Eurasia and to look at events from an international relations perspective as a student of Sociology. The AVİM Trainee Program has thus far met all my expectations and has contributed to my academic and professional development.



This program has been an excellent opportunity for me to become familiar with a professional working environment, which I had no experience of before I joined the AVİM Trainee Program. In addition to this, as a trainee, I have attended countless meetings, panels and conferences organized by AVİM in coordination with universities and international organizations, where I had the opportunity to meet prominent scholars and diplomats. Moreover, as a young researcher and a graduate of Sociology, this program has also allowed me to see my weaknesses in conducting research, gathering information and writing reports. Being a part of AVİM, with its Analysts who are always eager to help and share information, has been an excellent opportunity to gain practical experience, follow current events from an analytical perspective and write reports, commentaries and papers on topics in line with my research interests.

Furthermore, I feel lucky to have the opportunity to learn from the invaluable experiences and knowledge of both AVİM Honorary Chairman Ömer Engin Lütem and AVİM Director Alev Kılıç.

For all of these reasons, joining the AVİM Trainee Program and working alongside experienced analysts is an excellent opportunity to gain professional working experience particularly for new graduates looking to pursue further research on Eurasia.

Aytaç Yılmaz

Graduate Student at METU Department of Sociology and Eurasian Studies Program, Turkey

Other Activities



The Protocol between AVİM and BIEST

In December 2015, AVİM and BIEST (Bilkent International Relations and European Union Politics Society), a students' association of the University of Bilkent, signed a protocol on cooperation which foresees joint activities between AVİM and BIEST.

Within this framework, members of the BIEST students association are expected to have the opportunity to establish ties with AVİM and other



think-tanks, and meet with specialists whose expertise lie within the field of international relations with special focus on Eurasia.

In the scope of this protocol, students of International Relations, Political Science, and Global and International Affairs of Bilkent University will be given priority in admittance to AVİM trainee program.

Field Research

Muslim Communities in Georgia: Minority Rights, Identity, and Politics

In 2015, a group of fourteen researchers composed of AVİM analysts and scholars, graduate and PhD students from the Department of Sociology and Eurasian Studies Program of the Middle East Technical University, Karabük University and Koç University, carried out an ethnographic field research on the topic of Muslim Communities in Georgia: Minority Rights, Identity, Politics.

This research, which will extend to the first half of 2016, aims to uncover the social experiences of Muslim minorities (Borchali Turks/Azerbaijanis and Adjarians) living in Georgia, including the Ahiska Turks who were relocated and whose return will now be facilitated as part of a pre-condition of Georgia's being member of the European Council. This study intends to look into the experiences of Muslim minorities in the scope of minority rights, identity and politics as well as the legal acts carried out by Georgia under its obligation to the international organisations to which it is a member of.

Following the finalisation of the research, it is envisaged that a book will be published scrutinizing the issues of Muslim minorities in Georgia from past to present, international and national regulations and formal and informal perspectives on minority rights in post-Soviet Georgia, the socio-economic and socio-political status of Adjarian and Borchali Turks, the return attempts by Ahiska Turks and complications with regards their integration, the attitudes and stances of Georgian-Armenians and Armenia on the return of Ahiska Turks, and the policies of Turkey and Azerbaijan on minorities in Georgia.

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Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem graduated from the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Ankara in 1957 and became career diplomat in the same year. During his service at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador (R) Lütem had served as the Turkish Consul General at Cologne, Germany (1975-1979), Director General of Personnel of the MFA of the Republic of Turkey (1979-1981), Director General of Intelligence and Research of the MFA of the Republic of Turkey (1981-1983), Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Bulgaria (1983-1989), Deputy Undersecretary of the MFA (1989-1992), Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to the Vatican (1992-1995) and the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Turkey to UNESCO (1995-1997).

After his retirement in 1998, he served as the Director of the Institute for Armenian Research at Eurasian Strategic Research Center (2000-2008) and Director of the Center for Eurasian Studies (2009-2012).

Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem is the editor of the journals *Ermeni Araştırmaları* (Armenian Studies; published since 2001), *Review of Armenian Studies* (published since 2002), and *International Crimes and History / Uluslararası Suçlar ve Tarih* (bilingual in Turkish and English; published since in 2005).

His works include:

- Türkiye-Bulgaristan İlişkileri, 1983-1989 vol. 1 (Turkish-Bulgarian Relations, 1983-1989 vol. 1), ASAM, Ankara, 2000.
- Balkan Diplomasisi (Balkan Diplomacy), ASAM, Ankara 2001
- Ermeni Sorunu El Kitabı (Handbook of the Armenian Question), ASAM-TEİMK, Ankara, 2003
- Türkiye-Bulgaristan İlişkileri, 1983-1989 vol. 2 (Turkish-Bulgarian Relations, 1983-1989 vol. 2), ASAM, Ankara, 2005.
- Armenian Terror, ASAM, Ankara, 2007.
- Armenian Question: Basic Knowledge and Documentation, AVİM, Ankara, 2009.

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Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç graduated from the Faculty of Political Sciences of Ankara University in 1968. The next year, he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey. During his service at the MFA, Ambassador (R) Kılıç served in Jordan (1972-1974) and Munich-Germany (1974-1977), at the Ministry in Ankara (1977-1979), in Germany at the Embassy in Bonn (1979-1983), at the Ministry in Ankara (1983-1985), in Bulgaria at the Turkish Embassy in Sofia as the First Councillor (1985-1991), back in Ankara as the Deputy Director General for Central Asian, Caucases and Slavic countries (1991-1996).

Ambassador (R) Kılıç served as the Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia between 1996 and 1998 and Ambassador/Permanent Representative to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg between 1998 and 2001. In 2001-2004, he served as the Deputy Undersecretary of the MFA for Economic Affairs. Ambassador (R) Kılıç again served as the Ambassador to Switzerland (2004-2009) and Ambassador to Mexican United States (2009-2011).

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His articles appeared in *Review of Armenian Studies*, *Global Strategy Journal*, *Harvard Central Eurasian Studies Review*, *Ortadoğu Analiz*, *Eurasia Critic* and *Daily Sabah*.

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Assessments of 2015

An Assesment of 2015 for Armenia

Ambassador (R) Ömer Engin Lütem, Honorary Chairman

There is benefit to analyze developments in Armenia in 2015 by dividing them into two. The ceremonies and events to commemorate the centennial of the Resettlement marked the first half of the past year. While these fell off the radar in the second half, the changes to be made in the Armenian Constitution and the objections to these changes by the opposition parties came to the fore. On the other hand, in the last two months of 2015, the Karabakh issue, and accordingly the national security of the country rose to prominence. We will try to briefly summarize Armenia's status in 2015 within the context of relations with Turkey and the Karabakh issue.

A lot of effort was put in Armenia to commemorate the centennial of the Resettlement (genocide according to Armenians) in a flamboyant fashion. Therefore, many foreign statesmen were invited to Armenia, but eventually attendance was limited. However, François Hollande's and Vladimir Putin's visit to Erivan to attend the ceremonies and the fact that they delivered speeches drew the attention of the public. On the other hand, the attendance of 17 heads of state, 3 parliament speakers and 5 prime ministers to the ceremonies to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Gallipoli Battles overshadowed the ceremonies held in Erivan in the eyes of the public opinion. It was seen that popular personalities' visit to Erivan, such as Kim Kardashian, rather drew the attention of the US and was criticized by several circles in Erivan.

The fact that Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who is the president of a country which rejects the genocide allegations, was invited to attend the ceremonies in Erivan on April 24 proved to be an inappropriate move and led the already tense relations between the two countries to be negatively affected.

The centennial of the Resettlement was flamboyantly commemorated in the Diaspora. It is seen that France and the US stood out in this regard. Indeed, there was high level participation from the government and local administrations to the ceremonies held in France. In the US, on the other hand, despite the high level participation in states with large Armenian population, the lack of interest to the centennial at the federal level, apart from President Obama's usual message, was a noticeable fact.

The strong reaction by Turkey, especially by President Erdoğan, to the few statesmen who support the Armenian allegation such as Pope Francis, and the possibility of deteriorating bilateral relations rendered the support to genocide claims to be limited and even led several countries to take a step back. For instance, Luxembourgian and Austrian governments made statements dialing down resolutions adopted by their parliaments, the word genocide was not included in resolutions adopted by the Belgian and Bulgarian Parliaments, and a draft resolution was sent back to the commission by the German Bundestag. Furthermore, in France, which is the greatest supporter of the genocide claim, a legal arrangement supported by Armenians to criminalize genocide denial was failed to be implemented.

As part of the efforts to organize centennial events, a commission to determine the legal basis of demands from Turkey was established in Armenia. These demands, which apparently include the recognition of the genocide claim, indemnities from Turkey for the 1915 events, the return of Armenian properties, and perhaps territorial demands, even if symbolic such as Mount Ağrı, were expected to be brought up in 2015. However, as we have mentioned above, it never happened. Furthermore, following European Court of Human Right's Perinçek decision, it will no longer be easy to bring up demands related to genocide claims.

Other than appeasing the Armenian and Diaspora public opinion, it is impossible to think that bringing up such demands would benefit Armenia. On the contrary, it will cause a deadlock in the already poor relations. It will lead Turkey to further support Azerbaijan and cause Armenia to literally surrender to Russia.

Another negative development for Armenia in 2015 has been ECHR's exoneration of Doğu Perinçek, who characterizes Armenian genocide allegations as an international lie. Armenia, even though was no need, intervened to the Perinçek case, and became one of the losing parties alongside Switzerland and France when Perinçek won the case. Armenia attempted to hide this failure from its own public by expressing satisfaction due to there being no words expressing doubt about the Armenian genocide in the Grand Chamber's verdict. Despite what Armenia may claim, stating that there is no Armenian genocide and defending this idea, without insulting Armenians, has become possible across all of Europe. By contrast with this, those who deny the Jewish Holocaust are being penalized in many countries. The ECHR verdict has literally made the Armenian genocide allegations second rate in comparison to the Jewish Holocaust.

Karabakh is another issue in which Armenia has failed this year. No resolution has been found for this conflict since the 1994 ceasefire. The co-chairs of Minks Group (in reality

their governments) see this lack of resolution to be in their favor. However, the persistent (because international law is on its side) demands of an increasingly powerful Azerbaijan for the ending of the occupation of Karabakh and other Azeri territories, the probability that the border clashes will escalate, and the fact that Armenia is beginning to look like the losing side in these clashes are all developments to the detriment of Armenia. On the other hand, ECHR's 16 June 2015 verdict expressing that Karabakh is not an independent entity has gone against the Armenian claims on this issue and has eliminated the possibility of Karabakh's independence being recognized by other countries. Furthermore, the parliamentary and local elections in Karabakh that have been this year not being recognized by many countries is a development to the detriment of the Karabakh independence argument. Additionally, the Political Affairs Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has adopted a draft resolution that points to Karabakh not being independent and furthermore likens the forceful removal of the Azeris in this region to ethnic cleansing. As expected, the adoption of this draft resolution by the Assembly would be a heavy blow to Armenia's Karabakh policy. Lastly, the fact that Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan; Muslim members of the Collective Security Treaty Organization -that Armenia currently chairs and thinks will provide its security alongside Russia, seem unwilling to support against Azerbaijan constitutes a fiasco for Armenia.

Consequently, for Armenia and Armenians, 2015 has been a year in which genocide allegations gained an international support very much below what was expected, in which these allegations had no effect whatsoever on Turkey, in which official claims against Turkey were failed to be put forth, in which ECHR's Perinçek case verdict damaged Armenian's argument for the indisputability of their genocide allegations, and in which serious regressions have been experienced in the Karabakh issue.

It can be seen that Armenia will experience serious crises with Turkey and especially Azerbaijan in 2016 and beyond if it keeps pursuing its current uncompromising policies. Since the Minsk Group co-chairs the US, France, and Russia do not want the jeopardizing of peace in the South Caucasus, it is very likely that Armenia will, in the future, be forced to give the concessions with regards to the Karabakh conflict that it does not want to give now. Meanwhile, it should not be forgotten that the resolution or the moving towards the resolution of the Karabakh conflict will bring alongside it the normalization of Turkey-Armenia relations such as the opening of the borders and the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Where Do Armenia and Armenians Go Wrong – A New Year's Wish

Ambassador (R) Alev Kılıç, AVİM Director

Recent history of Anatolia, heartland of Turkey, bears witness to human tragedies. The era preceding and succeeding the First World War was a period of disintegration, collapse, and partitioning of the Ottoman Empire. The aim was to displace the Turkish people from the Balkans, where in many regions they constituted the majority of the population, as well as from western Anatolia, to the East, to land locked interior of Anatolia. It would not be justifiable to assess this observation as one of pessimism, cynicism, as one sided, biased, or subjective. History has provided Turkish people with a unique opportunity, with no room for ambiguity or means of denial, to see and fathom how the Allied Powers of the time aimed to shape the future of Turkey, with a written document, worked out consciously and through negotiations among themselves. This document, casting lasting bearings to a whole nation, was the Treaty of Sévres, designated to be enforced on Turkey following the First World War. This imposition, which aroused the indignation of the people, leading to a national struggle of life or death, was successfully scrapped away, to establish the foundations of the Republic of Turkey with the Treaty of Peace of Lausanne.

More than 5 million civilian Turks perished as they were killed mercilessly in the period from the rebellion in the peninsula of Peloponnese, the Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-1878, the Balkan wars of 1912-1913 to the First World War that set the stage for Armenian insurgency and collusion with the enemy forces as the Ottoman forces waged a war on five diverse fronts. The number of Turkish-Muslim civilian losses during 1914-1918 in eastern Anatolia alone, perpetrated by Armenians or Armenian involved foreign forces, with full records in the Turkish archives, surpass 500.000. The number of Turks forcefully displaced during this era, predominantly from the Balkans and the Caucasus is a multiplication of the above cited figures. Neither the Turk in the street in specific, nor the Turkish people in general have not forgotten the enormity of this humanitarian crime that Turkish people were subjected to in those years of turmoil. It is, however, one thing not to forget and a different thing to scratch history, to galvanize feelings of vengeance, or to carry forward one-sided historical grievances or unsettled accounts into present.

The Turkish people chose to bury past tragedies to memory, opened a new chapter with the establishment of the Republic, selected the path to make a new beginning to build the future, resolved to raise the country -devastated from decades of war, impoverished economy, destructed infrastructure, perished generations and elites- to the contemporary level of civilization. This titanic undertaking and resolve, starting almost from ground zero and requiring much sacrifice has paid off, making Turkey eligible for membership to the group of world's largest economies, the G-20, where Turkey assumed the rotating chair for the year 2015 and also hosted the summit meeting.

On the other hand, in the period when the country was inward looking and focused on national unity and economic development, Turkey was late in recognizing that historical prejudices were re-surfacing in a haunting manner. At present, it can be observed that the unity and stability of the Republic is facing political calculations with a view to hindering her to assume a more powerful regional position and say. At the same time, the regional position of Turkey is apt to transform in the evolving global geopolitical shift. What we are witnessing today is the emergence of a new concept of Eurasia, a continuous interaction from the Pacific to the Atlantic where Turkey is moving from being an easternmost extension or outpost of the West to the center of Eurasia. It is thus acquiring a new role -together with the Balkans, the Caucasus, Iran, and Central Asian republics- of forming the center piece and nexus of the East and the West.

This enviable path of development of the Republic and people of Turkey has not been free of interventions and endeavors of erecting hurdles in the way to divert their energy and focus on this successful march. One of these are Armenian allegations and claims. Following a period of silence and reality of historical facts, some extremist, radical or militant groups in the Armenian diaspora started demonizing Turks and Turkey, conjuring allegations of genocide and related claims. What started as a marginal, fringe group voice succeeded in spreading in the wider community, eventually getting international attention through years of violent terrorism carried out in a number of countries by those Armenian groups. As the phenomenon of terrorism has become a serious threat for the international community at present, its root causes under study and investigation, it would be of relevance to bring to attention how Armenian terrorism started, was tolerated, and terrorists became hailed as heroes.

Concluding this background introduction, I now come to the title of this article, where Armenia and Armenians go wrong: The miseries and tragedies suffered by the Armenian

population of the Ottoman Empire is acknowledged in Turkey. They are neither denied nor minimized. The Armenians of eastern Anatolia were subjected to forced resettlement in the southern territories of the Empire in 1915. It is estimated, upon reliable historical evidence that up to 300,000 lost their lives due to diseases, deprivation, geographic-climatic conditions as well as harassment of local bandits. By citing this number, the intention is not to play a numbers game. 300,000 is already an enormous number. Every single life is precious and every single life lost deserves to be honored with blessing and condolence.

However, what needs to be recalled here, underlining the wrong that is being done, is the historical fact that during the same period, at the same geography, in excess of 500,000 Turks-Muslims perished under similar conditions. To close the eye to the tragedies of such a big number, to develop a narrative as if it were only the Armenians who were victimized, to single out the Turks as the perpetrators serve only to provoke the Turkish people to deep indignation. Scratching historical past in this biased and revengeful manner revives the tragic memories of the Turkish people, brings out the suppressed pain of their losses and in turn, opens the door for feelings of counter revanchism. No people's respect and pain for their losses is less than others. The silence of the Turkish people for their losses should not be interpreted as one of indifference, but rather as one of realism and moral high ground. Efforts and attempts to reverse this understanding is bound to bring about more enmity and revengefulness in place of confining historical facts of the past to scholarly research.

Armenia and the Armenian diaspora are in need of reassessing whose interests the continuing campaign against Turkey and the Turkish people serve as well as who bears the brunt of this campaign. Today, the realistic and humanitarian gesture of Turkey, stating readiness to share mutual tragedies and bereavement, is to be understood and the extended hand to be held. The rational way forward for both peoples for a win-win solution is to start working on means for establishing bilateral and regional cooperation.

On the eve of the New Year, as we leave behind the year of 2015 where there were great expectations on part of Armenians, which turned out to be unrealistic, even wrong, our New Year's wish and resolution for 2016 is to have rational and conciliatory understanding to guide us to the future.

Concluding Remarks

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In 2015, AVİM carried out a substantial amount of work and organized numerous meetings, conferences, and panels. To paint a general picture, in 2015, it was possible to make a much closer observation and analysis of the evolution of the international conjuncture. In this sense, the following developments have particularly stood out: the beginning of the Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) dialogues encompassing both sides of the Atlantic, the signing of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement by 12 countries, the establishment of the Eurasian Economic Union under the leadership of the Russian Federation, focusing on former Soviet geography, the expanding area of interest of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the rise of China as an economic giant and developments taking place with regards to the New Silk Road Project described as the 'One Belt One Road' (OBOR) Project and in parallel to this, the expeditious establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB).

The aforementioned developments, all of which point to a change in the balance of power and the formation of a new concept of Eurasia stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific are of interest to AVİM particularly in relation to the implications this creates for Turkey. This new formation implies a shift in Turkey's position, which acts as point of connection between the East and West, towards the center of the region together with the Balkans, Caucuses, Central Asia, and Iran. In light of this evaluation, AVİM, in its studies, has placed an emphasis on the need to establish relations which go beyond the long-standing traditional and historical ties between the countries of this region.

Within this changing geopolitical and geostrategic formation, we have witnessed developments unique to 2015. The highlights of 2015 pertinent to Turkey and AVİM's areas of interests were the following: the Gallipoli Victory Commemorations, Turkey's G20 Presidency and the G20 Leaders' Summit held in Antalya. Moreover, another important area of study for AVİM was the 100th Anniversary of the forced resettlement of the Armenians during the

First World War and Armenian claims and events organized around this occasion. Assessing and responding to such claims upheld by Armenia have been a significant part of AVİM's activities in 2015.

When making an assessment of 2015, one can surmise that Armenia and the Armenian Diaspora have fallen short of spreading and imposing their claims and narrative which are known to be biased and far from the realities of the past. As a consequence, they have further failed to realize the historical, legal and political initiatives they have initiated. In fact, the Armenian narrative has received a serious and irrevocable blow on the judicial front.

It has however transpired that Armenian allegations have predominantly found root in the context of religion. During a period in which islamophobia discourses is on the rise, Armenians have partly succeeded in receiving support by basing their claims and statements on differences stemming from religion or religious affiliations. Time will reveal the extent to which this evident victory will last or be of value in light of global relations in the contemporary world. Consequently, Armenia and the Armenian Diaspora, in a year in which every possible means were employed, are now able to have a chance to chart a roadmap for the future and make a better assessment of the virtues of regional cooperation rather than confrontation. Time will tell whether they will be able to turn this to their advantage or not.

From a visionary outlook and understanding, whether Armenia, as an extension of the West, will play a key role in the newly forming Eurasia alongside Turkey and whether it will take part in regional cooperation initiatives and the peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict are all dependent on Armenia's decisions and collective wisdom.

**AVİM Director
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