Volume: 1, Number: 1-2019 / Cilt: 1 Sayı: 2-2019

Owner and Publisher/ Sahibi ve Yayıncısı: Assoc.Prof.Dr./ Doç.Dr Fikret BİRDİŞLİ

## **EDITOR IN CHIEF/ EDITOR**

## Assoc.Prof.Dr. Fikret BİRDİŞLİ

İnönü University, Center for Strategic Researches (INUSAM), 44280, Malatya-TURKEY Phone: +90 422 3774261/4383
e-mail fikret.birdisli@inonu.edu.tr

## MANAGING EDITORS / ALAN EDITÖRLERI

Political Science Editor/ Siyaset Bilimi Editörü
Prof.Dr. Ahmet Karadağ
İnönü University, Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences, Department of International Relations,
44280, Malatya-TURKEY
Phone: +90 422 3774288
e-mail karadag.ahmet@inonu.edu.tr

International Relations and Security Studies Editor/ Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Güvenlik Çalışmaları Editörü Assoc.Prof.Dr. Fikret Birdişli İnönü University, Center for Strategic Researches (INUSAM), 44280, Malatya-TURKEY Phone: +90 422 3774261/4383 e-mail fikret.birdisli@inonu.edu.tr

## CONTAC INFORMATION / İLETİŞİM BİLGİLERİ

İnönü University, Center for Strategic Researches (INUSAM), 44280, Malatya-TURKEY
Phone: +90 422 3774261
İnönü Üniversitesi, Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, İİBF Ek Bina, Kat:3, 44280, Malatya-TÜRKİYE

## 2019, 1 (2), / Volume: 1, Number: 2-2019

#### OWNER / SAHİBİ/

Assoc.Prof.Dr. Fikret BİRDİŞLİ

#### Managing Editors / Editörler

Political Science Editor: Ahmet Karadağ

International Relations and Security Studies Editor: Fikret Birdişli

## Editorial Assistance / Editor Yardımcıları

#### English Language Editors:

Christopher Trinh, La Trobe University, Melbourne/Avustralia Froilant T.Malit, Jr. Cambridge University/United Kingdom

Emre Baran Pak, Istanbul Üniversity/Turkev Fatmanur Kaçar, Marmara Üniversity/Turkey

## Russian Language Editors:

Toğrul İsmail, KSU University/Turkey Nazım Cafersoy, Azerbaycan Devlet İktisat University/Azerbaycan Sedat Cobanoğlu, 19 Mayıs University/Turkey Emil Qurbanov, Rudn University, Moscov/Rusia

#### **Publication Board / Yayın Kurulu**

Fikret Birdişli, Ahmet Karadağ, Emre Baran Pak

## Redaction, Researches / Redüksivon, AR-GE

Maitituoheti Atawulla, Ali Atılgan, Aynur Başurgan, Y. Zakir Baskın, Ferdi Tayfur Güçyetmez, Fatih Tekin, Zeynep Kamalak,

## Web Security and Technical Assistance / Örütağ Güvenliği ve Teknik Servis Mustafa Cevlan

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD / Uluslararası Hakem Kurulu

Deina A. Abdelkader, Harvard University/USA Haluk Alkan, İstanbul University/Turkey Hamid E. Ali, The American University of Cairo/Egypt

Tayyar Arı, Uludağ University/Turkey Harun Arıkan, Çukurova University/Turkey Ersel Aydınlı, Bilkent University/Turkey Pınar Bilgin, Bilkent University/Turkey Nazım Cafersoy, Azerbaycan Devlet İktisat

University/Azerbaijan

Mesut Hakkı Casın, Nisantası University/Turkey Ahtem Celilov, Kırım İşletme Enstitüsü/Crimea Bezen Balamir Coşkun, İzmir Policy Center/Turkey

Noé Cornago, University of Basque Country/Spain

Haydar Cakmak, Gazi University /Turkey Ayşe Aslıhan Çelenk, Erciyes University/Turkey

Katerina Dalacoura, The London School of Economics and

Political Science/UK

Cengiz Dinç, Osmangazi University/Turkey Nejat Doğan, Anadolu University/Turkey Federico Donelli, University of Geneva/Italy Ertan Efegil, Sakarya University/Turkey Saira Farooqi, Kinnaird College For Women/Pakistan Ayman Zain Hayajneh, Yarmouk University/Jordan Ali Hüseyinoğlu, Trakya University / Turkey

Toğrul İsmail, KSÜ University/Turkey

Altynbek Joldoshov, Turkey-Manas University/Kirghizistan Raqip Kutay Karaca, Nisantasi University/Turkey

Thedore Karasik, Gulf State Analitics/Washington D.C-USA

Rasem N. Kayed Arab American University/Palestine Arshi Khan, Aligarh Muslim University/India

Christos G. Kollias, University of Thessaly/Greece

Osama Kubbar, Qatar Armed Forces Strategic Studies Center/Qatar

Taras Kuzio, Kyiv Mohyla Academi, Kiev/Ukrania Tarık Oğuzlu, Antalya Bilim University/ Turkey Haluk Özdemir, Kırıkkale University/Turkey

Sanjay Kumar Pradhan, Pandit Geendeyal Petroleum University/ India

Wahabuddin Ra'ees, International Islamic

University/Malasia

Yaşar Sarı, Abant İzzet Baysal University/Turkey Mehmet Şahin, Polis Akademisi/Turkey İlter Turan, İstanbul Bilgi University/ Turkey

Sibel Turan, Trakya University/Turkey

Kieran E. Uchehara, Hasan Kalyoncu University/ Turkey Abdul Majid Wadood, Institute of Business Research Tokyo/Japan

Kristin VandenBelt, Lone Star College, Texas/USA Konstantinos Zarras, University of Macedonia/Greece Can Zeyrek, Philipp-University Malburg/Germany Taras Zhovtenko, National University of Ostroh Academy/Ukrania

# International Journal of Politic and Security / Uluslararası Politika ve Güvenlik Dergisi

Is a refereed Journal / Hakemli bir dergidir

# International Journal of Politic and Security / Uluslararası Politika ve Güvenlik Dergisi

Is currently noted in/ aşağıdaki very tabanlarınca taranmaktadır

















AMAÇ International Journal of Politics and Security (IJPS), politika ve güvenlik çalışmaları alanlarında yüksek kaliteli ve özgün çalışmaları akademik çevreler ile paylaşmak için bir platform oluşturma amacını taşıyan uluslararası hakemli, bilimsel bir dergidir (Scholarly- Peer Reviewed Journal). Bu nedenle IJPS'de Siyaset Bilimi, Uluslararası İlişkiler genel alanı ile Ulusal ve Uluslararası Güvenlik çalışmaları alanında yapılan çalışmalara yer verilmekte olup, özgün ve önemli ilerlemelere katkı sağlayan makalelerin yayımlanması amaçlanmıştır. Potansiyel bir çalışmanın derginin amaçlarına uygunluğu hakkında soruları olan yazarlar, tereddütlerini gidermek üzere derginin editörlerine başvurabilirler.

**KAPSAM** IJPS, yılda iki defa olmak üzere Mayıs ve Ekim aylarında, Açık Erişim Politikasını benimsemiş bir e-dergi olarak yayımlanmaktadır. Dergi TUBİTAK (Turkey Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu)'ın ev sahipliğini yaptığı Dergi Park üzerinden makale kabul etmekte ve tüm süreci bu platform üzerinden yürütmektedir.

Dergide yayımlanan her makalenin DOI numarası dergimiz tarafından ücretsiz sağlanacaktır.

Dergimiz ilk sayıdan itibaren alan indekslerine dâhil edilecek olup zaman içinde indeks sayısının artırılması hedeflenmektedir.

Yayıncılıkta nihai ve vazgeçilmez ilkelerimiz; epistemolojik topluluğa katkıda bulunacak saygın, güvenilir, bağımsız ve özgür bir akademik dergiye sahip olmaktır. Bu bağlamda sizi evrensel bilimin gelişimine katkıda bulunmak için IJPS'nin danışma veya hakem heyetinde yer almaya davet ve teşvik ediyoruz. Bu konudaki talep ve önerilerinizi editör kurulunca değerlendirilmek üzere lütfen kısa bir özgeçmiş ile birlikte editöre (fikret.birdisli@inonu.edu.tr /fbirdisli@ijps.info) gönderiniz.

**ONLİNE MAKALE YÜKLEME** IJPS' ye gönderilecek makale, kitap özeti, rapor ve editöre mektuplar Dergi park sitesinde bulunan elektronik gönderim işlemi üzerinden dergiye iletilirler. Makaleler gönderilmeden önce tanıtım sayfasında yer alan yazım ve atıf kuralları dikkatlice incelenmelidir.

**YAYIMLANMA** Hakem süreci olumlu tamamlanarak yayımlanması kabul edilen gönderilerde yer alan görüş ve düşünceler yazarlarına ait olup dergiyi ve editörleri bağlamamaktadır. IJPS herhangi bir görüşün taşıyıcısı olmayıp, tarafsız yayımcılık ve bilimsel etik kurallarına göre yayım yapmaktadır. Fakat dergide yayımlanmak üzere kabul edilmiş yazıların, kişisel verilerin korunmasına yönelik düzenlenmiş her türlü hakları dergiye devredilmiş kabul edilir.

**VERİ PAYLAŞIM POLİTİKASI** IJPS, kişilik haklarının korunmasına yönelik evrensel ve hukuksal ölçütler ile bilimsel etik ve atıf kurallarının gereklilikleri içinde kalarak araştırmalarının sonucunda ulaşılan verilerin paylaşılması konusunda yazarları teşvik eder. Bu bağlamda IJPS, Budapeşte Açık Erişim İnisiyatifi Bildirisi(2001)'ni benimser (<a href="http://acikerisim.ankos.gen.tr/acikerisimsozlugu.htm">http://acikerisim.ankos.gen.tr/acikerisimsozlugu.htm</a>).

İNTİHAL DENETİMİ IJPS orijinal olmayan materyalleri taramak için CrossRef Benzerlik Kontrolü ™ (Powered by iThenticate) kullanmaktadır. Makalenizi dergiye göndererek çalışmalarınız üzerinde intihal taramasının yapılmasını kabul etmiş sayılırsınız.

IJPS'de yayımlanan yazılarda belirtilen düşünce ve görüşler ile bilimsel etik kurallarına uygunluktan yazar(lar) sorumludur. IJPS'de yayınlanan yazılarda yer alan görüşler IJPS ya da yayın kurulunun değil yazarlarının görüşleridir.

**ABOUT JOURNAL** International Journal of Politics and Security (*IJPS*) is an international peer-reviewed academic journal, which aims to provide a platform for publishing and sharing high quality and original works in the field of politics and security issues with academic community. So, it is purposed to publish articles that provide original and significant advances in the general area of Political Science, International Relations (IR) with National and International Security Studies. Authors who have any question about the appropriateness of a potential submission are encouraged to contact the journal Editors.

**SCOPE** *IJPS* will be issued as e-journal on every May and October, months in a year, which adopts the Open Access Policy. Submissions will be accepted via Journal Park (Dergipark) platform to which TÜBİTAK (National Science Agency of Turkey) gives hosting service. Each essay will have DOI number provided by our journal costlessly.

Indexes will be proliferated after the first issue and broadened as soon as possible. Our ultimate and indispensable principles in publishing are to have respected, reliable, independent and free academic journal that contributes to the epistemological community. So, we cordially invite, and encourage you to take part in the advisory or referee board of *IJPS* for contribution to the

universal scientific development. Please send your requests and suggestions regarding this topic to the Editor <a href="mailto:fikret.birdisli@inonu.edu.tr">fikret.birdisli@inonu.edu.tr</a> / <a href="mailto:fikret.birdisli@inonu.edu.tr">fbirdisli@ijps.info</a> with a brief cv (curriculum vitae) to be evaluated by the Board of Editors.

**ONLINE MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION** IJPS uses an electronic submissions process that is available on the DergiPark website. Before submitting your Article, first read the Manuscript Requirements.

Spelling Guidelines

Submissions to IJPS should follow the style guidelines described in the Chicago Manual of Style. Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary and "Turk Dil Kurumu Yazım Kılavuzu" should be consulted for spelling.

**REFERENCES** Citations should be numbered sequentially in the text using superscripted digits, in accordance with Chicago Manual of Style (16th ed.) guidelines. The first citation of a reference should include full bibliographic information. For subsequent citations, a shortened bibliographic form such as author's name, title and page number should be used. When consecutive citations refer to the same work, "Ibid." should replace the bibliographical information in citations after the first, with page number(s) added if the cited page(s) differ from those included in the immediately preceding citation. Examples of common citation types appear below:

a) Book with Single Author or Editor:

Michael Pollan, The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals (New York: Penguin, 2006), 99-100.

b) Book with Multiple Authors:

Geoffrey C. Ward and Ken Burns, the War: An Intimate History, 1941-1945 (New York: Knopf, 2007), 52.

c) Book with Author Plus Editor or Translator

Gabriel Garcia Marguez, Love in the Time of Cholera, trans. Edith Grossman (London: Cape, 1988), 242-55.

d) Chapter in an Edited Book

Glenn Gould, "Streisand as Schwarzkopf," in the Glenn Gould Reader, ed. Tim Page (New York: Vintage, 1984), 310.

e) Journal Article

Walter Blair, "Americanized Comic Braggarts," Critical Inquiry 4, no. 2 (1977): 331-32.

**PUBLISHING** Views and opinions in posts which are accepted for publishing whose referee process is positive belong to their authors, so, do not oblige neither the journal nor the referees. IJPS is not a carrier of any opinion and realizes publishing in accordance with neutral publishing rules and scientific ethics. However all rights of the manuscripts that are accepted for publication in the journal are deemed to have been transferred to the journal.

We recommend that you keep a copy of the accepted manuscript when your article is accepted for publication. For possible uses of your accepted manuscript, please see our page on sharing your work.

**DATA SHARING POLICY** This journal encourages authors to share the data obtained because of their research while remaining within the requirements of the universal and legal criteria for the protection of personal rights with scientific ethics and citation rules.

**CROSSREF SIMILARITY CHECK** Please note that IJPS uses CrossRef Similarity Check™ (Powered by iThenticate) to screen papers for unoriginal material. By submitting your paper to the journal, you are agreeing to originality checks during the peer-review and production processes.

**OPEN ACCESS POLICY** This journal provides immediate open access to its content on the principle that making research freely available to the public supports a greater global exchange of knowledge. Copyright notice and type of licence: CC BY-NC-ND.

#### **Author Guidelines**

*IJPS* accepts submissions written one of the languages of English, Turkish or Russian. Turkish submission should have English abstract which includes 150-200 words, English ones should have Turkish abstract which includes 150-200 words and is placed after title, Russian ones should have both Turkish and English abstracts which both includes 150-200 words again after title. If and when necessary, English, Turkish and Russian abstracts can be provided by our Editors.

*IJPS* takes four different types of submissions: research articles, reviews, book/report summaries and letters to the Editor.

Articles and book summaries which were submitted to the Journal to be published should not exceed 30 pages including references with tables and figures. Article titles should be 14 pt. bold and written as flush left in accordance with the normal sentence layout. 150-200-word summaries should follow headings and abstracts in all languages and be written as mono spaced, 10 pt., in the Times New Roman type font and justified. At least five key words, which describe the article, should be included after abstracts.

Main text should be written with 1,5 line spacing by using 12 pt. Time New Roman type font and paragraphs should be prepared without any indent but with 6 nk. Paragraph spacing. Footnotes should be written with 10 pt., the Time New Roman font and single spacing. After the main text, bibliography, which was written with 1,5 line spacing and 11 pt.-type font, should be included.

Articles submitted to the journal for evaluation should not include author(s) and contact information. These information should be included in the manuscript, which is to be prepared additionally.

The cover page should be uploaded to the system in the Word format separately from the main text. After the title of the article is written with 14 pt. Calibri type font in a justified page formation, under the title, name and surname of author(s), ORCID ID(s); under it, institution and department information; under it, contact information should be written.

The main text should start with the section of "Introduction". In this section, importance of the research, summarized information about previous researches on this subject, main problematic or hypothesis of the research and the methodology of the research should be included and mentioned. Main headings after the introduction should be numbered and written in bold type in the normal sentence layout. Sub-headings following main headings should be properly numbered and written in bold and italic type.

Book summaries and reviews in the *IJPS* are short reports of original researches focused on important methodological or empirical contributions. This includes but is not limited to new empirical findings, methodological advances, theoretical arguments, as well as comments and extensions of previous studies, which advance the field.

Letters sent to the IJPS and addressed to the Editor are written in a concise form, like articles, and are scientific texts and subject to the same standards as the articles. This kind of texts should not exceed 2-4 pages and 1500-3000 words.

Letters including comments on the articles published in the journal should focus on contributing to the scientific field and avoid unnecessary attacks and violations of personal rights.

All posts addressed to the journal should be uploaded in the Microsoft Word format (not PDF) and given the page number in the middle.

The author (s) are responsible for compliance with scientific ethics. Any views expressed in the publication are the views of the author (s) and are not views of IJPS.



2019; 1, (2) / Volume: 1, Number: 2-2019

# **CONTENT / İÇİNDEKİLER**

## Editorial / Editörden

# Essays / Makaleler

Between Representation and the 'Real': the Remaking of Terrorism in Modernity,  Tianyang LIU	1-34
Algeria's Turbulent Path to Democracy: Missed Chances and The Fall of Abdelaziz Bouteflika  Israel Nyaburi NYADERA	35-55
The Return of the Political: Chantal Mouffe and Ozamiz City Politics  Gerry F. ARAMBALA	56-81
Avrupa Birliği'ne Uyum Sürecinde Türkiye'nin Siber Güvenlik Stratejileri Salim KURNAZ, S. Mustafa ÖNEN	.82-103
Arap Baharı ve Tunus'un Yasemin Devrimi'ni Yeniden Anlamak Yusuf SAYIN	104-121
Political Philosophy of Al Farabi and the Logic of the Integration and Solidarity in the International Fikret BİRDİŞLİ	
Book Review / Kitap Özetleri Critical Theory and World Politics, Richard Wyn Jones (Ed.) Emre Baran PAK	140-146

#### Editörden

Uluslararası Politika ve Güvenlik (IJPS) dergisinin ikinci sayısını akademik dünyanın görüş ve istifadesine sunmanın kıvancını yaşıyoruz.

Bu sayıda altı makaleye ve bir kitap değerlendirmesine yer verilmiştir. Sayının ilk makalesi *Tianyang LIU* tarafından kaleme alınan "*Between Representation and the 'Real': the Remaking of Terrorism in Modernity*" başlığını taşımaktadır.

İkinci makale *Israel Nyaburi NYADERA* tarafından hazırlanmış olan "Algeria's Turbulent Path to Democracy: Missed Chances and The Fall of Abdelaziz Bouteflika" başlığını taşımaktadır.

Üçüncü makalemiz Gerry F. ARAMBALA tarafından hazırlanan "The Return of the Political: Chantal Mouffe and Ozamiz City Politics" başlığını taşımaktadır.

Dördüncü makalemiz Salim KURNAZ, S. Mustafa ÖNEN tarafından hazırlanmış olan "Avrupa Birliğine Uyum Sürecinde Turkey'nin Siber Güvenlik Stratejileri" başlığını taşımaktadır.

Beşinci makalemiz *Yusuf SAYIN* tarafından yazılmış olan "*Arap Baharı ve Tunus'un Yasemin Devrimi'ni Yeniden Anlamak*" başlığını taşımaktadır.

İkinci sayının son makalesi ise Fikret Birdişli tarafından hazırlanmış olan "Political Philosophy of Al Farabi and the Logic of the Integration and Solidarity in the International Area" başlığını taşımaktadır.

Bu sayıda bir adet kitap özetine yer verilmiştir. Bu kitap özeti Emre Baran Pak tarafından kaleme alınmıştır. Pak, bu çalışmasında Richard Wyn Jones'un editörlüğünü yaptığı "Critical Theory and World Politics" isimli kitabı okuyuculara tanıtmaktadır.

Bu sayıya katkı sağlayan yazar ve hakemlerimize teşekkür eder, faydalı olması dileğiyle, iyi okumalar dileriz.

IJPS Editörü

#### **Editorial**

We are in proud of to release of the second issue of the IJPS for evaluation of the academic community.

Second issue include six articles and one book reviews. The first article is "Between Representation and the 'Real': the Remaking of Terrorism in Modernity" written by *Tianyang Liu*.

The second article is about "Algeria's Turbulent Path to Democracy: Missed Chances and The Fall of Abdelaziz Bouteflika" and written by *Israel Nyaburi Nyadera*.

Third article, is entitled with "The Return of the Political: Chantal Mouffe and Ozamiz City Politics" and writen by *Gerry F. Arambala*.

The fourth article is titled with "Avrupa Birliği'ne Uyum Sürecinde Turkey'nin Siber Güvenlik Stratejileri" that is writen by Salim Kurnaz and S. Mustafa Önen.

The fifth article is titled with "Arap Baharı ve Tunus'un Yasemin Devrimi'ni Yeniden Anlamak" by *Yusuf Sayın*. Last article of this issue is titled as "Political Philosophy of Al Farabi and the Logic of the Integration and Solidarity in the International Area" and written by Fikret Birdişli.

This book contains one review also. The book of "Critical Theory and World Politics" edited by Richard Wyn Jones and reviewed by Emre Baran Pak.

We would like to thanks to the authors and referees who contributed to this issue, and wish good reading.

**IJPS Chief Editor**