



8 - 11 DECEMBER 2005
INTERNATIONAL
MIGRATION
SYMPOSIUM
COMMUNIQUE



CONTENTS

I. Session: Opening and Protocol Speeches 381-389

Opening Speech by **Murat AYDIN** / Speech by **Muammer GULER**
Speech by **Abdulkadir AKSU**

II. Session: A General Overview to the Fact of Migration 391-414

Prof. Dr. İlber ORTAYLI: The Fact of Immigration
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayhan KAYA: Immigration: Security and Fear in Power / **Cengiz CANDAR**: The Fact of Migration in the World
Dr. Ibrahim SIRKECI: Individual Overcoming Efforts vs. Global Control Effort: The Evolution International Immigration in the Examples of Turkey and Iraq / **Dr. Mehmet MUEZZINOGLU**: An Immigration Story: Story of Immigration from West Tracia to Anatolia

III. Session: Migration Movements in the World 415-439

Aytunc ALTUNDAL: Migrations in the New World; Problems, Faced, Solutions / **Dr. Selin SENOCAK**: France and the Fact Immigration / **Prof. Dr. Kamil Veli NERIMANOGLU**: Immigration Problem in Azerbaijan / **Marino BUSDACHIN**: Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization / **Isilay ARKAN**: A story of Migration: Migration from South to North
Dr. Cemal OZTAS-Dr. Eyup ZENGİN: Migration and Azerbaijan: The Problem of Refugees in Azerbaijan: Drama of Mankind
Metanet Azizgizi ALIYEVA: Undeclared Armenia Wars, Enforced Azerbaijan Migrants and Qarabagh Conflict

IV. Session: Migrations from Turkey 441-457

Prof. Dr. Ibrahim TATARLI: Turkish Migrants in Bulgaria
Safter CINAR: Immigration Process from Turkey to Germany and Problems / **Dr. Said Vakkas GOZLUGOL**: Effect of Domestic Migration on the Occurrence of Crimes and Internal Security
Ibrahim GAZIGİL: An Immigration Story: The Immigration Story of an Ahiskan / **Prof. Dr. Sebahattin ZAIM**: A Report on the Last Yugoslavian Immigrants

V. Session: Migrations to Turkey 459-509

Naim GULERYUZ: Jewish Migrations in Turkey / **Sayit YUSUF**: Migration of Turkish Minority Groups to Turkey and the Consequences
Akif ATLI: How many More Migration Waves Turkey Expects
Dr. Rasit GUNDOĞDU: Crime and Circassian Immigrants in the Archives / **Ahmet MURATLI**: Turkmen Migration from Iraq to Turkey
Hamit GOKTURK: Migration from Eastern Turkistan to Anatolia
Hizirbek GAYRETULLAH: A migration Story: Migration memories from Eastern Turkistan / **Ali CAGRI**: A Journey from Afghanistan to Zeytinburnu / **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fethi GUNGOR**: Endless Genocide and Exile at Caucasia / **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hakan KIRIMLI**: The Crimean Tatar Immigration from Crimea to Turkey
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Timur KOCAOGLU: Immigrations from Central Asia to Turkey (1918-2006) / **Mehmet CIFTCI**: Syria / Bayir Bucak Turks

VI. Session: Migration, Refugee and Refuge Practices from a legal Point of View 511-549

Gesche KARRENBROCK: Migration and Asylum

Mehmet TERZIOGLU: Turkey as a Country of Migrants:

Juridical Structure and Practices / **Taner KILIC**: Asylum as a Human Right / **Anne de LOISY**: Expectations on the Road to Europe and Migrations / **Demet GURAL**: Victims of Human Trade
Veysi BULUT: To be a Minority or Native in Turkey: Example of Yezidis
Prof. Dr. Mehmet AYDIN: Globalism - Our Neighbours and Migrations

VII. Session: Migration from Rural Areas to Cities and Urbanization 551-590

Cornelia REIANUER: Contributions of Migrations to Urbanization and Proposals: Berlin Kreuzberg Example / **Sefika GURBUZ**: The Causes and Effects of Forced Migration from Rural to urban Areas
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mazhar BAGLI: Migration and Urbanization in Turkey
Latife TEKİN: Moods of an Urban Immigrant
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nazife GUNGOR: The Fact of Immigration and Arabesque / **Dr. Yusuf ADIGUZEL**: Contribution of Fellow Townsmen Organizations to the Cultural Capital of Istanbul / **Yusuf KULCA**: An Immigration Story: The Story of a Life Starting in Zeytinburnu

VIII. Session: Preventing Internal Migrations New Horizons 591-623

Emrehan HALICI: Sustainable Development, Information Technology and Brain Drain / **Sekib AVDAGIC**: Economical and Social Problems Caused by Internal Migration / **Abdurrahman KURT**: Economical and Political Migration in South East Anatolia
Nese ERDİLEK: Introduction of the Rehabilitation Project to be Implemented in Tarlabashi District Where Different Types of Migrations are Observed / **Zekeriya AKCAM**: Migration Policy of Turkey at the Gates of EU: Winter Tourism and Organic Agriculture Project / **Prof. Dr. Mustafa ILICALI**: The Prevention of Migration from East Anatolia / **Sabriye SAYIN**: An Immigration Story: The Story of Family Settled in Zeytinburnu

IX. Session: Perspectives for Solutions 625-650

Ismail ALPTEKİN: The Fact of Immigration: General Evolution
Adv. Halim YILMAZ: Migration Low and its Applications in Turkey
Aysem Biriz KARACAY: Irregular Migration Policies and Implementations in Turkey / **Raif KAPLANOGLU**: Migration that Continues in Tentb: Bursa Example / **Dr. Suleyman GUNDUZ**: Closing Speech of the Ninth Session

X. Session: Evaluation and Closing 651-684

Murat AYDIN: Evaluation of the I. Session
Prof. Dr. Nilgun CELEBI: Evaluation of the II. Session
Prof. Dr. Mustafa AYKAC: Evaluation of the III. Session
Prof. Dr. Sebahattin ZAIM: Evaluation of the IV. Session
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Timur KOCAOGLU: Evaluation of the V. Session
Prof. Dr. Kemal KIRISCI: Evaluation of the VI. Session
Prof. Dr. Ali Rıza ABAY: Evaluation of the VII. Session
Prof. Dr. Husamettin ARSLAN: Evaluation of the VIII. Session
Dr. Suleyman GUNDUZ: Evaluation of the IX. Session
Murat AYDIN: Evaluation and Closing / Report on Findings



Murat Aydın

Mayor of Zeytinburnu

Preface

“Migration Will Exist as Long as Humanity Exists”

We all say it. Zeytinburnu is a province based upon migrations. A wide range of people came from the Ottoman hinterland, including the Central Asia, the Balkans, northern Iraq, and Crimea and get settled here.

Origin of the demographic structure of Zeytinburnu is based on migrations. The place is virtually a migration lab. It is possible to find out here the richest forms of migration. It is possible to identify here a great variety of human situations caused by migration. It is almost impossible to come across with a rhythm, a color, a cultural texture, a form of behavior that has not come with migration. We possess a very rich human mix.

We have been thinking for a long time to bring the issue of migration to the attention of Turkey and world opinion. The human setup on which Zeytinburnu is established has necessitated this. It would be right to hold the symposium with an international participation, in line with the spirit of migration. Thank God that we have achieved this.

As expected, a quite rich range of papers has come forth. We are happy about this. We are certainly happy for bringing the most prominent experts on migration in Turkey with our people and public opinion.

It was very meaningful that a detailed inventory of national and international aspects of migration was brought up. Therefore; I would like to

thank to my friends who have put their efforts for realization of such a project. It gives me great pleasure to mention their names here.

Adv. Ömer Arisoy, our Deputy Mayor, has successfully involved from the very early stages to the end of the symposium. He took the responsibility of coordinating among our municipality, the contractor company, and the public.

Prof. Dr. Hüsametdin Arslan, Akif Atlı, Mahmut Çetin, and Mükremin Atmaca were responsible for the general flow, content, and the vision of the symposium. We believe they were very successful at what they did.

İsmail Cengiz was probably one of our friends who got tired the most. He, being the General Coordinator of the Symposium, rushed from one place to another, worked very hard, and sweated literally.

I would like to thank once more each and every one of them one by one for organizing such a good and comprehensive academic meeting and presenting it to the public.

We hope; MIGRATION, being an important humane issue of our age, will be a topic of largely participated, serious organizations. That is because, MIGRATION simply never ends. As Mr. İlber Ortaylı stated in his speech; “As long as the humanity exists, so will MIGRATION.”





OPENING SESSION

Opening and Protocol Speeches



FIRST SESSION: OPENING SESSION

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SYMPOSIUM
08 December 2006 Thursday

Exhibition Opening

"Photographs: Migration to Turkey"

Opening

Opening Speech by

Murat AYDIN

Zeytinburnu Mayor

Speech by

Muammer GULER

Istanbul Governor

Speech by

Abdülkadir AKSU

Minister of International Affairs



INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SYMPOSIUM



Murat AYDIN

Zeytinburnu Mayor

Aydın was born in Giresun in 1960. He graduated from İstanbul University Faculty of Business Administration in 1985. He did not neglect his academic carrier in spite of the political and business world. As a result of his academic studies, he obtained his Master's Degree from İstanbul University Department of "Management and Economy". Aydın became the Mayor of Zeytinburnu after April 18, 1999 elections. In the elections of March 28, 2004; the support behind him increased from 27% to 53% and he was re-elected as the Mayor setting a new record. In addition to being the Mayor of Zeytinburnu, he is currently a member of the European Council Local and Regional Authorities Board. Aydın has been residing in Zeytinburnu for the last 31 years and he speaks good English. He is married with two children; Muhammet Tayip and Emine.

There is a saying in our tradition:

"There is contentment in changing a place."

This saying, without a doubt, is correct for one single person. However, as we all know, "change of a place" for a mass of people leads to some troubles and modern problems. Let me also add that, immigration does not lead to problems only but helps to find solutions as well. Hopefully we will be talking about these in greater detail during the following four days. The professionals -I thank them very much- are here. We are proud to host our statesmen, specialists, scholars, and authors. We hope there will be beneficial results of this symposium for both our country and the world. This, as far as I am concerned, is the most comprehensive meeting in Turkey about "IMMIGRATION". Of course, this question is likely to rise in minds: Why Zeytinburnu?

Respectful guests, dear friends;

There is a reason for Zeytinburnu to undertake the organization of this symposium. As Zeytinburnu Municipality, we have obligations to bare our own neck to organize it. First of all, Zeytinburnu is a place established by immigration. Within this respect, it is like a guesthouse of İstanbul. Zeytinburnu has received immigration not only from Turkey but also from various places of the world and still is. Take a walk on the streets of Zeytinburnu. You will come across blonde people with blue eyes and brunettes with slanting eyes. In the mankind rainbow of Zeytinburnu, you may witness almost all different colors of the Ottomans. Because Zeytinburnu is a place where people from a very wide geography have become close friends, from

the steppe of Middle Asia to Mesopotamia basin, from South Europe plains to the Hindu Kush. As you know, there are a couple of important reasons for immigration. We can group those two reasons in two main topics, "violence" and "economical violence"; in other words, the reasons turning people's settlements into unlivable places... the reasons forcing them "to change their places"...

People do not change their dwelling places with no reason at all. Immigration, most of the time, resulted due to obligations. However, when the results of those immigrations are taken into consideration, they have been usually beneficial for the mankind. Thanks to immigrations, new cultures have nourished. Thanks to immigrations, cultures have joined together. Thanks to immigrations, cultures have refreshed and improved. Thanks to immigrations, new civilizations have been established; that is to say, the immigrations - as a very historical dynamics - have performed its role on the stage of humanity. Today, our world needing a culture of tolerance, empathy training and the ability to live together has gained and will gain those by the help of immigration. Immigrations, within this sense, play a vital role for societies to make them become more mature. As you know, after the Industrial Revolution a brand new lifestyle has emerged in Western Europe. Thus, a new place has emerged as well: CITY. City, from that day on, has been receiving immigration from the rural.

The city absorbs the rural area and assimilates it. Turkey, within that framework, unfortunately lives with the problems of late industrialization. Our country, struggles with the current



troubles of immigration from rural area to urban. Urbanization problems in Turkey have come on the scene very severely from 1960s on. Actually, this problem which has been overcome by developed industrial countries a long time ago, has reached to our country in 1960s like a rain cloud. Turkey is a country where people migrate from and to. Turkey is being perceived as a secure island within its geography is exposed to immigration. Yes, this is true. Turkey is a monument of security, a solid gate of peace and well-being in spite of all the adversities. Therefore it is normal for us to be under a pressure of immigration from our neighbors. The important thing is to search for ways to turn this movement into an advantage. Turkey is a country allowing "intellectual immigration" abroad generously. At the same time, Turkey -with its huge population- sends workforce abroad. Everybody is well aware of the contribution of Turkey in the restructuring of Europe which has destabilized during the Second World War; being Germany on top of the list. We, as the Zeytinburnu Municipality, is a small laboratory of immigration. Our bigger social laboratory, as you know, is Istanbul. Pardon the crude expression, Istanbul is the America of Turkey. It is always said and given the example: The Irish living in America is three times as much as it is in Ireland. Let me share some figures with you: The population of Sivas is about 250.000. On the other hand, the number of people from Sivas in Istanbul is around 400.000s. Similarly, the Istanbul populations of cities like Kastamonu, Giresun, and Rize is a couple of times as much of their own population. This

is only a minor indicator of how Istanbul absorbs the population of rural areas of Anatolia.

Today, immigration is an urgent matter which has to be dealt and analyzed on the national and international levels. Of course, there are solutions we have proposed and are implementing as Zeytinburnu Municipality. We especially improve social municipal approach and incorporate this in all our activities. We care for the social justice at the maximum level. We perceive immigrations as a means to make people come closer. We carry out activities that will help to improve the culture of living together. We plan and build urban places in a way that rehabilitate the problems caused by the immigrations. We equip the city with places pertaining to a culture of living together. We pay special attention for cultural and social activities which improve the feeling of belonging and make the people become more urbanized regardless of where they came from.

We believe the problems are general, but the solutions are local. The solutions, inevitably, will be brought up on the local level. This is how it should be. Therefore, we regarded it necessary to handle the subject of IMMIGRATION in an international meeting discuss all aspects of it. We believe the time has come to share our local experiences with regards to this universal problem. Last but not the least, I truly and deeply wish this meeting will contribute -even if to a certain extend- to the happiness of humanity. I wish our scream will lead to an avalanche.

I greet you with respect...



INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SYMPOSIUM



Muammer GULER

Istanbul Governor

He was born in Mardin in 1949. He completed his elementary, secondary, and high school education in Ankara and graduated from Ankara University Faculty of Law in 1972. He started serving the public sector on the 14th of March, 1973 as Balıkesir Junior Official (Kaimakam Candidacy). He worked for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, General Directorate of Personnel. When he was the General Director, he was appointed to the Governorship of Niğde on January 29, 1992. He was then appointed as the Governor of İstanbul on the 30th of January, 2003 and started his assignment on February 17, 2003. He got married the Mathematics Teacher Mrs. Neval Güler in 1977. The Güler couple has a son and a daughter named; Barış and Burcu respectively.

Mr. Minister,

Respectful Guests,

Valuable members of the press,

I would like to express the gladness that International Immigration Symposium is being organized in Istanbul and also the outcomes of this symposium will be beneficial to a city where this problem is being extensively experienced. I would also like to take this opportunity to welcome firstly Mr. Minister, our valuable administrators honoring the meeting, our scientists, local and foreign guests.

I would like to convey my appreciation and gratitude to my valuable friend Murat Aydın, Mayor of Zeytinburnu, and his friends for organizing this meeting. Organizing this symposium with such an important topic will be useful not only for themselves but also for Istanbul and our country.

Mr. Minister and Respectful Guests,

Our country is a target country in terms of receiving immigration, a source country with regards to migration and also a transit country as a place of passage for people. Istanbul stands out as the most affected province by this extensive movement of people coming to our country. Many people due to a pressure in their own homeland find Istanbul attractive and unfortunately immigrate to Istanbul by legal or illegal means which is in a position of a target, source, and transit place with various reasons like; Istanbul, being one of the biggest cities in the world, being close to European countries and being an important city, having transportation directly to world countries by road, air, and sea, accommodating people from many different

countries and cultures of the world like other provinces in our country and having a mobile population of 15 million people, offering various business opportunities, having an active economical environment.

Especially during the recent years, it has been observed that those immigrants coming by legal or illegal means settle in various districts of our province. When the situations of those immigrants are analyzed, it is seen that many of those choose our province as a transit country. Of course, the necessary actions are being taken by our security units -mostly by our police forces- about the illegal immigrants who exist in our province and use our country as a transit place. In addition to this, they have been effectively working on catching criminal organizations and handing them over to justice trying to send people to European countries in exchange for money who are willing to immigrate to those countries and currently staying in our country. Within the last five years, 147 organizers have been caught in 108 different incidents and nearly 15.000 people have been deported. We may group the immigrant entering to our country by legal or illegal means and coming to Istanbul by setting our province as a target destination as follows: [Although the groups are going to be mentioned throughout the symposium repeatedly, I find it noteworthy to go over them shortly.] Asylum seekers and refugees, stateless immigrants, residence permit holders, people committed to Turkish culture but not acquired Turkish citizenship -yet claiming they are citizens- and we call them the 'hidden population', people committed to Turkish culture yet lost their citizenship: the sheltered Turks, consanguineous people with residence per-



mit, people who have acquired Turkish citizenship afterwards, students coming to our country for educational purposes, people obtaining a work permit. Those immigrants also cause problems in our province as they would like to meet their requirements such as finding a job to maintain their normal living standards, accommodation, educational, health, social, and cultural needs. Deportation procedures of immigrants who are in a position of an illegal situation take one month under normal circumstances. In case of any trouble at the borders -such problems generally occur because the immigrants entering our country tear up their passports and identity cards; thus a great problem arises in identifying which country they have come from and which country they are going to settle in- the process may last for months. During this period, they stay at the Division of Foreigners, and their food, health, hygiene, and accommodation needs are met by humane reasons in accordance with the human rights and also in compliance with our belief, customs, and tradition. Naturally, there happens to be shortcomings in such situations; however in the following days better conditions will be provided for those immigrants at the facilities that will be assigned by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Additionally, within the scope of MOBESE project and possibilities provided by the resources of special provincial administrations and within the scope of 'improving

detention centers project' of security units, better conditions will be provided to those immigrants. It is estimated that our province will be a target destination for a bigger immigration movement as our province will present a more important situation with the initiation of European Union membership negotiations. As a result of the studies which will be carried out within this framework, it is also very crucial that relevant plans and programs have to be immediately prepared regarding the increasing immigration problem in our province.

I believe Zeytinburnu Municipality is doing a very essential job by organizing this symposium. Of course, the urbanization problems originating from immigration and seeking refuge present a critical situation. Zeytinburnu district is one of the typical examples of it. Actually, Istanbul as a whole is a typical example of this situation. I have full faith and belief this meeting will be fruitful in terms of possible solutions and suggestions in determining precautionary measures to be taken against immigration and refugee movements. Once again, I would like to say welcome firstly to our Minister of Internal Affairs Mr. Abdülkadir Aksu who honored the meeting and our valuable guests. I hope this meeting will bring constructive consequences.

I extend my respects to you all.



INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SYMPOSIUM



Abdülkadir AKSU

Minister of Internal Affairs

Aksu was born in Diyarbakır in 1944. He graduated from Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences. State Language School - German. He has served the public sector with various titles: Civilian Administration Chief - Governor - Kaimakam, Malatya Chief of Police, Kahramanmaraş Deputy Governor, Assistant to General Director of Police Headquarters, Governor and Mayor of Rize, Center and Gaziantep Governor - Founding Member of Justice and Development Party - XVIII. and XX. Terms Member of the Parliament from Diyarbakır; XXI. Term Member of the Parliament from İstanbul - Former Minister of State, Minister of Internal Affairs - Married with 2.

Respectful Guests,
Most Valuable Scientists and Academicians,
Valuable Members of the Press,
At the opening of "International Immigration Symposium" where the "fact of immigration" will be discussed comprehensively, I am more than pleased not only to be under the same roof with valuable guests attending this symposium from our country and all over the world but also to address you all.

I would like to take this opportunity to welcome the specialists and speakers who consider concepts such as human values, world peace and security very important and who have undertaken a virtuous mission by presenting their knowledge and experience to the common usage of the world. I greet you all with my warmest regards.

I would also like to thank you for the interest you have shown in the subject and the Mayor of Zeytinburnu Mr. Murat Aydın for providing a ground to analyze and discuss the "fact of immigration".

Dear Guests,

The fact of immigration is a social event concerning the entire mankind, influencing the economical, social, political, and even military policies of countries.

Therefore, may it be from one country to another, from rural to urban, or may it be compulsory immigrations due to reasons like massacres or wars; it would be incorrect to interpret "the fact of immigration" as 'people simply move from one region to another to settle there'.

Immigrations and immigrants have had great impacts not only

in forming new societies, but also in establishing new nations and countries different than their older ethnical identities.

The differences in the level of development between both the internal regions of a country and in between the countries, disparities in political-economical policies and life standards, utilizing foreigners as cheap workforce have caused a gradual increase of this fact.

Likewise, it is known that 500.000 immigrants enter to European Union countries by illegal means every year. And in the same way, it is acknowledged that millions of people continuously knock on the doors of USA, Canada, Australia and the like, legally or illegally, to have better life standards.

Dear Guests,

Our country, both with its historical background and its strategic location, is in a geographical situation where various cultures have interacted, and therefore -without a doubt- is one of the rare countries which has a historical experience about refugee problems.

The European countries' need to address the immigration-refuge problems arose after the World Wars I and II; however our country, starting from the acceptance of 300.000 Jews seeking refuge during Ottoman Empire period at the end of 1492, has accepted millions of immigrants within the last two centuries.

In our near past, 51.542 immigrants from Iraq back in 1980, 310.000 from Bulgaria in 1989, 462.000 during The Gulf Crisis in 1991, 20.000 from Bosnia between the years 1992-1997, and the most recently 17.746 from Kosovo have been accepted and



offered international protection.

It is a fact that Turkey will be subject to immigrants and refugees movement in the future just like she was in the past.

Taking this fact into consideration, in accordance with our commitments in the national program, an 'asylum - immigration action plan' has been prepared within the framework of 'asylum and immigration project' which has been completed during European Union admission process of Turkey, and it has been approved by Mr. Prime Minister on March 25, 2005 and came into force.

Valuable Guests,

September 11 and following terrorist actions caused redefining the security of a state and underlined the importance of sharing global information to struggle against terrorism. The concerns about struggling against terrorism, due to its "beyond the boundaries" nature, have been started to be considered together with international immigration discussions.

In addition to its sociological dimension and effects; terrorism, drug and weapon smuggling, human trade, organized trans-frontier crimes like immigrant smuggling are interconnected with the fact of immigration and directly have a negative effect to the stability of states and region, peace, economy, and development.

Transfrontier crimes, without a doubt, can neither be impeded nor stopped by the actions of one single country. They may only be taken under control by an active and efficient cooperation on the international level.

Therefore such conferences present great importance. Scientific, rational, effective and democratic suggestions for a solution prepared with contribution of valuable scientists and practitioners like you will be an essential opportunity for the future.

Within this regard, we consider this meeting held in Istanbul - the meeting point of civilizations, continents, and cultures- as a promising and meaningful step.

Turkey, having total territorial and maritime boundaries of 9474 km. with 8 countries and being in a pivotal geopolitical location, has been actively involved in all international cooperation platforms to prevent and control such crimes till today. This intention and action will continue with same determination and seriousness.

Within the scope of international cooperation activities, we have undersigned agreements with 52 countries projecting cooperation in struggling against organized crimes and terror-

ism. In all those agreements there are provisions regarding cooperation while struggling against organized crimes, terrorism, money laundering, illegal immigration, immigrant smuggling, and human trade.

Additionally, Turkey currently has readmission agreements with 5 countries, and bilateral cooperation protocols with 3 countries on struggling against human trade.

Dear Guests,

States taking measures against organized crimes interrelated with immigration which threatens the security of a state, social peace, and public order are in a position to practice those precautions primarily within their boundaries or frontier regions.

Within this regard, in addition to determined and active struggle of the armed forces, having powerful internal legal regulations being in effect that are in harmony with international standards are basic elements on this critical subject. We, as the government, put a series of reforms into practice regarding this issue.

Turkey has immediately signed United Nations organized trans-frontier crimes agreement and attached protocols which have been presented to member countries on December 12, 2000; and in the year 2003 it was approved and came into force. Moreover, such crimes were included in the Turkish Penal Code.

Let me also add that with the law regarding the work permits for foreigners which we have put into effect in 2003; illicit working of the foreigners and employment with low wages have been prevented and legal control and regulation on immigration for working purposes have been made available.

The amendment we have made on the Act No. 403 of The Act of Turkish Citizenship has prevented fake marriages with the aim of staying in the country, and by this means a method used by immigrant smugglers and human traders has been eliminated.

Dear Guests,

Besides the aforementioned legal 'reform like' regulations, we have also taken serious measures in terms of application.

In addition to more active and rapid passport control at the frontiers, optical readers are used at our frontiers which are open to international traffic for the purpose of early identification of counterfeit documents.

Furthermore, we are at the final stage of printing and arranging new type Turkish passports in conformity with International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) which may be identified by optical readers.

As a result of these precautions taken; transit passages of 565.345 illegal immigrants over Turkey have been hindered



since 1995, 5961 immigrant smugglers from 37 different nationalities have been arrested. And within the last six years, we have spent over 6 million new Turkish Liras off of our budget for the accommodation needs and deportation procedures of those arrested illegal immigrants.

Helicopters of our Coast Guard units and the police helicopters located in Izmir, Antalya, and Mugla coordinate with Coast Guard Command and have initiated coastal controls against immigrant smuggling by sea and preventive activities carried out by air; thus illegal immigration through our Mediterranean and Aegean coasts has been fully obstructed.

On the other hand; while struggling against human trade, we pay utmost attention in our actions for the protection of the unjustly treated people. Our country, having an 'unjustly treated people oriented approach' in her practices while struggling sets an exemplary level of accomplishment. Furthermore, in order to rehabilitate the unjustly treated ones of the human trade, with the collaborations of metropolitan municipalities and non-governmental organizations there is a shelter house serving people in each of our cities; Istanbul and Ankara.

Besides all these activities, there are projects which have been envisaged to be financed together with European Union targeting to get more actively organized at our frontiers against illegal immigration, to utilize more technical equipments, and to control and monitor the country boundaries which will become the outer limits of the European Union in the near future.

Upon completion of those projects, the boundaries of our country which we hope to become the outer limits of the European Union soon will be much safer against organized transfrontier crimes.

All those efforts are concrete indicators of our intention and determination in the common struggle against international criminals and crimes as the government of Republic of Turkey.

Valuable Guests,

Last but not the least; I would express that I have full faith this meaningful symposium where immigration and relevant subjects will be discussed in length and breadth -if one may say so- will highly contribute to the reflections in the national and international public opinion about the fact of immigration.

Once again, I would like to take this opportunity to wish you a successful symposium and greet you with my warmest respect.



II. SESSION

A General Overview to the Fact of Migration



II. SESSION

A GENERAL OVERVIEW TO THE FACT OF MIGRATION 08 December 2006 Thursday

Chairman of the Session
Prof. Dr. Nilgun CELEBI

Ankara University Faculty of Language and History-Geography

Prof. Dr. Ilber ORTAYLI
Head of Topkapi Palace Museum-Faculty Member / Galatasaray University
"The Fact of Immigration"

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayhan KAYA
Istanbul Bilgi University
"Immigration: Security and Fear in Power"

Cengiz CANDAR
Researcher - Author
"The Fact of Migration in the World"

Dr. Ibrahim SIRKECI
European Business School London
*"Individual Overcoming Efforts vs. Global Control Effort: The evolution of
International Immigration in the examples of Turkey and Iraq"*

Dr. Mehmet MUEZZINOGLU
Ak Party Istanbul Provincial Chairman
*"An Immigration Story: Story of Immigration from West Trakia to
Anatolia"*



Prof. Dr. İlber ORTAYLI

Head of Topkapı Palace Museum-Faculty Member / Galatasaray University

Born in 1947 in Austria. Graduated from Yeniçağ History Department of Administrative Branch of the Faculty of Linguistics, History and Geography of the Faculty of Political Sciences of Ankara University. He studied at the Slavistic and Orientalistic Department of the Vienna University. Obtained Master's Degree from the History Department of University of Chicago. Became a Lecturer and Professor in 1979 and 1989. Deputy President of CIEPO (Comité International D'Etudes Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes) and Member of European Iranology Association. Currently the Head of the Topkapı Palace Museum and Lecturer at Galatasaray University.

The Fact of Immigration

It is very obvious that there is something about humanity as long immigration is concerned. There is no community, or a human who does not immigrate. And when the fact of immigration stops or stabilize, the communities actually start to die. This is a very clear reality. That is an expression of death. For example there are some mottos; 'We are from Vienna for the last five generations'; that is to say, there are no more births in Austria. And you come across an old city. 'We live in the house our grandfather used to live'; that is to say, you are dead! Because it is natural for a family in the rural area to be living in the same house for six generations, because there is a feudal order. People live in the same village, saw, reap; that is fine, but after the industrialization such a situation signifies that the population has become stable; and one may not talk the capability of moving freely in a room anymore, not so many babies are born and moreover people have become stable.

It is a reality that immigration is the principal action of people as a community. People have been immigrating from time immemorial, and they will be immigrating eternally. If the immigration stops at anywhere of the world, it means that

society began to disappear. Likewise, immigration in today's Western Europe, one may witness less and less incidents of immigration, because the population got older. However other immigrating communities are making their way towards there. A geographical area without any immigration is in the process of writing the last pages of its history. Immigrations strike one's eyes by damages of destructive tribes, but this is how the movements take place in this geographical area.

There is no doubt that we live together with immigrations; and the content of immigrations are different. Some figures shall be provided at this point. In 1821, 21% of England's population and 17% of Scotland's population used to live in cities. In fifty years time, 39.5% of England and 32% of Scotland lived in cities. We will be comparing those two figures. In the year 1891, through the end of the century, 62% of England and 50% of Scotland lived in cities. And today, the urban population of Scotland and England is not decreasing; they are both increasing. But the abnormality will attract attention. The population mixes up with one another. The majority of Scotland's population is formed by English people. By means of immigration, it



has been a couple of thousand years that people have moved from Neolithic age to farming, and the continent of Europe is far behind that revolution. This was to a degree that an Islamic thinker describes the countries in the Mediterranean being a slave to the nature and having mental dullness in the 11th century; and he is right. But with the beginning of the 12th century, there is a physical explosion, a physical modification of environment, and a change in the population.

In the 19th century, even at the end of 18th century, a population explosion occurs and cities form in that world which has been unaware of the trends and development for thousands of years. The second biggest revolution in human history is urbanization and industrial revolution. And you see the consequences. In the Middle Age, together with the immigration of tribes; that is, mass immigration, homicides –let me call it not ‘homicide’ but massacres, and wars; the structures –ethnic ones– tend to silently leave their places to different structures. This is a case. There may be ones experiencing this case violently or with no violence at all. For example; during the 19th century, the capital of the Empire, Vienna, was exposed to an extensive Czech working population. Today you may see this in the phone guides. When you take a look to the pages of the Vienna phone guide, you will come across names like Kubichek, Mubichek, something... And when you take a look at the pages of Prague phone guide; you will notice Wortharman, Müller and the like. The reason is; the population has moved as result of immigrations. Up until that date, for six centuries, Czechia and Austria –Bohemia and Austria– were under the effect of same empire, same state; no such thing existed. However industry during the century changed that reality. What we have at the end of the day is a Czechia having a very refined German culture, and an Austria having a strange Czech culture. Although people lose their language, they are affected by ideology. All those districts, their mentality, political ideologies, etc. differ. This is not a very severe event; because consequentially this event occurs in a city where the population is around 1 – 1.5 million. Actually, Vienna is isolated from the other regions of the country. There are other kinds of changes. In the year 1866, the population is only about 60 million in the huge Russian Empire. Only 12% of that population live in the cities; if one may call them ‘cities’; Moscow, Petersburg, and Kiev and lately established Odessa. The Baltic cities are known as ‘cities’ with regards to their structure; nevertheless they have low population levels. The universities are established taking that fact into consideration. For example, in the Caucasian cities, no universities have been established till the year of the revolution. In the contrary; in

Poland –a part of Russia– 2 million of 10 million people (20%, not 12%) live in the cities. This points out to a national and cultural imbalance. In other words; the reasons for Russian hatred are not only political or military command, but also cultural differentiation, and the reflections brought by economical transformation. Such a structure leads to big troubles. At the end of the 19th and at the beginning of 20th centuries, just before the First World War, in the capital of Austria the population per room was 2.27. In Germany and England this ratio was naturally lower. In Russia, this population goes high up to 8 in cities. That is to say, a fact that we have learned which is unique to communism; a family lives in a room, they use a common bathroom and kitchen; a long living reality of Russia. Supposedly, some old bourgeoisie families, after the revolution, were obliged to live that way so the disgrace was very evident. But when we study the statistics about health, or their life styles; we witness tragic results. For example, the workers class uses two shift rooms. In one room, they had a chest and a bed. They used to keep their belongings in two chests. The one working in the morning shift sleeps in the bed; and when he leaves, the one working in the night shift sleeps. This is such a contradiction. Consequently, as the houses become useless a pop culture develops. Because the people spend a couple of hours there, after long hours of working, and then the result is alcoholism and countless relationships it causes. Those are the patterns which Turkey is not familiar with. I mean; such a industrial revolution, this type of poverty, and such a deterioration syndrome of relationships is a social structure Turkey is not acquainted with.

But what is happening in Turkey? In the 18th century, the population was immigrating to big cities one by one in Turkey...

In the last two centuries, Turkish cities underwent a transformation. But military and political collapses, not the economical transformation, paved the way to immigrations in the Empire where industry has hardly developed and the rural population was slowly dissolved. The populations coming from the Balkans and the Caucasus have only endured their traditional lifestyles, and they did not form a population like the ones in Europe and Russian city proletarians in spite of their poor and troublesome lives in big cities. A workers class like theirs did not come up, and they kept up with their traditional life and moral patterns. Moreover, the dramatic poverty and mess of Britain’s proletarians and Russian workers were far away from those masses in Ottoman cities. Therefore; clash of classes, the apprehension of life, and ideological structures may not be observed in the same way.



Immigration in Turkey, in the real sense, starts with the involvement of agricultural machines and a movement towards the cities. Although the effects may be observed in the urban life, it is much more different than what is happening today.

In the last 30 years, in addition to structural deterioration a critical disease plays an important role. Turkish villagers started to hate agriculture. An irrelevant fact of immigration takes place due to inconsistent order of land owning in big cities and involvement of people coming from the rural area in land speculations. City Administration Council annuls the juristic personality of the villages unwillingly became vacant; that is, it pronounces the death notification of the village. Those villages exist in a country where electrification has been completed since the 1970s. On one hand there are unproductive villages in terms of agriculture, and there are productive ones close to the cities on the other.

Unlike the Third World metropolises; Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and the similar cities put a great effort for municipal modernism and cultural development, but the incoming population is a breach for those efforts. And the cities are left powerless in the life struggle. The residents are hopeless; one may hear the habitual expressions like 'It is over for Istanbul', 'Forget about Ankara in ten years time'. On the other side; the rural area which has become vacant due to inability to utilize the potential, will not be feeding Turkey in the near future. The situation is not promising at all. The public areas in the city should be intelligently and courageously controlled. None of the governments so far has taken steps towards that.

The reality of disordered and arbitrary immigrations presents itself as an increase in the singles' population in Istanbul. This persistent problem is from time to time solved, but sometimes the city becomes full of singles again. This is a great problem with respect to security and health. Those are the places where plague spreads, and those are the centers for criminals. The bigger cities of Turkey in the 19th century -in addition to Bursa, Thesaloniki, and Istanbul- are Izmir, Beirut, Aleppo, and Damascus... We start to observe family immigrations in these locations. Together with those family immigrations, the first shanty districts, the districts around the inner and outer parts of the city walls (Surdibi and Surdışı) of Istanbul, particular locations in the Golden Horn (Haliç), very interesting constructions in Izmir; and those are the things that will put ethnic discrimination out of sight.

For example; in Izmir where Jewish population settles -I believe it is called 'Lazeret'- a place of shelter, rooms around the courtyard, a water pump, a toilet... And in time, those

places become the settlement locations for immigrants in 1912. That is to say; in those districts and newly established luxurious neighborhoods, ethnical differences do not exist anymore. The district was a unit established based on ethnicity; and this no longer continues.

The European Pact used to send the population to United States through immigration, but this is not the case in Ottoman Turkey. As a matter of fact, immigration in Ottoman Turkey is affected by the soldiers; military events, wars, rather than structural changes; and Turkish population start to change. Therefore; the immigrants may be poor and they may have problems at the beginning, but they may not attain cultural, ideological properties of a mass immigrating; this is not possible. The people from the Island and Balkan immigrants coming to Izmir were poor at the beginning, but they never dealt with a rich-poor or class discussions. On the contrary, they call the region they settle *giaoour* Izmir; 'because the *giaoours* living there disturb him'. As time goes by and the situation changes, there will be other sorts of slides. We live in shanty houses in that district, or in slums; we live there, etc... This is not a cause for those districts to acquire the life patterns and moral values of the slums in the industrialized western cities; never! There is no such thing. Noone involves in free lover affairs, attempts to have an extramarital child, gives up his or her religious belief and decides to establish a communist party, etc. Those are very important clues.

Turkey, without a doubt, has become familiar with immigration after the Second World War when we had the agricultural revolution before the industrial revolution. As opposed to what happened in the West, this agricultural revolution resulted in the ceasing of the village population. That is such an important event. The values and the kinship bonds of the rural area have protected themselves for a long time in the city. We have to be very sensitive on this issue. The life continues with a strange sort of compartmentalization. This is a case and a lifestyle not being witnessed in many European or third world countries.

Now take a look at where we are now! Now, we are at the end of 20th and the beginning of 21st century. Serious demographers from Hacettepe Population Studies Institute and collaborating colleagues provide such estimations: In the middle of the instant century will be a country having a young population with a very decreasing birth rate. Our most valuable richness, our advantage... Another element preventing the population from getting older -no big prophecy- is that there is a world speaking a language pretty like Turkish, the cultural



and religious patterns presenting resemblance with her. This will refresh the population. That is; the advantage only USA had in the past and Israel has today through Zionist policies, and religious belonging, Turkey will have the same advantage of keeping the population young yet having a very low birth rate. Very few countries had that advantage. So it should not be perceived as an emergency that Turkey has a low birth rate. It is meaningless to tell people, in the name of carrying out an out-of-date policy, not to have children. However; it is also another fact that there is an incredible imbalance of population among the west, east, and middle of Turkey. A population increased by some reasons other than sociological pattern should be ready to pay the high price of this situation in a near future. In other words, a family trying to live with 8 children in Istanbul –it maybe 100 to 150 years from now on, I do not know- should be ready to pay the price. The laws of the society are dominant at some point even though they are not as severe and clear as the laws of nature.

There is another issue. The population of the cities has increased seven or eight times as much in England and France, the pioneers of industry in the West, after a very long period. When Queen Victoria ascended the throne she was a little girl and the population of London was only 1 million. After a while, the Prime Minister Disraeli –as you know he is Turkish-Jewish origin- said: “The Queen is the sovereign of two nations; the poor and the rich...” This led to a big problem.

After from that date, in 1930, the population of London has only increased by nine times as much. But in my childhood, the population of Istanbul spread to the city walls, some villages around the Bosphorus, Uskudar, Kadikoy, Galata and neighborhood, Beyoglu was slightly more. I am taking steps to the old age from the limits of middle age, and I find myself in a crowd of 13 million people. There exists a demographical environment threat which none of us can get used to. When we were in the primary school, they had us learn by heart that 85% of the population is villagers and villagers are the masters of the city-dwellers. When I became a professor, I was in a Turkey where 55% of the population used to live in the cities. This abnormal increase in spite of all effort takes a crazy course. Istanbul is not the only city having a population of more than 10 million people. There is Cairo, Bahrain, Mexico, Calcutta; but those are not cities. They live in dirt and no one cares about them. The garbage is not being collected in Cairo, no municipal services in Mexico, people sleep on the streets in Bahrain,

and they die where they are. But here, against all odds, the cities survive and a city culture is created. The cost of that heavy load is unfortunately not being paid. So if Turkish society will overcome this turmoil (it is really very difficult to), we have to state that we are a tribe producing wonders. I mean, in fifty years time, someone may applause for the talent of Turkey... And world historians will make a note of that. Today there is a distorted construction development.

The fact of immigration, which we have tried to explain with social facts like; the repulsion of the village, insufficiency of land, demographical explosion, the attraction of the cities, but Turkey are not familiar with those patterns. Turkey has completed electrification in the beginning of 1970s. I was born into a dark Turkey. But as a young person, I traveled in a completely electrified Turkey. There is no more population in villages which have completed infrastructures. It is a known fact that in Sivas, Erzurum, Erzincan, some regions of the Black Sea, city-district councils unwillingly terminate the sovereign personalities of the villages, and undersign the death decrees of settlement locations. Many of those are close to center city. Infrastructural problems have already been solved. Because the Turkish society does not want to involve in agriculture anymore. They have turned into lazy farmers. Do not even mention about the attraction of the cities! The land speculations in the cities have made this immigration easier. Turkey should find a solution to the state property problem as soon as possible. It is unnecessary to comply with the democratic rules; let me also add it. Or other precautions have to be taken. But in any case, it is clear that the measures taken by the governments are not serious, or at least they are palliative, and they are unable to carry out more valid processes. Unless this problem is solved, an overuse of energy in our cities will occur. And this will also reflect to following generations. The cities will become unlivable places, and what is more the fruitful Turkish rural region will lose the potential to feed the whole population. We have to be extremely sensitive on this issue.

The Immigration Symposium is important within that framework. I believe my friends who are specialized in their relative fields will put courageous approaches forward regarding the problem of immigration. The speakers have more accurate attitudes than the administrators and the politicians. International Immigration Symposium is a signal that the panic has started. Now, it is time to be serious.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayhan KAYA

Istanbul Bilgi University

Lecturer at the International Relations Department of Bilgi University in Istanbul since 2001. At the same time serving as the Director of the Center for the Research and Application on Migration since 2003 at the same university. Awarded the Successful Scientist by the Social Sciences Association in Turkey and Sciences Academy in Turkey in 2003 and 2005 respectively.

Immigration; Security and Fear in Power

Social welfare state project, developed in 1950s to heal the wounds of the war, has been losing its position against the extensive attacks of the New Right since 1970s. Western conservative governments in power began to eliminate the social rights attained after decades of societal struggles by pointing out to the economical crisis of the 70s. Although the New Right -disregarding the global justice approach completely- has been criticized by the New Left which emphasizes welfare state, justice, equality, localness, sharing and similar values; it continues to gain position today. With regards to its economical crisis discourse in 1970s and 80s; The New Right, claiming that the state should retreat from the economical area and only have the functionality of a security force, has almost completely put aside the project of 'welfare state'. It is going to be helpful to evaluate the process in such a context which began with the September 11, New York attacks. This process has brought a series of very important global transformations. Especially, the discourse of 'clash of civilizations' conceptualized by Samuel

Huntington back in 1992 has provided the information that coexistence of dissimilar cultural, ethnic, and religious elements is not very likely to happen. The incidents which have taken place in the 2000s reaffirm this information. The state of feeling uncomfortable about Islam, 'the other', immigrant and similar foreigners is a sign of this.

We are undergoing a process where multiculturalism is being questioned and values like homogeneity, sameness, and assimilation are once again on the rise. The fear against 'the other' is like as if it is chilling to the very marrows of our bones. A state of fear and paranoia boosted by politicians, newspapers, and televisions springing from living together with 'the others' having the potential of being a criminal any moment with their different outlook, different dress style, beard, turban, color... Immigrants, Muslims, the blacks, Pakistanians, Turks, Kurds, Algerians, Moroccans, and many others are potential criminals of today... Such situations of immigrant societies producing



parallel communities which have not adapted themselves with the system, not 'integrated', continuing to practice their own language, culture, and religious beliefs; is it the main reason for some problems that the western communities have been experiencing in the recent years, or such situations of theirs is a result of some preexisting structural problems? Why do immigrants still continue to be a 'problem' in societies where either multiculturalism or republican assimilationism approach is dominant? Why cannot multiculturalism meet the demands of immigrants?¹ Why cannot the republican approach assimilate the immigrants one way or the other?

The violence events broke out in the suburbs of Paris during the last week of October in 2005 and which afterwards spread to the other cities of France, Belgium, Holland, and even to Germany has again brought the problem of the integration of immigrants into the agenda. Upon the burning to death of two young people of North Africa origin in a power transformer while they were escaping from Paris police, millions of Muslim origin immigrants rushed out into the streets. Especially the subject of how to interpret the violent events and actions full of hatred commenced by third generation young people who are the children of the immigrants has become a primary agenda topic concerning the international community. The President of France makes indirect comments pointing out that the events are due to profound structural problems and he provides hints that he actually knows real cause of the problem; whereas the Minister of Internal Affairs Mr. Nicolas Sarkozy puts the blame on Muslim teenagers living in the suburbs and to define those people he used attributes like; 'dishonorable, vagrant, criminal, mob', and this approach showed that he made political maneuvers to get the support of French society. Due to French politicians and even intellectuals being very far away to have the intention of decreasing the tension in the public opinion by making crystal clear critical explanations regarding the main cause of the problem, it has unfortunately not been achieved to prevent the formation of camps in between the majority of the Catholic French society and approximately 5 million Muslim origin immigrants. Those discussions beginning in France has shortly spread to other European Union countries, and the concept of integration has been started to be underlined. The incidents in France have not only signified that the concept of integration should be examined beyond cultural assimilation, but also have provided clues on another important subject. This subject is; anti-immigrant, xenophobic and racist approaches, being implemented by some political powers regarding immigrants and foreigners

as a threat to national security, have such important 'symptoms'. The purpose of this article is -by criticizing the discourse of security- to propose some suggestions on how to overcome the resistance developed by immigrants against both republican and multicultural integration models.

FEAR IN POWER AND SECURITIZATION: A NEW TYPE OF GOVERNMENTALITY TOOL

New York (September 11, 2001; 3000 victims), Djerba (April 11, 2002; 21 victims), Bali (October 12, 2002), Casablanca (May 13, 2003; 33 victims), Riad (May 12 and November 8, 2003; 43 victims), Istanbul (November 15 and 20, 2003; 57 victims), Moscow (February 6, 2004; 41 victims), Madrid (March 11, 2004; 191 victims), Beslan (September 1, 2004; 330 victims), and London (July 7, 2005; 50 victims) bombings have globalized the fear against terrorism. This fear has a wide power area. That globalized mass fear, without a doubt, is a reason to generate suspects and potential criminals. The societies, when they feel that their existence and security are under threat, develop a reaction by themselves against the elements which they think are the reasons of the fear. This reaction, most of the time, is against 'the other' groups distracting the social homogeneity. In West, the target of such reactions may be foreigners, immigrants, Muslims, and other minorities. Although this fear -against the other, foreigner, immigrant, minority, Islam, the ones who are not "us"- comes out as a social reflex, the continuity is achieved through other elements. The most important element within this context is the discourse of security which we come across almost in all areas in the recent years.²

'Social security', 'security', 'national security', 'public security', 'the security of borders', 'security walls', 'security measures', 'elements threatening security', and many other concepts we have been hearing quite often in the recent years... We have witnessed security measures almost everywhere. At this stage, supposedly, 'security' is one of the sectors where people may highly 'benefit from'. It is for sure that the security companies are not the only ones benefiting from this. Another important party which benefits from the discourse of security may be the political powers. Today; modern states, where conservative parties are in power, have found their own way to feed from the fear in power which they have institutionalized by emphasizing the dominant social fear and reproducing it. Such parties in powers participating in politics by making use of that fear have turned fear into a type of governmentality tool.³ The government coming up with the 'information' that the national security is under threat and nationalizing this information



by ideological tools, makes the preexisting social fears absolute. From then on, the power is the 'power of fear'. With the most advanced technological intelligence techniques, police and military precautions, the modern state tries to resist all kinds of threat causing fear. The state obsessively evaluates almost everything within the discourse of security (securitization).

Following the September 11 terrorist events, it is observed that a general atmosphere of 'insecurity' is preeminent in the world. The elements threatening our national security are not bound to threats such as; the Super Powers dominant during the Cold War, political ideologies, and nuclear weapons. The elite governing the nation-states tend to define new threats beyond those traditional threats. Now; Islam, immigration, minorities and ethnical groups may be defined as threats against national security by political decision makers. 'The others within', different ethnical groups and immigrants may frequently be mentioned together with the concepts of human smuggling, drug smuggling, purse-snatching, and terror; are exposed to a continuous 'making the other' process and may be defined as 'elements threatening the national security and integrity'. For example, is not the atmosphere of 'insecurity' that has been spread widely by the Republicans 'successfully' from September 11 on the underlying reason for George W. Bush to be reelected as the President of USA after the November 2004 Presidency Elections? In today's world where uncertainty is preeminent, is not it the only solution that Bush knows in order to protect the voters against this insecurity; emphasizing his subjective 'moral' values and dividing the world into two as 'the kingdom of good' and 'the kingdom of evil'? ⁴

We have witnessed the segregationist social reflex against the foreigners and the other in USA, Holland, France, Spain, Turkey, Ireland, and many other countries within the recent years. The nationalist and xenophobic social reaction against increasing terror events and bombings has been determining the agenda in such countries. However the continuation or the termination of this reaction is dependent on the attitude of the political power. This nationalistic and 'patriotic' social reaction rising against especially the immigrants, Muslims, and the foreigners in West has been criticized by Social Democrats and The Greens in Germany, and they have strived to conduct politics in order to make living together with the others possible. Therefore; the Left and liberal governments, standing against the nationalistic social reflex, tried to divert the agenda to economical, political, and cultural distribution-sharing subjects.

Nevertheless, conservative governments in USA, Holland, France, and Ireland –by investing in the popular nationalistic reflex through an emphasis on the status quo– have tried to gain advantage on their sides and have taken informal nationalism to a formal level.

REPUBLICANISM AND MULTICULTURALISM ⁵

Today's nation-states are in a position to consider one of the two alternative political perspectives in administrating the national, ethnic, religious and cultural differences: republicanism or multiculturalism. The republican approach, with an assimilationist perspective, is unconcerned about the ethnical and cultural demands based on identity where multiculturalism has provided the minorities to mobilize themselves on the cultural and ethnical axis. Both approaches tend to exclude the minorities and the immigrants from political-public area. In other words, both approaches carry the risk of minoritizing the minorities more. There is no big difference between France –the most specific representative of Republican approach, having only one Muslim origin deputy in the Parliament where she has nearly 4 million Muslims in the population– and England having only four Muslim origin deputies in the Parliament where she has nearly 2 million Muslims in the population. Today, the essence of the problem –called as the radical Islam problem by the West– is the quest for political activity by Muslim origin groups which have got poor a great deal. The basic problem is the insufficient representation of those masses in the legal political arena which face structural segregationism, cultural racism, xenophobia, unemployment, and poverty.

The republican approach, instead of conducting politics by making references to dissimilarities, tries to create the political citizen through national education in an 'ultra-heterogeneous' style by taking religious, linguistic, racial, sexual differences into consideration. French Republicanism tradition, dating back to more than two hundred years, emphasizes that every single person who is within the France national boundaries and ready to imbibe the French values may become a French citizen. The Republicans, by reminding that respect to dissimilarities is a threat to the integrity of the society which is necessary to ensure the equality among the citizens, demonstrates oversensitivity about separations springing from multicultural approach. They do not find it correct to give such groups privileged 'group rights' as long as ethnical, religious, and cultural groups are concerned. They set forth the idea that special rights may not be provided to minority groups if the republican state will be loyal to the ideal of neutrality. The priorities



of the republicans are founded on the governance of the majority based on respect to personal rights that are beyond the group-oriented principles of being multicultural. However, today the French republican ideal has turned out to have an assimilationist predicament. French civilization project is exposed to significant criticism underlining that it is a citizenship model assimilating the foreigners -different in cultural, religious, and national aspects- through language, laicism, modernism, state-centered, west-centered universalism and reasoning. I think it is unnecessary to go over the similarities between the French republican tradition and the Turkish republican tradition. The assimilationist and segregationist republican approach trying to homogenize the dissimilarities, possessing the aim of creating a single type of political citizen faces critical threats in both countries today. The demands of the Muslims in France and Kurds in Turkey to participate in politics seem to be examinations to be passed by the traditional Republican approach.

On the other hand, multicultural approach claims to be important with regards to providing collective rights to minorities and helping the members of such groups to achieve personal freedom. It is beneficial to make a more detailed evaluation of multiculturalism which has been criticized in the recent years especially in the Western countries by many groups having various ideological standpoints. Fillon, French Minister of Social Affairs, regards multicultural approach as a threat against French values; Balkenende, Prime Minister of Holland, believes that being multicultural will fail to build a nation directly; Jose Aznar, former Prime Minister of Spain, thinks that multiculturalism will lead to national breakdown. Such approaches, as it may be easily comprehended, perceive the cultural and ethnical differences being visible in the public as a threat to national integrity. Multiculturalism, according to them, is an approach carrying the risk of separation and it has to be immediately given up. On the other side, the intellectuals who are more liberal and have a left tendency criticize multiculturalism from their own points of views. The representatives of that view -to be explained in greater detail in the next section- perceive multiculturalism as neo-nationalistic governance tool and express it carries the risk of making the ethno-cultural boundaries absolute. One may easily assume the reasons of the criticism directed by the conservatives regarding multiculturalism. It will not be noteworthy to spend time on such comments springing from state-centered, nationalist, ethnocentric, and assimilationist concerns. But it is important to understand the grounds of the criticism of the liberals and the Left.

MULTICULTURALISM: TURNING MINORITIES INTO TRIBES⁶

The minorities defining themselves on the axis of ethnicity and culture within the scope of multiculturalism and struggling on that axis leads to undervaluing of classificatory and political inequality they are subjected to. That is; although multiculturalism project has the objective of including the minorities to the reestablishment process of nation-state in some way or the other, it excludes those groups from what is political. On the other hand; the institutional bodies, where multiculturalism ideology is being practiced, encourage ethnic groups to preserve their 'authentic' cultures as 'different' and 'authentic' as possible and provide financial support to ethnical groups. The groups, in order to receive that financial support, start a process of 'turning into cults'. For this reason, 'multiculturalism' is actually an approach which does not allow cultural interaction and exchange, and where 'CULTures' totally different from one another have come together. The aim is to take the opposing attitude of ethnic groups under control which have the potential of being centrifugal force and are disadvantageous in their relations with the market. Thanks to this ideology that the minorities, take the shape predetermined by the society; in other words, they put the dress tailored for them on. We may even state that 'multiculturalism' ideology, based on its implementation in the West, is actually is very conservative with regards to its content and is not far from being a projection of the new-right policies. That is why 'multiculturalism' project, by how it is implemented today, turns cultures into 'CULT's which are far from being an alloy and a blend. Hence; it imprisons the groups within their current ethnical boundaries, who already have a lower rank due to being a minority, and causes reminoration⁷ and even turn them into tribes.

The process of turning into tribes presents similarities with the definition of 'postmodern tribes' which is expressed from time to time by French intellectual Michel Maffesoli and German sociologist Zygmund Bauman.⁸ As known, people living in today's modern metropolises struggle to find their own solutions for problems like; uncertainty, insecurity, poverty, inequality, loneliness, lack of communication, fear and the irresistible power of desires. Religious communities, fellow townsmen organizations, sects, local organizations, being a soccer club fan, epistemic communities, and the like are the easiest palliative for the individual. The urban areas of today, within that respect, provide the most appropriate grounds for such heteronomous tribe-like formations and life styles. The ideology of multiculturalism, taking into consideration with regards



to the platforms it presents to the minorities, contributes to the increase of postmodern tribal way of living.

Heteronomy, in other words, the submitting of oneself to the safe arms of the community is the end to autonomy. Autonomy, a strategy of existence developed by the modern individual against the feeling of loneliness and uncertainty s/he experiences increasingly in the urban area, may seem to be a way out for the individual but on the other side it may be the preparatory factor more critical social problems. The most important problem at this point is; it is almost impossible for such communities and tribes, whose boundaries have substantiated and become solid, to interact and communicate among themselves. Modern urban areas are like they are formed of such thousands of cultural archipelagos increasing in number very rapidly and not contacting with each other. It is not very likely for those groups, tangent to on another and having an introvert structure, to use politics as a tool which serve as a basis to solve the social problems. In the essence of politics lies communication in spite of every barrier. What Hibernas calls as 'communicative action' points out that mutual communication is a *sine qua non* in providing solutions to problems exerted to the sub-conscious of the society.⁹ Therefore, one of the basic dilemmas today is the interruption of democratic politics –the most important tool in solving the social problems- almost everywhere.

CONCLUSION: NEW FORMS OF EQUAL POLITICAL REPRESENTATION NEED TO BE DEVELOPED

It is crystal clear that structural problems faced by immigrants who have established similar communities in the West and experiencing the disadvantages of being a minority, Muslims and related minorities, cannot be solved by either Republican or multicultural approaches. The Republican approach evades

the identity based demands and dissimilarities; where multi-cultural approach imprisons the minorities in their own ethno-cultural isles. Both approached orient the minorities, immigrants, and Muslims towards establishing introvert, substantial, parallel communities. Such formations are nominees to be perceived as a huge threat by the majority societies which are already ethnocentric, nationalistic, sometimes xenophobic and racist. When social and national security is under threat by terror or similar events, 'the others' may easily be labeled as the primary suspects. The majority societies, in contexts where tension and violence are dominant, may mix symptoms and problems up. According to them, the main cause for violence and terror is 'the enemies within', in other words; foreigners, immigrants, Muslims. Nevertheless, the information that the aforementioned groups have actually formed communities as a result (symptom)¹⁰ of structural problems –such as; poverty, xenophobia, racism, inequality, and unemployment- which have already been existing should be made known in the public area. Political powers, political parties, intellectuals, and the media need to come up with approaches which will prevent the masses mixing the symptoms and the causes up. Today, in West and almost everywhere else, social movements against the system have been accelerating. Those movements may sometimes show themselves in the referendums for the Constitution of the European Union, and sometimes in the parallel communities established by the minorities, heteronomous tribe formations, sects, ethnical organizations. It is obvious that the only tangible solution is to realize the legal regulations which will provide the legal representation of all those formations and demand in the political context. The solutions proposed either by republican or multicultural approach are basically palliative ones. It is the time to give a serious thinking for developing equal political representation...

1. For France example where republican approach is dominant: S. Milner and N. Parsons (eds.), *Reinventing France: State and Society in the Twenty-First Century*. Hampshire: Palgrave, 2003; Hargreaves, Alec G., *Immigration, Race and Ethnicity in Contemporary France*, London: Routledge, 1995; for both Germany and France: A. Kaya and F. Kentel, (2005) *Euro-Turks: A Bridge or a Breach between Turkey and the European Union?* Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi University Publications.

2. About the Securitization of Immigration: R. L. Doty, "Immigration and the Politics of Security," *Security Studies*, 8, No. 2-3 (2000): 71-93; and J. Huysmans, "The Question of the Limit: Desecuritization and the Aesthetics of Horror in Political Realism," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol 27, No. 3 (1989): 569-589.

3. For further information on governmentality: Michel Foucault, "Governmentality" in J. D. Faubion (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, Vol 3, London: Penguin, 2000: 201-222. M. Foucault defines the concept of governmentality as a total set of methods which the political power utilizes in order to continue its governance or as the art of governing.

4. For further information: Peter Singer, *The President of Good and Evil*, New York, 2004.

5. I would kindly ask you to pay attention to the difference between the concepts 'multiculturalism' and 'being multicultural' used in the text. I use the term 'multiculturalism' as an ideology where I refer 'being multicultural' as a fact.

6. I borrowed the concept of 'turning into tribes' from Michael Maffesoli and used it in the text. M. Maffesoli, *The Times of the Tribes*, London: Sage Publications, 1996.

7. For further discussion on reminoration and being multicultural: Ayhan Kaya, *Small Istanbul in Berlin*, Istanbul: Buke Publishing, 2000.

8. M. Maffesoli, a.g.e.; and Z. Bauman, *Community: Seeking Safety in an Insecure World*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.

9. Jürgen Habermas, *Theories of Communicative Action* (İletişimsel Eylem Kuramları), Istanbul: Kabalıcı Publishing, 2001, Translated by: M. Tüzel.

10. Slavoj Žižek, gives a detailed explanation of the differences between causes and symptoms (results). S. Žižek, *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology*, London: Verso Books, 1999.



Cengiz CANDAR

Researcher - Author

Born in 1948 in Ankara. Graduated from the Department of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations of the Faculty of Political Sciences of Ankara University. Started his profession as a journalist at Vatan newspaper and carried on his profession at Turkish News Agency, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Güneş, Sabah newspapers. Currently working for Bugün newspaper. Besides various prizes awarded for journalism and news-making between 1980s and 1990s, he is the holder of Abdi İpekçi Peace and Friendship Prize that he particularly attaches importance and Tolerance Prize awarded by the Journalists and Writers Foundation.

The Fact of Migration in the World

It was a summer's day, more than 25 thousand years, but less than 40 thousand years ago, a Mongolian tribe arrived at the very east end of Siberia today, a place called Cape Dejnev. That location was about 50 kilometers south of the North Pole circle. Either this Mongolian tribe itself, or as far as the history is knowledgeable about, their fathers left the Gobi Desert. Because the land that Gobi Desert was located commenced to dry; as a matter of fact that was how the Gobi Desert formed. And traveling about five thousand kilometers and arriving at the very east end Siberia, 50 kilometers south of the North Pole circle was of course the edge of Bering Strait. And as they traveled from the Bering Strait for 25 miles, approximately 30-40 kilometers, they have reached to the very west end of United States of America lands today, the Seward Peninsula.

What do three great historians (I will be mentioning their names shortly) providing this information say? Our ancestors of Mongolian immigrants were the pioneers of that magnificent race which Christopher Columbus unintentionally named as 'Indians'. Those are the introductory sentences of a book entitled "A Concise History of the American Republic" written by 3 foremost American historians (Samuel Eliot Morison, Henry

Steele Commager, and William E. Leuchtenberg)...

What do you understand from all these? In fact, when you keep on reading, you notice that in that huge continent of America, either in the north or in the south, starting from the very top of Alaska going down to the very end of Patagonia –today's Argentina- the Indians have always existed. The Indians, having established important civilizations throughout history; Maya Civilization in Mexico, Inca Civilization in Peru, and again up until the 16th century the Aztec Empire and Civilization came on the scene in Mexico, have always been the possessors of the continent of America. And as I said; from Alaska to the very end of Patagonia... And their origin is a Mongolian tribe, and they have moved from where the Gobi Desert is due to drought more than 25 thousand years, but less than 40 thousand years ago according to estimations. What does that mean? It means; immigration has always existed. The history of immigration has formed with the known history of mankind. We are talking about some 25 to 40 thousand. The continent of America, today, composed of blonde people with blue eyes and white skin reached to its current situation upon another immigration wave. In the 9th century, the Norwegians



went and settled down the island called Iceland. And those Norwegians who have become Icelanders two hundred years later went to a place called Gronland today, and the people moved from their dwelling places to go to the north of Canada, Newfoundland –meaning ‘newly found land’, and up until the 16th century; that is during the reign of Kanuni Sultan Suleyman together with Sokullu Mehmet Pasha in Istanbul, there was not one single Englishman in the continent of America, not even one... There were the Indians... Christopher Columbus had the intention of going to India, and when he saw the Indians supposing that they were from India, named them as ‘Indians’, but it is translated into Turkish as Kizilderili (Redskin)* but they were already known as Indian (from India) by those who have the culture of Tommiks -Texas (informal Turkish word for comic books); they used to live in the continent of America for thousands of years... From hundreds of years ago on Scandinavians started to go to the continent of America. However at the beginning of 16th century, as of 1606 –four hundred years ago- they went to Virginia Maryland in the east of United States and Massachusetts (called New England) states and the geographical area those states cover; and the English people went to the English or Britain New Indian Islands of the Caribbean. The French settled down in the north region of Nova Scotia and the middle regions of Quebec State. The Hollanders came to New York at the beginning of the 17th century and named the place as New Nederland. That New York, due to drought, received many Irish immigrants. The hypograms caused by the development of anti-Semite movement together with nationalism; a great Jewish immigration from Belarus in Russia, or with its current name from Ukraine (end of 19th century, beginning of 20th century)... Afterwards, with the immigration she received from South Italy, poor regions of Italy; and finally during and after the First World War she received a great Chinese immigration and all that Hollandish characteristics disappeared; and the cosmopolite New York City we are familiar with appears. Taking these into consideration; we may say that immigration has always and all the time presented two particularities:

1-An obligation: As long as the mankind exists, the fact of immigration will exist as well due to obligation. That is to say; a situation in which the concepts of immigration and obligation gather. And immigration also means movement. Like Ilber Ortayli put forward in his speech; something that expresses the movement of mankind. When there is no immigration; freezing, fossilism, rotting, or ‘vanishing’ in a sense

begins. Therefore; immigration, at the same time, signifies dynamism, a movement. Immigration, as I just explained in the formation of America –the part I mentioned about how that uninhabited continent was populated; we may understand that it happens in accordance with geographical condition. For example drought, or ‘ecological imbalance’ as we may put with the popular expression of today; an obligation. It takes place due to obligation. The obligation caused by geographical conditions.

2-Another type of immigration is the one caused by fear, difficulties, political reasons, and violence; immigration due to pressure; or population changes. This is valid for our country as well; for Turkey’s formation. I will be mentioning about this later on.

When we take a look at Europe –the formation of the political body that we are trying to integrate with-, the neighboring geographical area; we may see that the many examples of the type of immigration caused by fear, violence, exiles, political reasons are present and many times as much in the Europe. Especially, after the Second World War, recognized as the most well-established continent, and even attributed with outdated references by being called as ‘old continent’, has undergone great demographical changes due to political reasons just about fifty years ago. In the Second World War, the civilian deaths were fighting in the battlefields and keeping the lost people in uniforms aside and forgetting about them, the civilian deaths, the population unable to fight is 19 millions in Europe... In Berlin alone the number of deaths is seventy-eight thousand. In Poland (became a member of the European Union last year) the number of people lost their lives during the Second World War is 5 million. In the geographical area where a couple of republics exist today –the country we know as Yugoslavia- this number is 1.5 million. In Greece –population never increases, but always is continuously decreased- the population is about 7 million currently (total population of Greece is about half of Istanbul’s) 430 thousand people – that is 30-40% of the whole population- died during the Second World War. It is noteworthy that this number is composed of civilians, not soldiers. Likewise, 270 thousand people in the small country of Hungary, 204 thousand people in Holland, 200 thousand in Romania, these are remarkable figures... And almost 6 million Jewish people either died or moved from their settlements. What do all these deaths got to do with immigration? After the Second World War, as we examine the number of deaths, we may have an idea about the size of demographical changes within settlements to a certain extend. For example



Germany; there are two places forming Czech Republic; the geographical names are Bohemia and Moravia, and there was also Slovakia. Those three were called as Czechoslovakia. As we all know Slovakia separated. The remaining Czech area is composed of Bohemia and Moravia. According to population census carried out in 1930 in those two places; 29% -one third- of the population is German; and according to 1950 census, 1% of the population is German. There were 623 thousand Germans in Hungary before the War; but afterwards none. In Romania there were 768 thousand, but then none. There were 500 thousand in Yugoslavia, but none then. And in Poland there were 1.3 million, but after the war: none. They did not disappear because they died; they were exiled. During 1947-1949, first couple of years after the war, America received a population of 400 thousand people from Europe. 157 thousand went to Canada, 182 thousand went to Australia; immigration... And half of that 182 thousand is Polish and Baltic. Now, the question is; where is Australia, where are the Baltic states, and where is Poland?

A couple of interesting figures: in the year 1953, during the time the war was about to end, the foreign workforce in Germany -but when saying foreign workforce, but not a workforce like the ones went from Anatolia in 1960s; the ones not going there purposefully, but the ones who were taken there, who were forcefully taken to Germany from the countries Germany invaded- was about 7.5 million people. It is such an enormous figure. Some of those people either stayed in Germany after the war; nobody knows what happened afterwards. Even if they returned their homelands, there is a complete chaotic situation. Therefore there is also that dimension of immigration; violence and forcing. If we may put it with a concept that already exists in our history, forced emigration is a type of immigration. That is to say, based on a political decision, -let alone the discussions on whether it was a genocide or not- there is a stable nature about immigration; there exists a forced emigration. In other words, it is about to transfer a community from one place to another. That is also a type of immigration. It brings economical, social, and political problems as well. As you start to talk about immigration, you cannot help yourself talking about its derivatives; political problems dimension, economical problems dimension, cultural problems it causes, social problems...

You take a look at the birth date of a person. You notice that person, being born in Sweden, is a child of a family which escaped from Bosnia due to atrocities. We will come across such names unexpectedly. For example, German Nation Football

Team has a black player called Asamoah where racial citizenship is given importance and the concept of German is highly emphasized. He is from Ghanaian and German. We do not witness an immigration wave in Europe like the one that happened in Yugoslavia which was based on violence, but there is another important immigration wave coming from North Africa; Ayhan Kaya just mentioned about the clash of the suburbs in Paris within the context of France. That also brings up some political situations. Yes, it is correct; in 1860s, in the 19th century, if we need to attribute it with a current expression, in a way that it may be called as a ethnic cleansing, upon the exile of the Muslim Cherkez -just like it happened in Bosnia 10 years ago- tens of thousands of Cherkez people have come to Turkey. She, after 1877-78 Ottoman Russia War -known as the 93 War in our history- has received immigration from the Balkans, Caucasus, the fronts, lost territory, Muslim uninhabited lands. Likewise, this country received immigration in 1912 during the Balkan War, upon the loss of Thrace which was regarded the heart of the Ottoman Empire, with huge Muslim immigration waves. During the first years of our republic established after a national struggle, the country also received immigration through family exchange from Greece, and gave immigration out; the Rums (Ottoman Greeks) and the Armenian population by exiling them. Later, during and after the Second World War, Muslim communities from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria came to this country by immigrating. Now, there is a strange picture. It will also provide helpful information to current political discussion. The formation of Turkish public -excluding the Kurds- is mainly by immigrations. That is to say, we are not here as a continuation of Oguz Tribe or Kayi Tribe. So the demographical contribution of Turks to the concept of Turk as a continuation of those 5 arrows from today's Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan and also the contribution of those to the formation of the concept of Turk coming from the Balkans and the Caucasus is very critical. There are no dependable figures. The valuable Professor Mr. Kemal Karpat, who was mentioned among the speakers in this symposium, has a study on Ottoman population between the year 1830-1914 and how that population formed. And that book is in English, printed back in 1985. It was not allowed to be translated. It was asked to be translated... I personally listened to the story from Kemal Karpat, so I may tell you this: He was asked to change some words used in the book, some ethnicity names which might have caused problems in the political context of Turkey in 1980s. One cannot conduct an academic research by changing the names. What you can do is to have an exact translation in Turkish. And if you do that, either you will be sued or the



book will be collected. Maybe today that book can be published; but at the end of the day, the information about one of the most critical periods (1830-1914; 84 years, roughly a hundred years) regarding the demographic formation of our country is in English. I went over the maps of the same book... There were maps. Who was where, with how much population...? Population distribution, etc... In the European Turkey map, Bihac is the end point (today in Bosnia), and Bihke was typed. And I looked at the map; 1877-78 it was Turkey before it was taken over by Austria. I checked the very end city, in the east; Basra. And there is a map of Iraq; it was not called Iraq that time of course. It exhibits a structure different than today's southeast and Iraq structure. And after 100 years, a completely different demography came on the scene.

As a result, immigration exists from the immemorial and it seems it will exist till eternity as long as the mankind exists. It is an immemorial and an eternal fact. And there is immigration because there is a geographical area, there is the hope of peo-

ple longing for a better life, there is the instinct of changing a place, there are political reasons, war, violence... And in these days, the age as we put it 'the age of globalization', on one hand provides excellent opportunities for the mankind but causes great imbalances on earth; imbalance in income distribution, settlement of the rich in specific locations on earth... And all these are the factors that will trigger immigration in the world. Therefore handling the fact of immigration, without making an interdisciplinary study, is almost impossible. I believe it is very meaningful that this symposium is organized by Zeytinburnu Municipality -the most cosmopolite municipality of Thrace immigrants in Istanbul; a cosmopolite city of immigrants-. I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate them and I wish this symposium will be a success. Mr. Chairwoman, thank you very much for your patience.

Translator's Note: Kizilderili (Redskin) does not have an offensive connotation in Turkish language.



Dr. Ibrahim SIRKECI

European Business School London

Currently working as a lecturer at the European Business School London (EBSL). Before EBSL, he worked at the Sociology Department of the Bristol University in UK and the Faculty of Business Management of Ankara Atılım University as a lecturer. Later, started his Master's Degree studies at Hacettepe University in the field of Economic and Social Demography and completed his studies at the Sheffield University in UK in 2002 on the level of Doctorate Degree.

Individual Overcoming Efforts vs. Global Control Effort: The evolution of International Immigration in the examples of Turkey and Iraq

As of the year 2002, it is estimated that the number of people living in a different country s/he is a citizen of or the country s/he was born in is 190 million; that is to say, approximately 3% of the world population (UN 2004). We may not be sure about how many may be added to that number as unregistered immigration, naturalized foreigners, or second and third generations. Moreover, domestic immigration witnessed in many countries and people who were forced to move their settlements may also be added. For example, in China, that number is nearly 150 million (IOM 2005).

We may list the general latest trends in international immigration as follows:

The countries behind the periphery of traditionally immigra-

tion receiving countries have rapidly started to receive immigration.

The origin nationalities of immigrations have varied and the validity of geographical proximity models have significantly decreased.

Terror and security have started to dominate the discussions on immigration; and affected the immigrations and the lives of immigrants negatively. The moral panic developing within the framework of immigration and seeking refuge highly accelerates xenophobia.

At the same time, relative poverty increased for the immigrants in the traditionally immigration receiving countries where immigration is uncontrollable and is in coordination



with economical stagnation. In other words; those countries have their own third world. This situation causes an increased tension with local population. Latest examples have been observed in France.

In the same way, USA and other ally countries, as a response to their aggressive politics throughout the world, have gained hatred and in within that context displeasure raised against the immigrant population. This situation has been a negative one with regards to integration-harmonization efforts.

The circular characteristics of international immigration have strengthened through the development of transnational networks and the effects of intellectual immigration.

Traditional immigration receiving countries have started to give immigration out; intellectual immigration and the immigrations of retired people may be evaluated within this context.

Upon the increase in the visibility of immigration, more and widespread collaborations have been observed among the controlling agents.

Europe accommodates a significant portion of that population. According to the data of European Commission; European Union having 15 members accommodates more than 13 million immigrants and 700 thousand new immigrants are being added to that number every year. European Union having 25 members is afraid of immigration movements that are likely to spring from the new members; however it is important to remember that previous enlargements have not caused such an immigration pressure (Krieger 2004).

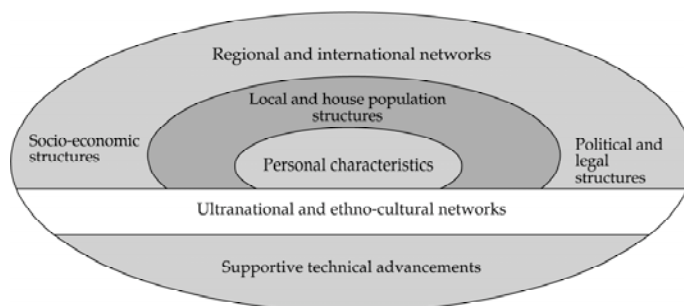
Turkey, especially within EU scale, is an important country giving immigration out. Approximately 3.6 to 4 million citizens live outside of Turkey legally. Another 1 million may be added to that number taking the number of people who have become the citizens of the country they have immigrated to. In the last ten years, in Germany alone, more than 600 thousand Turks have become German citizens. Nevertheless, in relation with the development of the country in the recent years, Turkey has become a country which is receiving immigration. In the upcoming term, the basic issue of Turkey will be to manage those immigration movements and to protect European Union borders at the same time.

Iraq, like the other Gulf countries, was a country that was receiving immigration. The group, mostly formed of contract workers, has lost their settlement areas after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait (Russell, 1992). Iraqi immigrants were not heard about much up until 1980s, but in the last 25 years, the

number of Iraqis in the developed countries has reached to 500 thousand -90% of which are refugees (Sirkeci 2005a). The uncertain climate of the country and the political spats among the minorities are signs that irregular immigrations are likely to continue.

The protective and restrictive immigration regimes planned on national and regional levels are in contradiction with the increasing free movement of capital, goods, and investments. As politically wider stability areas emerge, this fluidity increases and forms a more significant asymmetry. And this asymmetry tries to correct itself through fugitive, unregistered, or irregular immigration (UN 2004). At the same time, international immigration (especially springing from the older colonies) may be perceived as the battle field of a historical account that has become visible with countries and the poverty of the immigrants of the countries. Ethnical discrimination, barriers in the social and work life decreased the trends of integration among the immigrants. It will appropriate to handle the issue of international immigration with such a comprehensive clashing approach.

Therefore; when we take a look at the international immigration discussions today; two elements attract attention: a) reasons increasing the pressure of immigration, b) effort to take the increased pressure of immigration under control. These two main forces determine how immigration will be described and realized. However it is not possible to state that the basic equation of immigration has changed. National and international inequalities in income levels, imbalanced distribution of working conditions, tensions in the area of political, ethnic, religious, and similar cultural rights compose the skeleton of the immigration's repulsion and attraction factors. Additionally, the characteristics and the decision of the people in the house together with the characteristics, fields of interest, and requirements of the individual are involved in the basic functionality of immigration behavior. (Figure 1)





A significant part of immigration movements is from relatively underdeveloped to the developed. It is of course necessary to evaluate that oppositeness not only in terms of economical development but also in relation with political and cultural development. The becoming of immigration movements problematic is closely related with rapid globalization. The flow of capital and goods brings up the movement of human resources. An international immigration from underdeveloped countries to the richer countries and centers is about the requirements of professional and low quality personnel in parallel with the increase of welfare level. Business environments, from time to time, expresses and supports that demand. However higher levels of unemployment in those countries –for example 10% in Germany, creates public pressure and even the liberal parties in many countries are directed towards populist anti-immigration and immigrant policies.

This dilemma also springs from the incompatibility of the selectiveness of immigration and selectiveness of the industry. While the qualified and professional employment markets in developed countries are unable to attract sufficient number of immigrants, the demand for unqualified immigrants is like a dwarf against the pressure of immigration. That is to say; there is an incompatibility in between the regions that are most willing to immigrate and the requirements of the workforce markets of the immigration receiving countries.

We know that various models to explain the immigration movements have been proposed. Some of them emphasize the economical imbalance (double-markets, neo-classical approach, etc.) and some attribute importance individual and psychological elements. Mezzo level elements have been underlined in some of those studies emphasizing the insufficiencies of the macro and micro level approaches. However those traditional approaches have left their places to more holistic –and in my point of view; more realistic- approaches which perceive immigration as a process within globalization; because relatively stronger / richer people in terms of social and human capital are involved in immigration movements rather than the poor. Moreover, those movements expose structures not in between two ends (sending/receiving countries) but structures which have longer terms and the characteristic of a circulation. Trans-nationalism (or ultra-nation) approach which has been extensively discussed recently emphasizes that processing, and the potential of being an interest to and connecting with more than two geographical areas.

Therefore, it is possible to understand the immigration move-

ment of an immigrant setting off his journey from a village in Afghanistan, reaching firstly to Moscow and then to England with the help of fake documents; or someone settling in Istanbul who actually set off from Africa with the hope of immigrating to Western Europe.

At this point, I will be considering the immigrations from Turkey and Iraq within the framework of the clash I have stated above; the clash between the individuals willing to immigrate and the agents trying to control the immigration.

LATEST IMMIGRATION MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE

In parallel with the trends I have listed at the very beginning, we come across 3 basic changes in the immigration movements that have taken place in Europe within the last 30-40 years. 1) The volume of international immigration has enlarged, countries receiving and giving immigration have varied –for example; because of regional integration and development projects –such as EU- countries giving immigration out previously has become immigration receiving countries. Similarly, the collision of Soviet Union caused Russia Federation to become the second in the most immigration receiving countries (Iontsev and Aleshovski, 2005). 2) The composition of immigration has changed and varied. There is currently a mixed structure which we cannot simply group as; guest workers, worker families, and political refugees. Together with globalization; cultural differences have been brought into the agenda in relation with international immigration and have been started to be handled with discussions on terrorism. This has taken place both in general public, media and the policies of the governments.

According to various researches, (Lewitt and Waters, 2002; Castles and Miller 2003) the following factors have been important in the increase of international immigration lately:

- a) Implementation of temporary workers programs especially in Europe in 1990s as a result of increased workforce requirements.
- b) The contribution of implementing family unifications.
- c) The development of transnational networks including countries receiving and giving out immigrations.
- d) Economical and demographical imbalance among developed countries and the others.
- e) Transforming of South and Middle European immigration giving countries into receiving immigration ones.
- f) Extensive refugee and asylum seeking immigrations.



g) An increase in the international mobility of educated and qualified professionals.

h) Illegal or irregular immigrations becoming widespread.

If we also take the immigration movements in Asia and Russia into consideration, we may observe that it is a much more dynamic world today in comparison with 20 years ago.

In another research these two interesting references are provided together (Franck Düvell, 2005, 23):

International Organization for Migration asked the Turkish government to prevent illegal immigration and struggle against human smuggling in 1944-5. Approximately 5 years later, the German newspaper *Tageszeitung* reports 'out of 139 people trying to make their way to Turkey from the Iranian border, 9 were shot to death and 5 were injured.'

This example is a good one to the aforementioned tension. The individual who wants to immigrate finds the nation-state willing to protect her sovereignty.

Terror threats and activities have been recently mentioned together with immigration. Especially in the summer of 2005, after the bombings in London in July 7; and after that the suburban rebels in France has brought the relation between terror and immigration to the agenda once again. Blair government has tried to amend the penalty procedural code in order to take the terrorist suspects into custody for 90 days before their trial. This, probably the most reactionary attempt of the century, was rejected in the Parliament.

Sasskia Sassen, in an article he wrote following the 11th of September 2001 attacks, has made determinations regarding the relation of terror and immigration and emphasized the inevitability of such a situation. According to Sassen; the underlying reasons of the problem are international inequalities and injustices. The debt pressures on the third world countries feed underdevelopment and increase the problems and the pressure in immigration; therefore, the problems move to 'rich west' and presents danger (2001). In USA and England; thousands of Muslims were arrested, taken into custody, and hundreds of thousands of them were harassed in some way or the other based on those threats. I think this is the most important transformation that international immigration has undergone.

Because together with this, both immigrant receiving mechanisms become more disciplined, and the life spaces of the immigrants are restricted. This also leads to an increase in xenophobia, especially against the Muslims.

In other words, the war between the individual who wants to

immigrate and the agent who wants to control that is getting hotter. The legal ways to immigrate to developed western countries are limited and for some regions they have vanished. However, at this point, we also have to remember that similar changes are observed not only in the North but also in the South. Thailand-Bangladesh border is as dangerous and pervious as Spain-Morocco border.

We see that the controlling efforts against the wish for immigration, as pointed out in various researches, have not been very quite successful (Cornelius et al. 2004). The mechanisms which have not been very successful in controlling immigration may not be triumphant in their efforts against terrorism. For example; the 'suspect' killed by the police in the London tube was neither Muslim nor a terrorist. Today, the current situation is more like a witch-hunt.

IMMIGRATING ABROAD FROM TURKEY

Turkey, almost traditionally, has been mentioned as a late participant of international immigration. However, today, she has become one of the most important elements of international immigration; both with her population of over 4 million people living abroad and her location with regards to international immigration routes. Turkey is located in an important and critical situation; being a transit area connecting Middle-East and Africa to Europe, and in the near future prospecting to be the most problematic border of the European Union. Last but not the least; it is also important that more than one third of the Muslim population in Western Europe is from Turkey. But in the following three days, we will be talking a lot on Turkish immigrations and I will be keeping this section short by simply underlining a couple of items.

We may roughly talk about 4 periods when we take a look at the immigration abroad from Turkey.

1. The first period, from 1960s to the first half of 1970s, when workers immigrations for employment purposes dominated in relation with the intergovernmental agreements.
2. The period till 1980s determined by family combination immigrations and variation of immigration receiving countries in spite of the will of immigration receiving countries to stop workers immigrations due to energy crisis and economical stagnation.
3. Period of refugee immigrations following military coup d'état.
4. The last period when the asylum seekers' movement with regards to Kurdish problem hitting the peak in 1990s and



unregistered immigration movements mixing into one another. During those periods, we come across 7 types of immigrant categories:

Guest worker - immigrant worker

Family combinations

Political immigrants - asylum seekers

Refugees

Fugitives - unregistered immigrants

Students

Professionals

These are the categories I came across while carrying out my research in 1999-2002 on Kurds emigrating from Turkey to Germany and they are frequently encountered in the literature of immigration. Typological studies tend to describe them with opposite categories like economical – political, immigrant – refugee. However the reality is; it is almost impossible to differentiate them from one another due to their reasons or motivations.

For example, a person making his way from Varto to Germany in order to go to university a couple of months before the military coup d'état took place in 1980, summarizes his immigration as such:

On paper, I came to go to university; but actually I came to settle down, I escaped... What was I supposed to do in Turkey? We were punished whenever we spoke in Kurdish in the school. You will either live in the mountains or escape. We have already cowered in fear, and happened the coup d'état, and martial law was declared (Sirkeci 2003b).

Later on, he got married there, established a business, and settled down. He currently lives with his five children and active in Islamic movements.

With out traditional categories, we may name this as 'intellectual immigration', or we may call a worker immigrant. However, there is also a political immigration emphasis; with regards to being against the coup d'état, ethnical pressure, and terror; and being in favor of Islamic movement. That person, living in a village in Eastern Anatolia, decided to go abroad thinking that he will not be able to stand ethnical pressures, and hence achieve the immigration project by higher education plan. He immigrated as a student; but this is an example having strong economical and political motives.

So, is political immigrant or asylum seeker refugee immigration clearer? Let us take a look at this example:

Only a few people have immigrated from our village previously. I thought we had the chance to get a residence permit as we were Kurds. Everyone was going to Germany; I decided to try my chance. I thought that I would find a job and make a lot of money; but they did not give me a work permit. They have placed us in refugee –custody- center and banned us to go more far then 30 kilometers. I was working at restaurants illegally and was making about 300 Euros a month. This is not good money. Everyone in Turkey expects me to send them money. I am planning to get involved in drug business. They say there is good money in that (Sirkeci 2003b)...

That person first comes to Istanbul in 1998, and then goes to Bosnia, Croatia, Hungary, and over Austria to Germany. He applies for political asylum, lives in a kind of a jail; he is an elementary school graduate, and is employed illegally. He borrowed the money which he gave to smugglers; and he needs to pay that money back. However his special story shows us that it is an example of an illegal or irregular immigration having strong economical motives.

In another example, we see that classifications are insufficient; because some legal based categories undervalue dynamic conflict relation between immigrant worker, refugee, and similar agents willing to immigrate and agents wishing to control that process. So, as the way to being an immigrant worker is hindered, the worker willing to immigrate is labeled as refugee (Sirkeci 2003a).

Today, we estimate that there are about more than 4 million Turkish people in the countries traditionally receiving immigration from Turkey. Amongst them are Turkish citizens, the one who have changed their citizenship, and unregistered immigrants. We do not know about their ethnical distribution; we do not have reliable data on this issue. However the estimations point out the fact that approximately between one-fourth and one-third of them is a Kurdish population from Turkey. As shown in previous examples; it is almost impossible to classify them with regards to immigration reasons and types; and the form of the immigration differs depending on the height and the strength of immigration walls.

IRAQ AND INTERNATIONAL IMMIGRATION: KURDS AND TURKMENS

There are not many researches on immigrations from Iraq. In the research that was published in the magazine called International Migration, I tried to demonstrate the recent immigrations and how those immigrations affected immigra-



tion abroad in relation with the ethnical clashes during or after the wars Iraq participated and Saddam regime. Iraq, especially within the last 25 years while having war with Iran, was on the immigration agenda of Turkey and the world due to attacks of Saddam on Kurds, Turkmens, and other ethnical minorities; and during the two Gulf Wars.

The promise that the last Iraqi War would bring economical welfare and political stability was an incredible one to believe in; and we see the impossibility clearer today. The new USA-guided parliament, government, and the state structure are far from being promising. Even though the election of Celal Talabani, the leader of a minority within the minority, as the president of the state may seem to be startling and far from becoming real, it reminds the killings of the majority Hutus by the minority Tutsis (10%) in Rwanda in 1990s. The injustices the Kurds -subcontractor winner of the war- made to other minorities during the election time were partially heard: even the election boxes were not sent to some densely Asurian and Turkmen populated regions Malko, 2005). The Telafer Operation in September may also be connected with a similar ethnical assimilation. Those clashes are like messengers of probable long-term conflicts and consequently more serious immigration movements from relevant regions. The groups bored of or avoiding ethnic clashes will think about immigrating to other countries.

According to the research I carried out back in 12 Iraqi cities in the summer of 2004 with the support of Institute of Global Strategy, based on the effects of the data-provided immigration networks, it is almost certain that the direction of those possible immigrations will be towards Turkey and Europe. We do not have accurate records providing information on the Iraqi population abroad. However, we know that in some developed countries, there are around fifty thousand immigrants as of 2001 and some 400 thousand refugees as of 2002 (Sirkeci 2005a). During the Iraqi elections in January 2005, it was emphasized that there are 250 to 400 thousand Iraqis in England alone and 150 thousand of them had the right to vote (Hurst, 2005). If we take into consideration the 2001 and 2002 data for England provides the information that there were about 50 thousand people, we may say that there has been an incredible increase in Iraqi population in the last 3-4 years. Supposedly, a very big portion of that population falls under the category of irregular immigration.

The clash in Iraq example has a different axis of development. The war of global energy sharing has been traumatizing a geographical area on one hand and also forces the people to move from their settlements on the other. When the internal ethnical

tensions in Iraq are added to that, at least in the coming period, we may estimate the tendencies of impoverished Iraqi minorities to immigrate will increase. Those elements willing to immigrate will prefer asylum seeking, education and illegal immigration channels and will create newer ways.

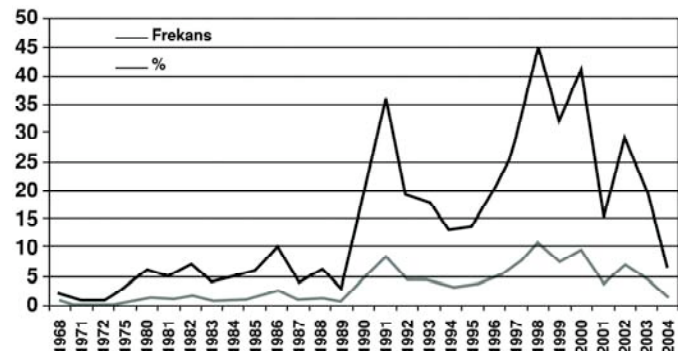
During the research in Iraq, we conducted interviews in 1040 houses and studied the immigration experience and tendencies of nearly 5000 people. The concurrency of immigrations and periods of war and ethnic clashes in Iraq strike one's eyes (Figure 2).

Figure 2 - The years Iraqi Turkmens immigrated abroad

Note: The research was carried out in June-July 2004

In the research, the people who have immigrated previously and 10% of non-immigrants plan to go abroad within a year; however, they took the second place with 31 percent due to reasons like security, terror, and war (Sirkeci 2005b).

When we take a look at the situation with regards to the struggle between controlling agents and the agent willing to immi-



grate; the case is as follows: 43% of Iraqi Turkmens stated that they would go abroad through illegal ways if they were obliged to. At the same time, 61% of the respondents stated that they know at least 1-2 people who have gone abroad illegally. 50% of the immigrants have entered the country they have immigrated to without a visa (Sirkeci, 2005b).

If we take into consideration that the majority of Turkmen immigrations were directed towards Turkey (38%), Germany (21%) and other European countries (28%), it is much likely that the forthcoming immigrations are apt to have a similar pattern (Sirkeci, 2005b).

CONCLUSION

Theorizing international immigration within the framework of the clash between the regulatory agents of immigration and immigrating agents may make it easier to understand the



immigration movements. It is necessary to consider that clash in relation with the asymmetry that immigrations are insistent-ly wanted to be limited in spite of the rapid increase in the circulation of goods and capital together with globalization. Another third important point is the appearance of poor and uneasy immigration masses which has developed and became visible under the yoke of economical stagnancy and ethnical discrimination in immigration receiving countries. The aggressive policy which makes Islam 'the other' and mostly named as the Clash of civilizations feeds the uneasiness of those immigrant masses.

The regulatory efforts regarding immigration, especially in the levels of governments and states, have been unsuccessful. Many studies (Cornelius et al. 2004) prove that with examples from various countries. This situation results in the pressures of immigration receiving countries to periphery and immigration giving countries and they also tend to take various measures. However the observation is; Turkey and Iraq examples together with the immigration movements in the world generally brings out the fact that regulatory efforts led to different immigration methods rather than preventing immigrations to take place. There is a direct relationship between regulatory efforts and the transformation of immigration movements.

Controlling efforts are destined to be unsuccessful as they interfere with a 'result'. Because as long as the reasons for immigration exist, the legal regulations will either bring destructive consequences or they will simply watch individuals, willing to immigrate, finding new ways in order to realize their wish. We have witnessed some of those destructive results; people choked, were shot to death or injured at our boundaries. Tens of Chinese immigrants who choked and died

in a long vehicle in Ireland or the illegal immigrants who drowned in the Aegean Sea are bitter examples of such a situation. I believe anti-immigration regulatory efforts will not be very active. It will be appropriate to expect people to move rapidly in a world where the economical relations are rapidly globalizing. That is to say; it will not be a solution to make some countries and regions safe and prosperous places.

It seems it is not possible to overcome the problem completely by the rules of the market. As long as the third world is on its own with debts and ethnic disagreements, it is impossible to find solutions to international immigration and related problems (like terrorism). The higher the walls are, the more likely the crimes such as human smuggling will take place more frequently (Sassen, 2001).

Turkey is getting involved in a group of countries which is receiving immigrations with an increasing pace. Although Turkey has been on the agenda with transit immigrations and its situation in the illegal immigration network within the last 15-20 years, she may face with the typical problems south European Countries currently experience in a near future. Therefore; it is necessary to develop healthy immigration laws and mechanisms within the framework of long-term plans.

We may expect an increase in the number of immigration receiving/giving countries, the number immigrants, and transnational circulation in accordance with international immigration tendencies. It is also very likely that immigration typologies will probably have various irregular types with regards to control efforts on immigration. However, another significant inclination will be the feeling of poverty more severely of the immigrant communities in the rich countries they have immigrated to.

REFERENCES

- AP (Associated Press) (2005) "Troops launch offensive on Iraq town", Saturday, September 10, *The Guardian*, online: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/international/story/0,1567068,00.html> (examined on November 28, 2005).
- Castles, S. ve Miller, Mark J. (2003) *The Age of Migration*, Third edition, New York: Guilford.
- Cornelius, Wayne, Takeyuki Tsuda, Philip L. Martin, ve James F. Hollifield (2004) *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, 2nd edition, Stanford University Press and CCIS, California.
- Düvell, Frank (2005) "Globalisation of migration control: a tug of war between restrictions and human agency", in Henke, H. (ed.) *Crossing Over: Comparing Recent Migration in the United States and Europe*, Lexington Books, New York, pp.23-46.
- Hurst, Greg (2005) "Voting in Glasgow for a Baghdad MP", January 14, *The Times*, p.43, online: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=778991281&sid=7&Fmt=3&clientId=43137&RQT=309&VName=PQD> (examined on November 18, 2005).
- IOM (2005) *World Migration 2005: Costs and Benefits of International Migration* International Organization for Migration (IOM).
- Iontsev, V. ve Aleshkovski, I. (2005) "The role of international migration in the demographic development in Russia", V. Iontsev et al. (eds.) *International Migration Trends*, Scientific Series International Migration of Population: Russia and Contemporary World, Volume 15, Department of Population, Moscow State University Lomonosov, Moscow, MAX-Press, pp.99-105.
- Krieger, Hubert (2004) *Migration trends in an enlarged Europe*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg.
- Malko, Odisho (2005) "No votes in Nineveh, Iraqi Assyrians are victims of Kurdish ethnic cleansing", Wednesday, February 12, *The Guardian*, online: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,1423209,00.html> (examined on November 11, 2005).
- Russell, S.S. (2002) "International migration and political turmoil in the Middle East", *Population and Development Review*, 18(4): 719-727.
- Sassen Saskia (2001) "A message from the global south", Wednesday, September 12, *The Guardian*, online: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,550358,00.html> (examined on September 15, 2005).
- Sirkeci, İbrahim (2005a) "War in Iraq: environment of insecurity and international migration", in *International Migration*, vol 43, No.4, pp.197-214.
- Sirkeci, İbrahim (2005b) *Turkmen in Iraq and International Migration of Turkmen*, Institute of Global Strategy, Ankara, Turkey.
- Sirkeci, İbrahim (2003a) *Migration, Ethnicity and Conflict, The Environment of Insecurity and Turkish Kurdish International Migration*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, UK.
- Sirkeci, İbrahim (2003b) "Migration from Turkey to Germany: an ethnic analysis", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Vol.2003, No.28-29, p.189-208.
- UN (2004) *Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2003 Revision. Diskette Documentation*, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division Working Paper No. ESA/P/WP.188.



Dr. Mehmet MUEZZINOGLU

AK Party Istanbul Provincial Chairman

Born in 1955 in the Western Thrace/Komotini. After graduating from Cerrahpaşa Medical School of the Istanbul University, he completed his specialization on Internal Diseases at Haseki Education and Research Hospital. Currently serving as the Chief Executive Officer of a private hospital at Avcılar. Speaks Greek and he is the Chairman of AK Party Istanbul Province.

An Immigration Story: Story off Immigration from West Trakia to Anatolia

I would like to thank to our Mayor for bringing an issue which concerns millions of people by such a good organization.

I, unlike to other speakers, am not a specialist on the issue. I am an example of first hand experience, if I may use the expression, and I have not carried out any researches about the issue in the academic sense. However, I am here as a person who has experienced many different dimensions phase by phase from the day I was born and to the day I have come here, has paid the high prices, got to know people in similar situations, and as a person who has the capability of understanding those people in terms of the prices paid, and establishing empathy with them. Therefore; unlike other speakers, I may inevitably have to use the word 'I', so I apologize from you all in advance.

I will try to reflect the incident of immigration by making references to my own life. I was born in Gumulcine (Komotini), West Trakia in 1955. Within the scope of Lausanne Agreement; I am one of the nearly 120 thousand Muslim Turks left in West

Trakia. I was a Greek citizen in my childhood and juvenile years due to the city I was born in, how I was born or the beginning of the process of being where I am here today was like that. I had my elementary and secondary school education in Greece, West Trakia, Komotini, Kozlubekir village.

I will try to emphasize why I was –or hundreds of thousands from West Trakia were- obliged to immigrate starting with a couple of memories from my childhood. My memories take me back to when I was 5-6, 7-8 years old. We had a grocery store in the village when I was 7-8 years old. I used to go to the store to help my father after school. One day, there was an inspection; they fined us. When I asked why, the reason was; the floor of the store was concrete; we were fined due to not having the floor coated with plaster. They said, 'This is a grocery store. In these empty places microbes may reproduce; therefore –cannot remember the term now- you have to coat it.' That was the reason for the fine. In about three month's time, yet



another inspection... The floor was coated in order not to be fined again. But we were fined again. What is that fine for? If the floor is wet, it is going to be slippery, and the customer will slip and fall. So, in the first case microbes reproduce, and the customer falls on the floor in the second. What is the purpose? It means I will not let you to get strong economically. Those were the results of an assimilation of a population.

At those ages again, I had a bicycle. I was riding here and there, and also riding at night times. The gendarmes control if the light of the bicycle is working or not. They called my father to the police station. And they fined my father for the bicycle of an eight-year-old boy. This is another example of assimilation back from my memories.

Similar situation were experienced in almost every family. Young people from various families were going to Turkey some way or the other. Some of them were returned at the boundaries in accordance with the decision taken by Turkey. Those were relevant the strategies about keeping the Turkish population of Turkey in West Trakia. And there were also many people who have escaped to Turkey due to pressures they were exposed to during serving for the military.

In 1970, after graduating from secondary school, I came to Turkey for educational purposes. The conditions were so severe with regards to the conditions of those times. I have continued my education till 1983 under those circumstances. The landing in Cyprus back in 1974 was a period which was deeply felt in the world of emotions of the West Trakia minority and those were the times the prices of being a minority in a country were paid. The villages were surrounded by tanks, curfews were announced for night times; it was such a period it was impossible for three people gather and talk. Consequently, the idea of 'this country is unable to provide us the right of living' stuck to the minds of the young generation. I personally observed the process of having their girls to get married with someone from Turkey, or making their sons find jobs in Turkey.

In 1983, while I was carrying out my specialization studies on internal diseases, I had to make some plans about my future as a married man with two children. You do not have the right to execute your profession due to not being a Turkish citizen. Similarly, you will not have a work permit in West Trakia as you have studied in Turkey. So there were two options; you should either go to a different country, or become a Turkish citizen. A lot of friends of ours searched for ways to become a Turkish citizen. There seemed to be no alternative solution for me else than coming as an illegal immigrant to Turkey.

Therefore; we have entered into Greece in the August of 1983 following standard procedures. After a week of research and meeting with some people, we set off. There are some transportation possibilities for farmers to come and go their lands on both sides of Meric River. By the help of them, we crossed to the Turkish side. And they warned us; in case you come across a soldier, just surrender. And if you do not come across them, you will be reaching to a village in such and such time; and from there you may go anywhere you like with a vehicle.

Having the fear of someone possibly following us – one of the most important experiences in my life- we crossed to the other side. After a while, we were startled with a voice saying 'Stop!' They were Turkish soldiers. They took us to the Ipsala unit. After we gave testimony to our soldiers and the national intelligence, we were in the process of going to Edirne and being taken to the detention area. Of course Ankara was telling them to return us. However my wife and children are in Istanbul and in the meantime I am also in the process of continuing my specialization studies in the hospital. Therefore there is a special situation. After the negotiations, and upon the evaluations in foreigners' office in Istanbul Gayrettepe, I was back to my duty in the hospital ten days later as a world citizen, with a status of haymatlos.

Those process naturally cause such grief in the emotional world of the person; not only to my but also to millions of people in the world. I hope; social, economical, computable dimensions of immigration may be perceived as a humane dynamism. But I believe, the immigrations with intentions of assimilations, a result of the pressures on people applied by the administrative bodies, and immigrations which turn out to be a humane criminal should be evaluated with a totally different perspective. The Balkans has experienced that many times; so has Bulgaria. I hope the upcoming periods will be the ones where such humane crimes will not be committed.

I am about to conclude my speech. We were not able to go to Greece up until and after we had acquired the citizenship in 1986. For nearly 18 years, you have no chance to see your father, mother, relatives, elderly family members; your sister gets married but you cannot go to wedding, your grandfather passes away but you cannot go to the funeral. I strongly believe that experiencing such a period, and having people experiencing this in various dimensions is absolutely wrongfulness and should be regarded as a crime against humanity. And my wish is, may My Lord would not leave anyone alone thinking about all these. Thank you very much for your patience.



III. SESSION

Migration Movements in the World



III. SESSION

MIGRATION MOVEMENTS IN THE WORLD 08 December 2006 Thursday

Chairman of the Session
Prof. Dr. Mustafa AYKAC
Marmara University - Faculty Member

Aytunc ALTINDAL
Researcher - Author
"Migrations in the New World, Problems Faced, Solutions"

Dr. Selin SENOCAK
Sorbonne University
"France and the Fact of Immigration"

Prof. Dr. Kamil Veli NERIMANOGLU
Chairman of Azerbaijan Center for Eurasian Studies
"Immigration Problem in Azerbaijan"

Marino BUSDACHIN
UNPO General Secretary
"Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization"

Isilay ARKAN
TRNC Near East University
"A Story of Migration: Migration from South to North"

UNDELIVERED PAPERS

Dr. Cemal OZTAS & Dr. Eyup ZENGİN
*"Migration and Azerbaijan: The Problem of Refugees in Azerbaijan;
Drama of Mankind"*

Metanet Azizgizi ALIYEVA
Azerbaijan State Finance University
*"Undeclared Armenia Wars, Enforced Azerbaijan Migrants,
and Qarabagh Conflict"*



Aytunc ALTINDAL

Researcher - Author

Born in 1945. Before 12th September 1980 (Military Intervention) published Süreç magazine and managed Havas Publications. Followed a genuine Marxist line in this period. Stayed for a long time abroad after 12th September. He made himself known in the West with his work entitled, 'Üç İsa' (Three Jesuses). Returned home and launched activities on Christianity (particularly on Greek Orthodox faith) and Judaism.

Migrations in the New World, Problems Faced, Solutions

I would like to thank Zeytinburnu Municipality a lot. This is a very important meeting indeed. I hope, this will bring beneficial results for Turkey.

Article No.1: I always say the last word in the beginning. I am not a specialist on immigration. You will have to ask me, "What are you doing here?" Let me tell you why I am here. I am here to tell you the adventure of four main Christian groups in Turkey which have come to Turkey and the Ottoman land due to religious pressures in Europe. Other than that, I neither have detailed statistical information about immigration nor am a specialist on the issue. Only the adventures of those four secret sects in Turkey...

The first of them are Anabaptists, known as Anabaptist...

A movement which has come on the scene before Protestantism, a church divided into two as Baptist and Anabaptists.

If you ask me what the main difference of them in the Christianity; as you all know there is something called "baptism"; and a baby is baptized when s/he is born. And this group states that back in the 1500s, Jesus, the Messiah was bap-

tized when he was 30, 33; therefore if we want to become good Christian, the men and the women have to be baptized when they are 30, 33 years old"; and a great movement starts.

Upon the command of the Catholic Church, nearly 600.000 Anabaptists were killed during 1559-1881 in Europe; till the year 1881 in total. You know those popular baloneys about Turkey; I am telling you this fact because of them. A certain group of people among them become Muslim, and they seek asylum in Ottoman and Turkey and save their lives.

The second group is known as Mennonites. In the Black Sea region there are not only "Laz brothers" whom we like a lot but also "German laz people." We have a German mayor here, but he does not know either. There is a group known as Black Sea Germans. The German Laz people in the Black Sea are the Mennonites. This group, called as the Mennonites, starts with the movement of a priest from Frizia named Menno Simon in a very small region in between Frizia, Germany, Prussia, Leetonia, and Estonia... They have a characteristic. What is that characteristics? They want to live a very simple Christianity. And it is not that Father-Son-Holy Spirit trinity. They say,



"There is only one God, there is no such Trinity; The God is one and we have to live according to that fact." And they were killed mainly. The representatives of that group, especially till 1800s, - I convey the section of a thesis of a scientist and immigration specialist; Thomas Sowell, published in 1996 named *Migrations and Cultures*, pages 55-111. So it is not my discovery! Within the framework of the information provided by him; the Mennonites were so much under pressure in Europe that they were first exiled to Russia; from the coasts of Finland where we call Frizia, Sweden, and southern parts of Finland to southern parts of Russia...

Today, there is a Republic in Russia known as the Volga Republic; there is a group of Mennonites there. Before that they have come to Batum, Hopa, Kars, Trabzon, and Istanbul. And as far as I am concerned the last family in Istanbul left back in 1961; that is about 44 years ago. Approximately 200 families, living in Istanbul, Gonen, and Manyas, left Turkey to go to United States. And those people who have gone to the States, Canada, and especially New Zealand and Australia; they are the ones who have established big cities in those countries. Today, our Prime Minister Mr. Erdogan shakes the hands of state officials and maybe the Ottoman State have protected, fed the families of those state officials back in 1870-1881. And those people were thankful to the Ottomans.

The people were burned to dead in Europe due to religious pressures, and especially you remember the day of Saint Bartholomew; from the middle of 16th century, Ottoman State was the place they sought for a shelter till the tortures; the big groups of Protestants those were killed during the Catholic Protestant struggles.

As you know, they always say; the Jewish people have come and we have received the Spanish Jews; yes, those are right. But there is one thing unknown to many in Turkey. Ottoman State has embraced Christians two and a half time more than the Jewish people. And it also stopped the killings, tortures, terminations of those Christians by other Christians and prevented such incidents.

So the second group is Mennonites. According to figures provided by Thomas Sowell; 46.000 people immigrated to Australia, and 18.000 people to Canada. In 1881 The Russian Tsar was assassinated. Upon that, 60.000 Mennonites sought asylum in Turkey; and after staying in Turkey for a while -18 years- they went to Canada and New Zealand. I have an interesting note to share with you about the Second World War. United States of America, during the war, have arrested 33.000 Mennonites living in Dakota as they still regarded those peo-

ple as German citizens. All those happen in relation with the baloneys of; human rights, equality, and democracy, but we are accused at the end of the day. But we are also guilty about the situation, and what is it? We have shut our mouths and we did not speak; and they had the chance to talk. The always put the blame on us. A World War starts, namely the Second World War, Australia and United States citizens arrest 33.000 German Mennonites who are actually American citizens, and they have been under arrest for four years.

The third group, maybe you have seen them in the movies; there not books on them in Turkey but it is likely that you have seen them in television programs about their missionary activities in Turkey or American documentaries shot for the purposes of propaganda. They are called 'Amish.' You might have heard about them; people wearing hats, riding on horses, not using telephones and electricity, naïve people of America... The founder of Amish is a Swiss man called Jacob Ammam. They separate themselves from a group of Mennonites in 1693. He founds Amish and he says that the Mennonites have become more liberalized; and we will be practicing the Mennonite lifestyle with its most strict rules. And as they are exposed to torture, killings, and pressure; the first place the escape to is Istanbul.

Up until the year 1961, they lived especially in Gonen, Manyas, and Moda district in Istanbul; Mennonites and Amish, one from Frizia and the other from Switzerland lived in the Moda district in Istanbul. Those people were very interesting during my youth. They were extremely nice people. They used to wear short leather pants in summer and winter. They had a pair of braces and only a sleeveless undershirt. As it was religiously banned for men to have their hair and beard cut, they used live in Moda district with their long hair to their waist and beard almost to their knees. Those people were helpful to Turkish people and Turkey in many matters. What were they? First of all, they were well-known for their mastery in furniture making and they have provided useful information about to Turkish people about the art of making furniture. Those were the people who produced 'karper cream cheese' we all love to eat. This started in Turkey as a part of Swiss tradition. Other than that, they were very helpful in various ways. For example; they used to manufacture the leather shoes for the first time in Turkey. And they applied United States for immigration in 1961.

A very bad incident took place; but I do not want to talk about it. It was an unexpected event. Although no problems have been taken place for about 80 years, unfortunately a very sor-

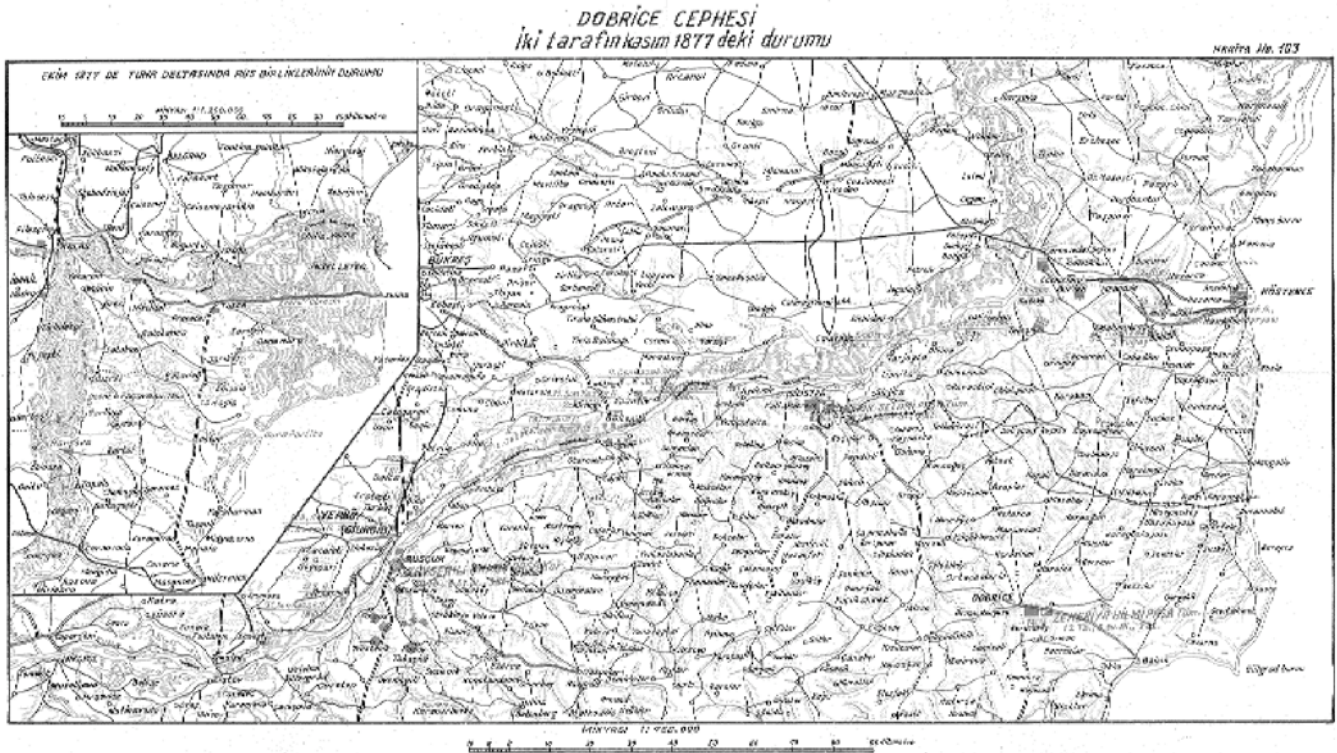


rowful thing happened and they really felt sad about it. They wrote a letter during the time Kennedy was in power and they stated their will to leave from Turkey. And the Americans came and took 188 Amish and Mennonite people back to America.

The last group is known as the Huguenots who were under great pressure in Europe. Huguenots are Protestants in France. Those were the people mostly killed during the Saint Bartholomew day. They were burned to dead in groups. They were also protected by the Ottoman State and they have attained very high ranks in the Ottoman State. Humbaraci Ahmet Pasha was a member of that family. The family of a former mayor of ours is Huguenot. And also the family of a very

well-known national poet is again Huguenot. Those people came to Turkey, and they have witnessed the real religious and free will rights in Turkey from the Muslims during the Ottoman reign and from the republican state during the Republican time.

The important thing is that we have to shoe these to the world. Let us say: "You, being the Christians, have tortured, practiced genocide against other Christians; but we have taught the world what tolerance is since the 16th century, the year 1562. We have to find the power in ourselves to say: you do not have the right to teach about "human rights, tolerance, etc.; we are the ones to teach you lessons on these issues." We have to trust in ourselves; that will be enough. Thank you very much.



1877 yılının Dobruca Bölgesi. Yer isimleri Türkler'in yaşadığı bölgeleri gösteriyor (İsmail Cengiz Arşivi)
Dobruca Region in 1877. The names of places show where the Turks used to live (Archive of Ismail Cengiz)



Dr. Selin SENOCAK

Sorbonne University

Born in 1978 in France. Graduated from the International Relations Department of Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences-Po) in 2002. She carried on with her academic studies at the Russian Department of Sorbonne University. As from 2004 serving as a researcher at "Centre de Recherches Européennes sur l'Asie Médiane". Currently continues her academic career at the Department of the Economics and Administrative Studies (Management) at CNAM, Paris.

France and the Fact of Immigration

INTRODUCTION

The history of Europe has acquired its shape by immigration movements. For centuries; merchants, craftsmen, and intellectuals immigrated in between the continents in order to perform their profession or to make a new beginning in their lives. Millions of Europeans first immigrated to colonies and then to the continent of America and the Antipodes¹. For long years in Europe, the "enforced immigrations" starting with the exile of Jewish people from Spain followed by the collapses of Ottoman, Russia, and Austria-Hungary Empires have completely transformed the political and economical structures of the continent.

BETWEEN LEGEND AND REALITY

France, due to her requirements for "workforce" has become an immigration receiving country by starting two big immigration movements in the 20th century. Immigration tradition which lasted for centuries in France commenced with the immigration of Protestants who have saved their lives after the massacre of Saint Barthélemy in the 16th century. As of the 18th century; due to decreased birth rates and the recessed

demographical growth, the workforce of the industrializing country was insufficient. The birth rates in France had an opposite growth in comparison with the other European countries; this situation could have been improved only by outsourcing workforce. The immigrants were selected based on certain criteria. The reason for that was more of a political rather than economical. The selected immigrants were coming from the rural area and a certain ethnic group. This selection, without a doubt, was considered very well for their own benefits.

For years, France have applied the immigration policy upon the immigrants what they call as "republican integration model" and has always been proud of that. However both politicians and sociologists claim that this model is not applicable anymore and it leads to 'congestion' today; therefore a new immigration policy has to be developed.

So what is that "republican integration model" France is proud of? And have results to be proud of been achieved? Only millions of immigrants who have experienced this practice firsthand may answer this question; and they have given their answers by escaping to other countries where they are treated much better than they are in France. France deceives herself by



being proud of that policy and practices “presentism”². Praising herself with such policy means to delete the past sorrowful experiences and traces the immigrants have had.

Immigrants have paid the price of that integration by working at the lowest levels, being treated as a second-class citizen, being the primary target of racist movements, and being exposed to the pressures of the police and deportation procedures.

Big immigration movements in France have taken place in three periods in accordance with the development in the industry; the second Empire period, 1920s and 1970s. In the 19th century the people emigrated from neighboring countries (Belgium, Spain, Germany, and Italy); in 1920s French companies especially had workers from Poland. And as a third period; the immigrants were made to come from the colonies, North Africa.

How did French people respond to those immigration movements in the past? We may summarize this with two incidents; Drocourt attacks in 1892 and Aigues-Mortes massacre in 1893. 75% of the miners working in the Drocourt mine were Belgian; French community revolted due to the provocations of some political groups deported the Belgian workers using weapons without even letting them take their personal belongings from their houses. A year later, the victims were the Italian workers in Marseilles but they were not as lucky as the Belgians. French community; blind with rage, had sticks and guns in their hands first beat the Italian workers to almost death and then they killed and deported them. This incident was resulted in the tragic deportation of, according to official records, 8 dead and 50 heavily injured; and according to Times, 50 dead 150 heavily injured Italian workers

Those racist events, in the later periods, in the 1930s, continued with denunciation and surrendering of Jewish people to Nazis who used live in France during the Second World War, and in the year 1977 with the massacre; the killings of Algerian workers in 1977, recalled as the ‘bloody summer’ and today with the sabotages.

How come France which is in need of workforce and also being a defender of human rights is a center for such tragic events? What are the reasons causing xenophobia³ amongst French people?

The answers to those questions are founded on economical and political reasons. Economical reasons are always connected with economical recession following every single war. The political reasons compared to economical reasons are somewhat more complex. France was governed by monarchy for

long years; French community brought about a revolution in 1789 in order to eliminate the discrimination between the ‘bourgeoisie’ and villager ‘community’ and let the community to take sovereignty over. During the following years, this war between classes took a different shape as the war between employee/employer. However in those periods, during the wars between the classes, there was no discrimination of native and foreigner in the community because both were deprived of any rights and they did not the power to implement any kind of sanctions against the state. When French community had the “social rights” in the ‘republic’ and started to play a role in the political and social life, that was the time all their values have changed and became an individualistic society losing the utopia of ‘freedom-equality-fraternity’.

III. Republic (1875-1940) was the factor that made xenophobia become severe in France. During the republican period, the French state encouraged the discrimination between national/foreigner in order to establish the conscience of nation-state more among the society and hence created a new war between the classes in a sense. This policy conducted was not only for the purposes of establishing the conscience of nation-state. Together with the Republic, the French society attaining political and social rights was involved in a war between the classes of ‘employer/employee’. The dominant class in France which was getting industrialized had to struggle against that socio-political war on one hand and should continue production on the other. This dilemma was solved by outsourcing workforce and immigrants.

The French state of the III. Republican period embracing the immigrants during these depressive times, conducted an unethical policy against the immigrants by making them deprived of all social and national rights, and impeding them to have a right to comment on something in the society; that is to say they were isolated. By this means, they would have used them wrongfully for their own ends as they wanted to, and would have deported the immigrants whenever they wished without taking any responsibilities at all. This was achieved through the support of the society and the injection of discrimination and xenophobia emotions twisted by the paradigm of ‘citizenship’ to its own society in relation with the idea of adherence to ‘nation-state’ legend. French society was not willing to share those social and political rights with the foreigners and they regarded the foreigners who have taken their jobs over; this occurred due to the provocations of the state. Hence; French state, whenever it wanted, increased the fury of the society (citizen/immigrant) by the propaganda of nationalism



and reutilized its own national workforce; claiming that the immigrants caused uneasiness in the society and would have deported the immigrants after it has used them for its own ends. And the state has legalized that in the context of "so-called human rights and democracy" by making up a program called "protecting national workforce."

French state conducted this policy by the help of its own media and intellectuals. The campaigns of slandering of French state continue even today. From the 19th till present day, xenophobia in the media have existed with headlines like; "Immigrants' invasion, they have taken our jobs" or "A group of immigrants attacked the houses..." the media has affected the subconscious of French society and created a phobia of foreigners/immigrants and eventually xenophobia.

ACTUALITY AND REALITY

European Union is the region people immigrate to the most with 1.4 million official entrances. Although the borders have been eliminated among the member countries, the European Union have been conducting a policy with no concessions at all at its outer limits making national workforce, finance, and industry an obsession. This policy, instead of being a precaution or a solution, is an initiator for illegal immigrations and causes many dramatic events. In 1999 and 2003, over 4000 immigrants have lost their lives in shores of the Gibraltar. And how many people are being employed as "modern slaves" within the boundaries of the European Union?

The distribution of immigrants in European Union countries is not equal. Germany, with 7.300.000 immigrants equaling to 8.9% of its population, is the first country which receives immigration the most. It is followed by France and England, with 4.300.000 immigrants equaling to 7% of the population. After the economical crisis in 1973-1974, employment of immigrant workers have completely stopped in Europe. Although the employment has stopped, the rate of immigration to Europe does not decrease but increases everyday. This situation accelerated especially after the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989 and globalization.

European Union countries signed Schengen and Amsterdam Agreement in 1985 and 1997 respectively in order to slow down the pace of immigrations and to form a common policy on immigration. Despite, every country practices its own policy.

According to the report United Nations presented on immigration in 2002, European countries, in order not to undergo an economical crisis, will have to welcome 80 million active immi-

grants until the year 2050. Since the birth rates went down to 1.5 babies per woman, this rate prevents the renewal of the generation. The average lifetime in Europe has increased to 76. As a result, people who are over 60 years old representing the 15% of European society; the number of active people will become less as that rate increases and European Union will be at the edge of a serious economical crisis. Although this situation worries the European Union countries; it does not change its solid attitude towards immigration. European Union countries do not give up of such behavior although it experienced illegal immigration movements and its tragic consequences and learned "zero-immigration" is a utopia. Such attitudes are in the advantage of immigrant mafia who make immigrants enter to European countries by inhumane means. Immigrant mafia gets stronger every year with a turnover of 5 to 10 billion Euros by taking an average of 1500-2000 Euros from those needy and poor people. In addition to that financial exploitation, the inhumane events that those people have experienced should also be taken into consideration. Last year, 135 people have lost their lives tragically while they were trying to enter to European Union countries. The finding of 58 Chinese people dead at the back of a truck in the city of Douvres in France back in 2000 and lately sending African people handcuffed to the midst of the desert in Melilla last October... We may state that Europe consciously causes human dramas with its uncompromising immigration policy.

Many European Union countries conduct a "selective immigration" policy; they accept only well-educated people as immigrants according to the criteria they set and the number decided. Work permits are granted in accordance with those criteria. As a result, the immigrants illegally work in many sectors like constructions, textile ateliers as "modern slaves." Europe, the defender of human rights, simply takes no notice of this situation.

POLITICS AND REALITY

Europe is in a dead end; the society is getting older, requires workforce –especially France- in order to take the coming years under guarantee. France cannot handle with the illegal immigration movements which feed the propaganda of extreme right parties. Every year, 80% of asylum seekers are sent back to their countries. And this is a system creating "illegal immigrant"!

Other European countries implements alternative solution rather than closing the boundaries completely. As of January 1, 2005; Germany has been conducting the selective immigration



policy like Ireland and England whereas Spain and Italy signed bilateral agreements with the immigrating countries like Morocco, Tunisia, and Albania.

French government in power today, like the other European countries, is about to demolish a long-lasting taboo by taking a step toward implementing "selective immigration" policy. By this means, it announces in an indirect and closed way that it reopened its boundaries. Additionally, according to the figures provided by the French Ministry of Internal Affairs in 2004; 200.000 to 400.000 illegal immigrants live in France. Nicolas Sarkozy, Minister of Internal Affairs, aims at deporting 20.000 illegal immigrants in 2005 and increasing that by 50% every year.

Similar practice has been carried out by Valerie Giscard D'estaing on legal immigrants in 80s. In order to deport legal immigrants, Valerie Giscard D'estaing government set quotas in every region, and under the name a campaign called "aid for returning homelands" they tried to deport immigrants almost forcefully; however they could not succeed in that. French state, failing to deport the immigrants, this time established new labor laws which were focused on discrimination to pressurize them to leave the country; and they still do that. The unemployment rate of immigrants living in France is 21% and this number increases every single year. Immigrants, who have been already isolated from the French in socio-political respect, are also isolated in the economical sense due to the increase in the unemployment rate.

CONCLUSION

France has to rebuild their bonds with immigration movements and immigrants and make peace with them. Instead of using the people they will have by conducting selective immigration politics like a machine for their own benefits; it has to

embrace the families as well by taking the humane dimensions of the situation. Such an improvement will be beneficial not only for the economical development but also for the development of political, cultural, social factors and especially "human rights and equality propaganda" which it is 'just' a defender of.

The pathetic reality about the situation is, politicians like Nicolas Sarkozy, constituting racist politics against immigrants, forget where they come from, and they are immigrants! If French state keeps up with the sense of "France belongs to French" which is propaganda of the Jean Marie Le Pen; leader of extreme right party "Front National", it will pay the price very severely.

Recent uprisings of the immigrants in the country shows that France, always introducing itself as a country of liberty-equality-fraternity, is essentially becoming a country of surveillance-inequality-individualism due to discriminative sociopolitical practices and racist attitudes it practices.

The issue of immigration has divided France into two; and it threatens the country like a time bomb which is about to explode. Yet the problem is in the beginning stage and awaiting a solution.

REFERENCES

- ALTINDAL Aytunc, «Culture Wars I», 40-year-old writings. Bir Harf Publications, Istanbul, 2005.
CITRON Suzanne, «Le Mythe national. L'histoire de France en question», Editions ouvrières, Paris, 1991,
DORNEL Laurent, «La France Hostile, socio-histoire de la xénophobie», Editions Hachette Littérature, Paris, 2004.
Noiriel Gerard, «Etat, nation et immigration: Vers une histoire du pouvoir», Editions Gallimard, Paris, 2005.

FURTHER REFERENCES

- Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Économiques, "L'immigration en France", 2004.
Ministère Français de l'intérieur, «Rapport sur l'immigration en France» 2004
United Nation "International Immigration Report", 2002.

1. Antipodes: opposite continents of the continents immigrated to; Australia, Africa, etc.
2. Presentism: adhering to present time disregarding past and the future.
3. Xenophobia: racism, animosity against foreigners.



Prof. Dr. Kamil Veli NERIMANOGLU

Chairman of Azerbaijan Center for Eurasian Studies

Born in 1946. Completed his higher educational studies at the Faculty of Philology at Baku State University in 1970. Obtained professorship in 1988 and served as the Department Chair of Azerbaijan Linguistics Department. Elected as the honorary doctor of Konya Selçuk University in 1990. Member and honorary member of Turkish Linguistics Organization, Atatürk Cultural Center and Turkish Folklore Organization. He is the author of 20 books and more than 500 articles. Appointed as the Deputy Prime Minister in Azerbaijan in 1993. Awarded numerous prizes, Nerimanoğlu was awarded the "Honor Prize For Superior Services to the Turkish Language" by Bilkent University and the "Honor Prize For Superior Services to the Turkish Culture by the Foundation for Serving the Turkish Culture, in 2004. The same year elected as the honorary member of Kyrgyzstan Sciences Academy. Currently the Chairman of Eurasian Studies Center in Azerbaijan. Speaks Russian, German and many Turkish dialects.

Immigration Problem in Azerbaijan

There is such an expression in the book of Dedem Korkut: "*Our side aches by sleeping all the time, dried our waist by stopping. Let us walk men!*"

Dadaloglu describes the Turkish immigration by: "*Avshar tribes set off for immigration; those are the people of ours walking slowly.*"

"*Heal is walking for Turkmen immigrating*" proverb exposes the logic of immigration dating back to older traditions.

Turk means immigration, being an immigrant. But Turkish immigration includes Turkish culture and state tradition. Turkish immigration, different from gypsy immigration, takes one's attention with its socio-cultural structure and unrepeatable nature of the system it is in. Actually, Turkish immigration is a lifestyle and a continuous historical process with reasons like; economy, buying and selling of animals, visits, and war.

Internal and external immigrations have been the guarantee of Turkish genetic existence, the reason and structure of socio-biological life, social renewal, and the power of the state. This perspective has played a vital role in Turkish folklore; the

shaping and the enrichment of the way the public thought.

Both South and North Azerbaijan have been the destination for big immigrations and being one of the most important cultural and economical centers on the Silk Road, have always been an important part of the old and new Eurasia. The researches that will be carried out to comprehend the Azerbaijan immigrations –which have witnessed the success or failure of the Hun, Hazar, Persian, Arab, and Mongolian immigrations- in relation with the demographical, statistical, political, economical, and sociological aspects is very critical in determining the situation, importance, and the functionality of Azerbaijan in the globalizing world.

Modern times have brought obligatory immigrations. Within that framework; the immigration which has taken place in Azerbaijan, divided into two during the Russia-Iran war back in 1813-1828, is nothing but a different name for disaster, difficulty, and tragedy. During the totalitarian policy of Soviet Union, the enforced immigration of Azerbaijan Turks from



Armenian in 1948 led to death of tens of thousand of people, scattered families, and poverty.

Ethnical cleansing and genocide policy against Azerbaijan Turks were prepared and realized by Russian and Armenian governments. The decisions; no. 4083 dated December 23, 1947 and no. 754 dated 10 March, 1948, published by the Prime Ministry of Russia are obvious evidences of that murder against Azerbaijan. The enforced immigration of Azerbaijan Turks from Armenia in 1948 has unfortunately not gained a political-legal importance in the political agenda of the democratic world.

The beginning of Karabagh war in 1988, as it was planned and continued by Moscow, has obliged over a million Azerbaijan Turks to leave their lands and eventually immigrate. Brutality like Hocali Genocide caused diseases, and poverty which have not been seen before.

The troubles and the problems caused by the Karabagh war immigrations, affecting Azerbaijan economy, social balance very negatively, were regulated by the laws and decision enacted by the governments of Elcibey in 1992 and H. Aliyev in 1993; hence the situation was optimally governed.

Armenia, making advantage of the former Soviet Union's hostile attitude against Azerbaijan in 1988, has illegally claimed lands from Azerbaijan; and also the process of exiling Azerbaijan Turks from Armenia, the historical homeland has started again. Armenia, based on the secret directions of Soviet Socialist Republics Higher Council dated 22 November, 1988, has forced to leave over 200.000 Azeri people, 18.000 Muslim Kurds, 1000 Russian speaking people from 22 'rayons' (an administrative unit smaller than a city, bigger than a district.), 170 and 94 mixed settlement locations from their settlement areas and populated them in Azerbaijan by using armed forces in between the dates of 22-28 November. During that time, 255 Azeri people were bloodthirstily killed, thousand of women, children and old people were wounded, and the real estates of tens of thousands were pillaged. As a result, due to the ethnical cleansing policy systematically carried out not even one Azerbaijan Turk was left in Armenia. In the beginning of the 19th century, although there were nearly 2.000 Azeri settlement locations in current Armenian lands, as of today there are no Azeri-Turkish toponyms, historical-cultural monuments, graveyards are destroyed, the mosques and turbes are ruined. All these have the objection of trying to make the world believe the fake history the Armenians have made up about them being natives of the Caucasus and Armenia. The historical record confirm that in the 20th century alone nearly one million Azeri people were brutally killed by Armenians, and more

than 1.5 million from our race have been expelled from current Armenia lands. Armenia, having a total area of 9 kilometer squares in accordance with Batum Agreement dated 1918; today has taken 40.000 kilometers square of historical Azerbaijan lands under its control.

The Armenian officials, who have been successful in creating a mono-ethnic Armenian state, relating to the military-industry potential of the former SSSR, have occupied the Republic of Azerbaijan Nagorno Karabagh province the population of which is Azeri people by 30% and 7 cities in the proximity (Lacin, Kelceber, Zengilan, Gudabli, Cebrayil, Agdam, Fuzuli) and ruined all of them. The military invasion of Armenia included not only Nagorno Karabagh and the aforementioned cities, but also Gedebe, Tovuz, Gazah, Agstafa 'rayons' in the west of Azerbaijan and that region is ruined as well.

Hocali Genocide, against the civilian population, in February 26, 1992 will remain in the world history as an unmatched example of brutality. The historical facts stated, shall be regarded as genocide not only with regards to the occupying policy of the Armenians against Azerbaijan Turks in the 20th century, but also the international law and the decrees of The Agreement of Preventing and Punishing Genocide of United Nations General Assembly dated December 9, 1948.

Currently, in 12 'rayons' of Azerbaijan on a 17.000 kilometers square (one fifth of the total country lands) 700 settlement units are under the occupation of Armenians. As a result of the occupation of the Armenian army forces, nearly 20.000 Azerbaijan citizens have lost their lives, nearly 4.000 people, composed of mainly women, older people, and children are taken as hostages. Over a million people, one out of every seven people in other words, are in a situation of being a refugee in his own country.

In the occupied lands; nearly 4.000 industrial and agricultural institutions, over 180.000 houses, around 1.000 educational institutions, almost 3.000 places for education-culture and over 700 medical facilities have been messed up by Armenian vandals.

The liabilities of 4 decrees (numbered 822, 853, 874, and 884) accepted in the years 1992-1993 by the Security Council of the United Nations have not been complied with regarding the evacuation of the Armenian army forces from the Azerbaijan lands.

On December 18, 1997 the President of Azerbaijan Haydar Aliyev, took a decision upon the "exile of Azerbaijan Turks in masses from their historical-ethnic lands in Armenian territory in 1948-1953." This decision and the commission which will



be conducting researches regarding the decision are very important with regards to the announcement of the realities to the international community.

The law of "The Status of Fugitives and Obligatory Immigrants" makes the definitions of fugitives and immigrants as follows:

Fugitive – They are the ones who are not Azerbaijan citizens; having the risk of being a victim due to his race, nationality, religion, belonging to a social group and therefore living in a different country than his own homeland; and based on the same risk, is not benefiting from the governance of that country or willing to benefit from, and not having the citizenship of a certain country and due to similar situation again, staying in a country different than his own homeland, is not able to return to that homeland of his or not willing to return.

Obligatory immigrant (a person enforced to immigrate within the country) – A person within the Republic of Azerbaijan who is obliged to leave his permanent living place and immigrate to somewhere else due to military occupation, natural and technogene disasters.

An Azerbaijan citizen who was in a situation to leave the country he is living in and return back to Azerbaijan, in compliance with the reasons stated in the first part of that article, may attain the status of 'immigrant' in accordance with the decision of the relevant executive body. In that law; issue like the legal dimensions of the status, social aid, tax, international cooperation are clearly defined.

It is also noteworthy to mention about the immigration from Azerbaijan in addition to immigration to Azerbaijan.

Within the last 15 years, starting from the year 1988, over 2 million people have immigrated mainly to Russia, partially to

Ukraine, Turkey and Europe. This immigration, being harmful to family structure and the foundation of a democratic state, has turned out to be the main instrument from Russia to implement economical and political pressure against Azerbaijan.

Unemployment and economical depression are known to be the main factors of that immigration. The prevention of such an immigration which also includes intellectual immigration and making people return their homelands policy should be a constituting policy of the state. Getting the lands back, opening new workplaces, terminating bribery and unlawful action, appropriation of the tradition of democracy, valuing the superiority of law, respecting the right of election of citizens are the main conditions to stop the immigrations and to realize the re-immigrations. Within that respect, the responsibility of the President of Azerbaijan and the Parliament; and implementing healthy democracy policies reflected to the future are important.

The south of Azerbaijan is in the Islamic Republic of Iran. In that territory; the problems of ethnical cleansing and enforced immigration are being experienced. The implementations of enforced immigrations of the Kurds and Persian especially bring about democratic, socio-political problems. The statistics are not announced objectively; therefore we unfortunately cannot go beyond that general approach.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank personally and on behalf of Azerbaijan intellectual to Zeytinburnu Mayor Mr. Murat Aydin, organization committee, congress organization council, and the State of Republic of Turkey for bringing such an important issue into the agenda and showing great interest on the issue. I wish them a continued success in this highly serious academic activity.



Marino BUSDACHIN

UNPO General Secretary

Born in Umago (Istria, Croatia) in 1956. Arrived as a refugee in Italy in 1961. Graduated from the Law University in Trieste. During the 1970s campaigned for civil rights in Italy. Between 1974 and 1982 he assumed functions in party politics and local authorities in Italy. During the 80s campaigned for human, civil and political rights in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union. As a result, arrested in Bulgaria (1982) and in the Soviet Union (1989). Led and coordinated the Transnational Radical Party (TRP) activities in the former Yugoslavia (1991-1993) and in the Soviet Union (1989-1993). As of 1993 worked in the United States on international campaigns for the establishment of the ad hoc tribunals on war crimes in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and on the campaign for a moratorium on the death penalty at the United Nations. Currently a member of the General Council of the Transnational Radical Party. As of 1 July 2003 assumed several executive duties in the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization. Since 14th November 2003 serves as the General Secretary of UNPO.

Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization

Mr. Chairman,
Distinguished Panelists,
Dear Friends,

I am glad to be here, and grateful to have the opportunity to address you during today's important meeting on behalf of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO). I convey to you the salutation of the 64 Members of the UNPO who represent over 200 million peoples around the world.

First of all, on behalf of UNPO, I would like to take this opportunity to extend to you the warm salutations of the Turkic peoples and nations who are part of UNPO such as, Bahskotorstan and Circassia, Gagauzia and Chuvash, Crimean Tatars and Tatarstan, Kumyk and Iraqi Turkmen, as well as the Uyghurs of Eastern Turkestan.

The UNPO General Assemblies, international conferences and seminars provide a venue for UNPO's Turkic members to draw attention to their situations, expectations and protection

of Human Rights, while they actively seek solutions and support.

It is very apt that this important Symposium is held precisely here in Istanbul, a synthesis and a precise picture for a symbol of bridging cultures, languages, and peoples from a large stream from Europe to Asia. For centuries Istanbul has been an example for integration and respect of different religions, peoples and cultures.

Today, Turkey is on the way to become part of the European Union, reinstating for the Turkic peoples what has been the role of Istanbul in the past centuries: to be a bridge between different worlds.

The European Union is currently counting around 4 million Turkish and/or Turkic peoples: migrants, and refugees, from so many countries that persecute Turkic people without any respect for their elementary human rights. Consequently the matter of migration presents notably the most urgent questions and problems.



MIGRATION - TURKEY

Turkish migration to the EU and migration to Turkey from neighboring countries will represent one of the major issues for Europe and Turkey in the next years. A full effective application of the freedom of movement of people will seemingly take more time and requires further stages of implementation.

One of the major problems is integration. In particular for the first generation of immigrants to the EU the feeling of economic and social exclusion, generated an establishment of ethnic and religious enclaves characterized by family-based structures, the preservation of their own native language and a strong adherence to religious beliefs and cultural traditions; maintaining an extensive cultural, political and commercial ties with the country of origin.

More than a third of them acquired citizenship and a consistent part is actively involved in politics at a local and national level. On the other side second and third generation citizens are more integrated. An increase of mixed marriages and a decrease in religious practice is noticeable.

One of the positive facts that emerges, is a growing awareness, among governments and civil society around Europe, that integration is a two way street. Similar to immigrants who have to make an effort to integrate, governments must adopt policies to help their integration and preserve their cultural and linguistic heritage. Of far greater importance, society itself has to change reconsidering perceptions close to xenophobia, if not outright racism. Requiring immigrants to believe in common universal values does not need to deprive them of their cultural and religious freedoms.

With a growing economy in the EU, future Turkish EU membership could lead to greater mobility among migrants between Turkey and the EU.

Turkey EU membership would out of any doubt represent a powerful role towards peacemaking and stabilization in this strategically critical region. The same opportunities will be present for the Black sea area, south Caucasus and Central Asia.

Then, if Turkish migration to the EU is a recent episode we have to take into consideration that Turkey has been a center for asylum for many peoples, including Turkic peoples, such as the Uyghurs and Turkmen, for centuries

Anatolia was a bridge between East and West. It became a seat for many ethnic, religious and linguistic groups. Christianity, Islam and other beliefs survived side by side. Nobody was discriminated because of his or her ethnic, religious or linguistic background.

During the Ottoman rule many ethnic, religious and linguistic

groups from the Balkans, Middle East and Transcaucasia migrated to Anatolia. Among them were also Albanians, Macedonians, Bosnians, Crimean Tatars, Circassians, Georgians and Chechens.

One of the most important events during the Ottoman rule was the migration of the Jews to Anatolia and to the areas within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. When the Jews in Spain and Portugal were faced with the danger of inquisition, Ottoman Sultan Beyazit the Second sent Ottoman ships to Spain to evacuate almost 300,000 Jews. This is the best proof of religious tolerance of the Muslim Ottoman Empire.

Migration to Modern Turkey continued after the founding of the Republic of Turkey by the great leader of the 20th century, namely Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

During the Second World War, fleeing the Nazi and Fascist regimes in Europe, tens of thousands of people sought refuge in Turkey. Some of them made some useful contribution especially in the fields of education, arts, music etc.

EAST TURKESTAN

Some important flows of migration to Turkey took place in the post-1950 period. After the occupation "Dogu Turkistan" or East Turkestan by the Chinese Communist in 1949, thousands of Uyghurs, Kazakhs and Kirgiz fled to neighboring countries such as India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Local governments were pressuring them to find a third country, due to pressure from the Chinese government to leave as soon as possible. Two great leaders of the people of East Turkestan, the late Mehmet Emin Bughra and Isa Yusuf Alptekin traveled to Turkey to request the Turkish government to take care of all these refugees living temporarily in India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. After intensive lobbying, the Turkish government decided to give political asylum to almost three thousand refugees from Eastern Turkestan.

East Turkestan was one of the founders of the UNPO on 11 February 1991, in The Hague, the Netherlands. They are still a very active member of our organization. As the current General Secretary of the UNPO, with this opportunity I would like to extend my deepest appreciation to the Turkish people for extending their warm hands towards the people of East Turkestan at that time. There is a nice saying: "Friends in need are friends indeed".

We should also not forget the fact that Turkey opened its borders to almost one million Kurds from Iraq those who had to flee Saddam Hussein's "ethnic cleansing" policy. At that time



the generous Turkish people, despite their own economic difficulties, shared whatever they had with the Kurds in destitute. In the 1980s, thousands of Bulgarian Turks sought refuge in Turkey. They were also faced with the danger of "ethnic cleansing" by the communist regime in Bulgaria.

In brief, it can be said that for centuries modern Turkey represented a safe haven for millions of refugees fleeing their homelands as a result of gross human rights abuse, ethnic cleansings or various sorts of atrocities.

IRAQI TURKMEN

Deportation and enforced movement of the Turkmen of Iraq to migrate and resettlement of Arabs in the regions inhabited by Turkmen were major features of the assimilation policies of the Ba'ath regime. Turkmen were not allowed to be appointed in their regions. Social engineering projects were designed to demolish the Turkmen historical neighborhoods. With intensification of assimilation policies, the big Turkmen neighborhood Old Tisin and many Turkmen villages and sub-districts were demolished and the inhabitants were deported to the camps in southern Iraq. At the same time, the two thousands houses of the historical Kerkuk citadel were leveled to the ground. Tens of thousands of squares kilometers of Turkmen land was confiscated and donated to the new Arab settlers.

When the Turkmen started to be used as front line fighters in the Iraq – Iran war, they started to flee out of country. The estimated number of Turkmen who migrated between 1980 and 2003 is about 100.000. They settled mainly in Turkey, Iran, European countries, USA and Canada.

Unfortunately, the situation of Turkmen has not changed much after the US occupation. The US backed Kurds have invested in the Turkmen region and dominated the administration. The confiscated Turkmen lands in Old Tisin and tens of demolished Turkmen villages remain unreturned. Another problematic issue is that of the Ownership Trial Commission, which was instituted by the US at the beginning of the occupation, enforcing a decision to not return thousands of Hectares of Turkmen lands, forcibly confiscated by the Saddam regime, to the rightful owners. Allocation of official positions is another issue, reflected in the composition of the Commission, in which Kurds occupy two of the highest positions.

UNPO

To continue with UNPO I emphasize the importance of activities carried out by the organization in support of all its Members. UNPO was founded on the steps of the International Court of Justice, by representatives of occupied nations, indigenous peoples, minorities, and other vulnerable and disenfranchised peoples. The founders shared common ground in their struggle to preserve their cultural identities, protect the basic human rights of their peoples, and expand various rights frameworks to safeguard the environment. UNPO was born out of the need to provide a voice to the oppressed, captive, or ignored peoples of the world, and to empower those peoples to address the international community in fora such as the United Nations. To address UN bodies such as the UN Commission on Human Rights, its Sub-commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the Working Group on Indigenous Populations and the Working Group on Minorities, as well as treaty bodies such as the Committee on Human Rights, and the Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

When delegates from around the world signed the UNPO Covenant in the Peace Palace, their primary objective was to regain recognition and representation for their peoples as active participants in the international community. Today, UNPO comprises 64 Members representing over 200 million people worldwide whose primary goal remains much the same. They have joined together to secure the five principles enshrined in the UNPO Charter: Non-violence, Human Rights, Self-determination and Democracy, Environmental Protection, and Tolerance. During its fourteen years of existence, UNPO has proven itself to be a strong force for these principles around the world.

Mr. CHAIRMAN, FRIENDS,

Another important issue that for sure will represent a great step forward in relation to respect for human rights and the development of democracy in Europe, Russian Federation and Central Asia;

I refer to the future admission of Turkey to the European Union. It is a hope and a wish.

UNPO, and its network, started to support and to lobby in favor of this solution years ago.

Turkey in the EU would provide undeniable proof that Europe is not a closed "Christian Club". It would confirm the Union's



nature as an inclusive and tolerant society, drawing strength from its diversity and bound together by common values of liberty, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights. In the great cultural debate of the twenty-first century, all too often fuelled by ignorance and prejudice and misused by criminal phenomena such as international terrorism, a multiethnic, multicultural and multi faith Europe could send a powerful message to the rest of the world that the "Clash of Civilizations" is not the ineluctable destiny of mankind.

Turkish membership would further give evidence of the compatibility of Islam and democracy. It is true that Turkey's experience is unique, based on diverse cultural roots, two centuries of western orientation and Atatürk's revolutionary transformation to secularly democracy; it cannot simply be transferred to other Islamic countries. The successful inclusion of Turkey in the EU would show the Islamic world, Eurasia and Central Asia that is indeed possible to find answers to the dilemma of combining religious belief and tradition with the universally accepted principles of modern societies.

Initiatives and programs related to improve cultural and linguistic rights, firstly in Europe and Mediterranean area and more extensively in the Middle East and Central Asia should become a major commitment for the Turkic Diaspora and immigration. UNPO would like to start such a program early next year; for which I hope to find collaboration and support for such complicated proposal and action. I firstly would think of a conference, during which we assemble all Turkic peoples and Nations in order to find common interests and visions to initiate a basic compilation of the most pertinent questions that need to be tackled and underlined.

Strengthening democracy, human rights, the right to self-determination and the rule of law are critical to achieve social progress and modernization, as well as to meet the challenges of development and problems related to migration.

In that spirit of friendship and respect, I wish you every success in your deliberations, and look forward to witness your achievements and practical steps you will take as a result.

I thank you.



1940'lı yıllar ve sonrasında Orta Asya (Doğu Türkistan, Özbekistan, Afganistan)'dan binlerce göçmen Türkiye'ye sığındı.
Thousand of migrants from Central Asia (East Turkistan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan) sought asylum in Turkey in 1940s and after.



Isilay ARKAN

TRNC Near East University

Born in 1947 in Nicosia, Cyprus. Graduated from the Department of Chemistry of the Middle East Technical University and completed his postgraduate studies in the Department of Education of the Reading University in the UK. He fought against the armed Greek Cypriot onslaughts between 1963 and 1968 in Cyprus. He also took part in the fighting in Larnaca against the Greek Cypriot attacks during Turkey's military intervention in Turkey on 20th July 1974. Founded the Turkish Islamic Society. He spearheaded the first and unique Turkish Islamic Buildings Complex. Carried out activities as the member of the Cyprus Evkaf Administration and Religious Affairs Department about mosques and Evkaf property. He has worked as a chemist, chemistry teacher, and an administrator. Currently the Director of the Near East College.

A Story of Migration: Migration from South to North

July - September 1974 Migration from Iskele (Larnaka) to Lefkoşa (Nicosia)

In Cyprus, the Greek Cypriots, in order to realize their ideal of Enosis (having Cyprus as a part of Greece) started an armed attack against Turkish people on December 21, 1963. As a result, many Turkish Cypriots were killed, wounded or missed. Thousands of Turkish Cypriots were forced to immigrate from their villages. Hundreds of mosques, turbes, and heritage of the Ottoman were ruined.

In cities and in some villages, The Turks took some measure in order to protect their land, lives, dignity, religion, and flag; they separated the regions they used to live in using sandbags and wall built by soil.

The Turks lived in isolated open air jails for eleven years.

Actually a group of Muslim Turkish Cypriots, due to Greek Cypriot attacks, immigrated from their villages and temporarily settled down to safer places back in 1958. The immigration in 1963 was a second immigration for them.

On July 15, 1974; the Greek Cypriots had a dispute among them and entered into an armed fight with each other. Thousand of Greek Cypriots murdered one another. It was the turn for Turkish Cypriots now; because the fight was won by the fanatical "E.O.K.A" organization. The intervention by the guarantor states (Turkey, England and Greece) to such a situation, in contrary to the constitution of Cyprus, was a necessity of the constitution.

Turkey, in spite of the unwillingness of England and Greece, has taken the advantage of its constitutional rights. Peace Intervention on the 20th of July was realized and a greater massacre of Turkish people was prevented.

During that intervention, the north of Cyprus was saved. However in the south; the people in many villages, small towns, and cities were taken as hostages by Greek Cypriots. Up until the ceasefire agreement was signed, there were already many shahids in the south.

I was one of the mujahids resisting the attacks of the Greek



Cypriots in the south of Cyprus, in the city of Iskele (Larnaka). The Greek Cypriots started attacking us in the morning of July 20, 1974.

In the morning of 21 July, 1974, after a defense of 21 hours, the ceasefire was announced and in accordance with the agreement we were asked to surrender ourselves to the Greek Cypriots.

The folks were in fear; there were people crying, yelling in the city without knowing what to do and were agitated in finding a way to save their lives.

The Greek Cypriots did not conform to the agreement and they were shooting.

The children, mothers, fathers, the elderly people left their places and gathered at a cinema to be altogether at a certain location. One could hear the weapons fired every now and then. What kind of an agreement was that?

The first immigration movement took place at that time. The buses pertaining to English army forces of United Nations were approaching towards those hopeless and afraid Turkish people and said them in English: "Those of you who have an English passport may get on the bus. We will take them to secure places at our region (bases)."

The ones who had an English passport were running to the bus. The father has a passport, but the mother and the children do not. Father says, "I will have you called" and runs towards the buses. Children, mothers, grandmothers running after him...

I take a look at them, tears in my eyes and recall the Judgment Day. As you know, on that day, the father will not remember his child, the child his father, and mother; everyone will be deeply occupied with himself.

The English saved his citizens but scattered families were left behind.

According to the agreement, the folks staying in the cinema would go back their homes. The ones who could have gone back home made it, but the ones who could not were taken as slaves by the Greek Cypriots.

The Biggest fear among the Turks who were imprisoned in their houses was a massacre. Because one would never guess what the Greek Cypriots would do. They were not complying with the rules of agreement and war.

I made some preparations in the house I hid in order to protect my family and neighbors against a possible massacre.

The days full of fear followed one another. In the meantime, just like anyone else, I was making plans on how I could make

my way with my family to south, the saved zone.

The hidden movement of immigration was started; but that was a very risky one.

As days passed, we learned that the controls of the Greek soldiers on Turkish regions were not that strict anymore. Some of the Greeks who owned cars drove to the Turkish region and then made agreement in return for high amounts of money with Turks and took them to the English base which was fifteen minute drive away from Iskele. This runaway trip was made through the roads full of tress or the plains.

A number of Turks, who have heard about that uncontrolled route, were escaping on foot by simply taking their light belongings in suitcases.

Some of the Greek Cypriots who were taking the Turks to the bases in return for money were either leaving the women and the children in the middle of the way or torturing and killing them. The sorrowful incidents continued a while.

Some of those who were escaping from the secret ways were arrested on their way and were tortured.

At the end of August 1974, an agreement between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, allowing immigration for scattered families, was signed.

Since I was originally from Nicosia, my father made me and my wife and children included in the scope of scattered families.

One nights news heard from the Red Cross; we would go to the saved zone together with my mother with a Red Cross vehicle.

We did not sleep till morning. We were both afraid and excited. We would leave everything behind and immigrate. The love of freedom was above the feelings we had for our property and goods.

In the morning, together with 3 Turks; I, my wife, and my 3 children got on a completely closed Land Rover type vehicle. We were frozen still due to anxiety.

When the car moved, I was looking back at Iskele with tears in my eyes. I was looking at Iskele. Maybe it was the last time I saw our holy place Hala Sultan. Some of the people I knew were not saved yet. What was going to happen to them? And especially how could I possibly save the wife of, five children, and mother-in-law of my dearest friend First Lieutenant Mustafa Orhan who was a shahid during the combat. I promised them. I was saving my family; but I should go back to save them as well.

During our journey, the car was stopped at two Greek control



points. The Red Cross official driving the car did not allow the Greek Cypriot soldier to check the part of the car we were in. There was a discussion.

We, helpless and full of fear, were trying to understand the talks outside. Prayers nonstop... We knew that Greek Cypriots did not care about the law, agreements, and etc. and killed many Turks on the roads.

As a result; the doors of the car were not opened. And after a half an hour journey full of fear, we safely got to the saved zone. When we saw the Turkish soldiers, we could not help crying. We were free, and we were in a secure region.

However; I needed to go back to Iskele (Larnaka). I had to save my shahid friend's wife and children. I did not want them to be killed on the roads.

I said good-bye to my family and left Nicosia. I made my way through the English base by the Iskele border and secretly reached to Iskele.

We have tried many secret ways to take the family but none of them worked. We tried for many days in vain.

In September 1974, we learned that it would be possible for the family to immigrate to Nicosia in relation with Turkish-Greek leaderships bilateral agreements. We were so happy.

Now it was the time for me time to escape.

The holy month of Ramadan started. It was a time for the spiritual emotions to rise, and pray more. I performed the afternoon namaz in the house we used as a mesjid. I was thinking about how I could escape, which roads I should take while I was taking a walk along the shore.

At that very moment, an old model Mercedes approached me and stopped. The Greek Cypriot driver said: "I am looking for a young man called Zafer. I have a permission document of Greek Regiment Commandment to take that young man to Nicosia." I was shocked. Was that driver telling the truth?

Imam Uncle Mahmut came full of anxiety and talked to the driver. Then he told me that the young man named Zafer was already saved; so I could have used his name instead and could possibly make way to Nicosia." My prayers were accepted. I asked the driver to go home and get a couple of cloths and put that in the car; he accepted. I put a case full of clothes into the car and then we set off.

I was so excited, worried and full of hope to be free... I did not care about my house in Iskele and my goods there anymore. The only ides I had in my mind was to reach to my family, the free zone, Turkish region where the Greeks will not be in

power, Northern Cyprus.

During our journey, the driver tried to stay far from the E.O.K.A (massacre and Greek Cypriots underground organization having the ideal of Enosis) control points. Because member of the E.O.K.A would not care about the permission at all and they would shoot me to death.

An hour journey passed was full of fear and anxiety. I did not want to be killed by Greek Cypriots after such a long and dangerous struggle.

We were there; at the border of Nicosia. We stopped by the Baf Gate border. All of a sudden, we were surrounded by civilian and armed Greek Cypriot young men.

At that moment I lost my belief that I could save myself. My gazes were stuck on the Turkish positions a hundred meters away, and I was waiting the civilian to shoot me.

The driver gave the permission document to armed youngsters. They looked at each other and they took the document to the Greek Cypriot police station that was there.

The situation was extremely serious. One of those armed youngsters could have easily shot me and become a hero because they were educated with hostility against Turks at their schools.

It was absolutely impossible for me to escape and hide somewhere. The young men were awaiting a sudden move of mine. Suddenly, a middle-aged Greek Cypriot came out of the station; a machine gun in his right hand and a bottle of alcohol and the permission document on the left. He was the commander of the region.

The civilian commander checked my things in the car and ordered me to get in it.

He, with two other armed men, got in the car as well.

He asked the driver to move.

I thought they were taking me somewhere else to shoot and I started to pray.

And all of a sudden; the car stopped by the Turkish positions. The commander got off the car and also asked me to get off.

A United Nations soldier came towards us running from the watching positions.

The civilian Greek Cypriot commander turned to the Turkish positions and said: "Hey Huseyin! Come and get this Turk."

I, startled, was watching the things happening.

While I was telling about my situation to the UN soldier, Huseyin said, "Get your things quickly and cross to our side."



Dr. Cemal OZTAS & Dr. Eyup ZENGİN

Undelivered Paper

Migration and Azerbaijan: The Problem of Refugees in Azerbaijan; Drama of Mankind

I. INTRODUCTION

Migration is the name that suggests the event of changing one's society or place as a result of natural, political, and economic difficulties or the need to adapt oneself to new conditions. One of the most fundamental finding that we can deduce from the historical development of the nations is that migration result from social and economic change; from this point of view, migration is a result.

The developments of the 20th century, means of transportation and communication, two basic factors for migration, have enabled and speeded the mobility of human being.

Although the reasons for migration differ from person to person, researchers emphasize on four different reasons. First of all is the primitive migration which was seen among primitive societies, and was influenced by the environmental effects. The second one is the "forcing", and the third is the "forced" migration. Unlike the first group, the second and the third are mainly because of social reasons, a pressure element, or a state, rather than environmental effects. That kind of movements bring three main factors forward, natural disasters, adaptation after wars, and some policies that governments follow.

In other words, it is possible to study the migration dividing it into two main groups, forced and voluntarily migration. The latter one is for people to develop their life standards. But, the former stem from wars, invasions, civil wars, and ethnical conflicts e.t.c, which forces people to leave their homelands.

Throughout Caucasian, in addition to the conflicts in Georgia

and Chechnya, another problem waiting to be solved is the invasion of Azerbaijan lands by Armenia, and unrest of 1 million Azeri deprived from their land. The ongoing fights over 10 years have affected the lives of Azerbaijan people negatively. The saddest effect of these fights is the mass migration. Therefore, Azerbaijan has one of the highest rates of migrants and refugees per capita in the world.

In this study, we will examine the history of this conflict, the hard life conditions they have met, and the problems concerning their habitats, income, employment, health, and nutrition. Also, the measures taken by Azerbaijan and the international organizations to solve the problems this part of the society encounters will be studied.

2. The Concept of Migration

While examining the migration, one of the most important difficulties is to distinguishing. Migrations can be classified to the distance, the places, and the continuity as well as its reasons. Another important thing to identify the migrations is whether they are forced, like the Africans taken to America as slaves, or voluntary. On the other hand, in order to distinguish the migrations from usual movements or changes of people, it needs to be clear whether it is permanent or temporary. The best examples for temporary migration can be given as seasonal workers, wanderers, and holiday makers.

After the explanations above, we can divide it into two groups, internal and external migration;

1. Internal Migration: The habitat change of a person, not less



than a year, in the country he lives is called internal migration.

2. External Migration: If the individual moves to another country to live there, this is called external migration.

The Causes of the Migration

There are several reasons that cause people to leave their own lands and immigrate to new regions. Generally, these are Population and Economic problems, the disorder in the environmental conditions, political conflicts and wars. The disturbance to the natural balance is also a cause of migration. Natural disasters such as Climate change, erosion, floods, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions have caused migration. Many people left the region after the earthquake of the Marmara in 1999, after the Chernobyl disaster, a lot of people migrated.

The individuals' decision to migrate is based on two factors, driving and inviting. The factors making people decide to leave their hometowns and start a new life in another city or country are called driving factors. And, the attractiveness of the places which are destined to go are called inviting factors.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Since almost hundred years, Armenia which has conducted a massacre and ethnic cleaning policy with the support of Russians in Caucasian, Westerners in Anatolia has still been supported by those countries although it is the most trouble maker of Caucasian.

Apart from the genocide they committed in Anatolia, only in South Caucasian, 400 000 Azerbaijan Turks and 120 000 Georgians were massacred in 1918. It is at such a stage that they have invaded 14000km² land of Azerbaijan through these massacres since 1922.

3. SOCIAL STRUCTURE

3.1. ETHNICAL STRUCTURE

Most of the migrants and refugees, %99, are of Azerbaijan decent. Then comes Kurds with number of over 5000. %45 of those living in the Qarabagh escaped to Baku in 1990. Russians comes after the Kurds and the Azeri regarding the rate, more than 300 people, half of whom live in Baku. The migrants from other origins are too small in number.

3.2. SEX AND AGE

To the records of 1994, of the migrants and the refugees are 243 000 children (%38), 80000 retired (%23), and 296 000 people able to work, 160000 of whom are women (%54).

3.3. EDUCATION

Researches show that children of migrants and refugees either don't go to school or sometimes go. They lack the needed dresses and school equipment.

3.4. OCCUPATION

Most of Those at the working age are farmers, 118000 of 246000. There are also teachers, construction workers, and social security service workers among them. 96000 of them have no occupational skill. %25 of them has been employed, and most of those unemployed work at informal jobs.

4. ACCOMMODATION

They live in tent towns, motels, trailers, and dormitories. To statistics, one in fourth of migrants live with their relatives and friends. Most of the refugees live in tents, public building like schools, uncompleted buildings, the construction of tourism and sanitary complex, trailers, and the temporary houses they have built.

5. INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT

Most of the migrants were forced to leave their homelands 13-15 years ago. Within this period, the opportunities of their employment have remained restricted. To the statistics, one third of those able to work are employed. In a survey financed by the World Bank, %36 of the migrants sees themselves unemployed. However, the unemployment rate before the fight that drove them to Azerbaijan was %8. They highly need to develop their occupational skills and to get jobs for earning money. The possibility of their earning money is restricted as the education opportunities are unevenly distributed. The education of the children going to schools is too poor due to the lack of materials, unsuitable and temporary classrooms, and the heating problem in winter.

6. HEALTH AND NUTRITION

The health conditions of migrants and refugees have been studied for some years systematically. In addition to this, the results of a research by WHO, USIAD, and UNICEF in 1996 is still valid for today as no improvements have been noted since then.

48,3% of the immigrants are from Russian Federation, 11,3% from Georgia, 5,8% Kazakhstan, 8% are from Uzbekistan and the other countries.

10. EVALUATION

To the researches, the most important problem of migrants is unemployment and financial problems. The destitute from health services, dress, and food has made life a battleground to survive for the migrants. The education level is too poor and restricted. And, the destinations are far from solving the problems without infrastructures and limited facilities.

Note: This is an English summary of the original Turkish article. For the full version and the references of the paper, please check the Turkish section.



Metanet Azizgizi ALIYEVA

Azerbaijan State Finance University

Born in 1962 in Azerbaijan. Member of the family exiled to Siberia in 1939. Graduate from the Electronics Department of the Automatic Engineering Faculty of State Polytechnic University in Azerbaijan. Between 1993 -1995 graduated from the sociology-pedagogy faculty of the Institute for Re-Preparing the Teachers for Their Profession. Working as a researcher at Azerbaijan State University of Economics since 1995.

Undelivered Paper

Undeclared Armenia Wars, Enforced Azerbaijan Migrants, and Qarabagh Conflict

The land of Azerbaijan was rendered a separated land, a separated country, and a separated nation after occupied by Russians in 1828, and the Gülüstan - Türkmençay treaty signed by Persian, known as Iran now, and Russia between 1813 and 1828.

In the South of Azerbaijan, foundation of Pehlevi Iranian State instead of a Turk Kacar State in 1924 started to identify one nation with two different names, and following that, the forced migration of Azerbaijan people existed in the history.

On May 28, 1918, the first Parliamentary Republic both in Azerbaijan history and in the East was founded, Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan. DRA became an example for Turk and Islam world as being a democratic, social, and international state. At the beginning, the land of the new nation was 114 km²... Before the Russian occupying, it was more than 150 km². DRA survived only 23 months under difficult and tensed political conditions.

In 1920, the end of the free Azerbaijan Republic after Russian occupation ended in not only being a separated country and nation but also in losing its freedom.

The concept of South and North was no longer used; instead, Soviet Azerbaijan came to use, which was to curtain the separated nation and Azerbaijan problem. Therefore, the state of being a separated independent nation and the failure in being a nation as Azerbaijan played an important role in forced migration.

What's more, despite Russian chauvinism's more civilized methods for this forced migration policy, Persians applied this policy by using an obvious force and cruelty. Of course, it is because of the fact that, Persians were less than Turks and the minority always resorted to cruelty and despotism to make its power felt over the majority.

Soviet Russia founded in different form but with the same aims of the Czar's Russia occupied Azerbaijan, gained its inde-



pendence in 1918, and other Turkic lands, and turned them into Soviet Republic by exploiting. In the regions once belonging to Azerbaijan, Armenia, in Zengezur, Vedibasars, Gökce, and İrevan; Georgia, in Borçalı; Russian Federation, in the northern side towards Derbents, were founded. Just a very little land participated in the USSR as free Azerbaijan Republic. The southern was under the control of Iran. Both Soviet and Iran started such a forced migration that it resulted in deaths in mass. With the foundation of Armenia, Armenians had the desire for Qarabagh. In his book Great Soviet Encyclopedia, Kryajin tells, "Daşnaks clearly show their desire to own the lands of Ahalkalak and Borçalı, which participated in Georgia, and Qarabagh in Azerbaijan, and they do everything with this aspect." On July 5, 1921, proposal to have Qarabagh, by Armenian Government, was rejected, and they decided to leave Qarabagh in Azerbaijan designating it as autonomy. However, the forced migration project was prepared and it was nothing different but the same as Christianization of Turkish lands by Czar's Russian. And this project was implemented by USSR.

With the advent of this project, from 1937 to 1939, thousands of Azerbaijan people were expelled to the deserts of Siberia and Middle Asia, demolishing too many thinkers. The scientists and intellectuals, who uttered "Turk" in their every word, were expelled, tortured, and killed leaving no information about even their graves.

After USSR having rejected that proposal on June 5, 1921, the Qarabagh conflict was no more on the agenda. However, Armenian government made a proposal to own it again, writing a letter to Stalin. The central committee of USSR sent that letter to the chief officer of Azerbaijan, Mir Cafer Bağırov. Bağırov objected the hand over of Qarabagh to Armenia except the city of Şuşa, and offered to change our lands in Armenia. But, Armenians rejected that, which ended in rejecting the proposal of adding Qarabagh to Armenia. And, all those meant start of a new phase of migration.

This new phase became "forced migration" implemented by Armenian Communist Party Central Committee in 1947 - 53... with this project, aiming to diminish the Turkish population, people from high mountains were forced to go to plains or deserts, and vice versa, which exposed the people to different climate conditions and disease out of this climate change. Many of our people died from this adaptation problem.

People were forced to leave their lands, which have been made part of Armenia, being paid 30 dollars for each family like mine. Those returning due to climate change couldn't pass Armenian border. Armenians having lived abroad were invit-

ed to live there. Thus, they tried to show the Turkish population in the lands, they claimed theirs, lower than it really was. Although Armenians played a significant role in forcing the Turks to migrate, a good number of Turkish people stayed there. That means expelling to Siberia, destruction of the Azerbaijan, and escape to Turkey did not have any use to empty those lands of Turks completely.

In 1947 - 53, more than 600,000 Azerbaijan Turks were made to leave the lands of their ancestors and so many of them were killed.

From 1953 to 1985, the project to take the lands from people without a war was on the stage, and some of our lands were taken over by Armenia without letting the people know.

In December of 1985, the Daşnak Party and Armenian National Committee declared that they were aiming to the strategy to combine Qarabagh, Nahçıvan, Axalkalaklı region of Georgia with Armenia. Thus, the Qarabagh conflict came to the agenda.

As Armenians could not have the lands completely, they started a more perfect phase of "forced migration project", a complete cleaning. This suggested that Ethnic Armenia State should consist of only Armenians, and their slogan was "not even a Turk on our land!" starting the expelling project again in 1988. That year, more than 250,000 Azerbaijan Turks from West Azerbaijan, i.e. Armenia of today, were expelled cruelly and by force. Therefore, they achieved their ideal to create their own ethnic state.

Since 1988, more than 20% of Azerbaijan was evacuated and more than 1.5 millions of people flowed to Azerbaijan Republic. In that region including Qarabagh remained no Azerbaijan Turk,

Undeclared wars of Armenia against Azerbaijan and claims of lands started the forced migration in 1988 again. Either in Czar's time or Soviet time, Russian chauvinism tore this land region by region, time by time, and part by part, rendering the people victims of forced migration. As a result, 112,000 km² of its lands in 1918-1920 was shared and decreased to 86,600 km², more than 20% of which we do not own.

That forced migration became an escaping life that you could only think of surviving, and the highest point of a forced migration.

In 1991, Azerbaijan regained its independence. From 1990 to 1991, with the help of Russian Army, Armenia occupied Qarabagh Autonomous State (4400 km²), a region of Azerbaijan, and committed genocide over the Turks living there. In addition, they invaded cities surrounding Qarabagh and killed the Turks cruelly.



The historical structures and national monuments in occupied lands of Qarabagh and its surroundings were all destroyed. Thousands of people were left homeless in their own land and felt the worrying of escaping.

52000 people from Tekce Kelbecer town were forced to migrate, rendered homeless. 220 people died on road to Mount Murov, another 321 were tired and hungry, and Armenians took them away.

Anti-Turk policy has become Armenia's main, even the official, ideal for them. Forced migration was a project and Russia was the most enthusiastic supporter of this project. The project consisted of two main phases; first the disposal of Turks from their towns and villages, and changing the old names of these regions. Second was to settle the Armenians from outside on these evacuated areas. In this sort of "forced migration", in contrast to Turks, Armenians were paid a lot of money as a support and imposed the ideal to great Armenia. They considered destruction of mosques, cemeteries anything related to our history as a national motto for their coming great state. As a result of this, at the beginning of the century, regions with Turkish population were cleaned; our historical monuments were destroyed leaving no single Turk behind there called Armenia.

It also resulted in 99% Armenian population in Armenia. The entire world remained silent, and still does the same thing, although they had witnessed that genocide. Due to this, it is not right to attribute the project to only Armenia. Regarding these occupations, UN Security Council declared the articles 822, 853, 874, and 884 to stop the invasion in 1993, but none has been put on action. Our people do know that Armenians committed genocide with the help of the Russian Army. It is such a cruelty that, may be, no nation in this world has ever experienced. As I can not find the right words to describe this cruel-

ty, I am attaching a video tape. I want to do this to show you that the journalist having recorded this tape was not able to complete his task and killed on duty.

HOCALI

Hocalı, an area of 922 km² and with the population of 11544, is a town located at the crossroad of the road to Hanketi-Eskeran and Ağdam- Şuşa in the upper Qaradagh region. Those expelled from Armenia were made to settle there, on purpose, and became a city. It was important not only for its geographical location but also for being at the nearest distance to the airport in Qarabagh. Those expelled from Armenia, some of Mesketi Turks leaving Uzbekistan after Ferkane event increased the population of the town to 11544, and Hocalı has become city. That Turks fleeing and victims of forced migration were made to settle here showed that Hocalı was a part of the Forced Migration Project from the beginning.

On February 26, 1992, Hocalı was totally destroyed by Russians and Armenians. Its people were killed in a way that never occurred before. To some information, 6000 people were taken hostages and their organs were sold on the world black market. Armenia became the secret temple for the organs of Turks. Those who were able to escape that cold and snowy night lost their lives due to the weather. In the dormitory, there is a boy from Hocalı, who everyday lives that day of his childhood. He runs from the ninth floor to the first crying. He cries living that moment. The world is still silent.

It is time for the world to demand justice for all and punish those accused of that genocide. Look carefully those ruling this world! Is there any place that has experienced such a cruelty as Hocalı? Is there any country having only one nation in it like Armenia? Why does the world remain silent? WHY?



IV. SESSION

Migrations from Turkey



IV. SESSION

MIGRATIONS FROM TURKEY

08 December 2006 Thursday

Chairman of the Session

Prof. Dr. Sabahattin ZAIM

Istanbul University

Prof. Dr. Ibrahim TATARLI

Shumen University "Bishop Konstantin Preslavski"

"Turkish Migrants in Bulgaria"

Safter CINAR

Spokesman of Berlin-Brandenburg Turkish Community

Chairman of Berlin-Brandenburg Association of Turkish Parents

"Immigration Process from Turkey to

Federal Republic of Germany and Problems"

Dr. Said Vakkas GOZLUGOL

Governor of Karabuk

"Effect of Domestic Migration on the

Occurrence of Crimes and Internal Security"

Ibrahim GAZIGIL

Ahiska Community

"An Immigration Story: The Immigration Story of an Ahiskan"

UNDELIVERED PAPER

Prof. Dr. Sabahattin ZAIM

Istanbul University

"A Report on the Last Yugoslavian Immigrants"



Prof. Dr. Ibrahim TATARLI

Shumen University "Bishop Konstantin Preslavski"

Born in Bulgaria, Niğbolu in 1925. He worked as a journalist for 10 years. During 1980-1997 he has been a member of Bulgarian National Assembly. Tatarli, who has been Group Vice President of Public and Freedom Movement, is currently a lecturer at Institute of Higher Islam in Sophia and Bishop Konstantin Preslavski University in Shumen.

Turkish Immigrants in Bulgaria

It is a great honor for me to be amongst you. I would like to extend the greetings of the Balkan Turks, especially The Turks in Bulgaria.

Settlement and immigration forms integrity together. They are connected to one another organically. In order to have immigration, there has to be the existence of either ethnicity or religion. Immigrations have various dimensions. By this definition, I would like to make a reference to my speech. My speech is composed of two paragraphs:

The first one; the existence of Turks in the Balkans and Southeastern Europe...

The second one; immigrations from the Balkans...

In Bulgaria, and in the Balkans and Southeastern Europe in a greater scale, both mainland and territorial immigrations have taken place in relation with natural production. The quality and content, and the social functionality of these immigrations have varied according to different ages. The settlement of Turks in Southeastern Europe was realized from two different directions:

1. Turks coming Central Asia following the direction north.
2. Turks coming from Front Asia using the south direction from Middle Asia.

These two kinds of contacts though complete one another, have different features with regards to their characteristics and timing. In the first pattern; the existence of Turks dates back to Iskits, Huns, Avars, Pechenegs, Oghuz Turks, and Kamans. The aspects of similar approaches have been emphasized in the researches of Fuat Koprulu and Kovaski. Those have concretized by Kurat in the field of history; Black Sea in 4-18th century, Turkish tribes and states in the North (Ankara 1972), Ahmet Caferoglu in the field of languages; (History of Turkish Language, Istanbul, 3rd president). Similar approaches have been practiced in similar countries. For example; historians and Turkologists from the relatively older generations; and people from younger generations like Vasiz Zatarski, Ivan Sismanov, Steffan Vodenof have joined. It is a fact that Central Asia Turks have participated in the Immigration of Tribes in large groups which has intensified after the year 375. European Hun Empire, established during that age, was the biggest state of the continent. Generally speaking, European Huns support-



ed the Roman Empire, have engaged in war against the Byzantium. In 435, Hativa enthroned the European Hun Empire. During his reign, the capital of the state was in today's Hungary. The Empire, established as a confederation, was from Central Europe to the coast of Black Sea and The Ural Mountains. Hativa was in sovereignty of the state for 18 years. He has been to Rome, traversed the Alps and returned back, went to the south of Tuna River, besieged many castles like Nij, and utilized the most advanced military supplies in the conquest of it. Hun state delegations visited Constantine, carried out meetings; the historians of the time have taken the measures of persuading one of the closest men of Atilla by Byzantium Emperor and murder the ruler. The Byzantium state delegation, accompanied by the same historians, reached to European Hun Empire; Atilla was found strangled to death in his tent, blood coming out of his mouth. I will not comment on that. Then his sons ruled the state (453); and after a while European Hun State came to an end. In spite of this situation, I would like to mention: European Hun State has prepared the conditions for settlement in the Balkans. That was because; many Turkish tribes -like the former Bulgarians- have joined the Hun State. And following that, new waves have started to come one after another. Turkish ethnical groups like; Kumans, Pechenegs, Oghuz Turks have extensively continue to settle down in the vicinities of Europe, and the region of Bulgarian Kingdom. Some of the generations of the second Bulgarian Kingdom are of Kuman origin; Ivan Asen II, Ivan Sisman... Even there has been a Bulgarian Shah of Tatar origin. Moreover, the Bulgaria; the time they have accepted Christianity. However; they, in time, have slavized. The settlement of Turks to the Balkans and Southeastern Europe through Front Asia dates back to 11th century.

More precisely to say, Anatolia Seljukians organized a military expedition to the Crimea. For the first time, the Anatolian Turks were in the Ukraine steppeland; even some Muslim mosques were built in the Crimea. The historians of the 13th century have information on that. A second contact was in 1261-1264; that is, the war of Izzettin Keykavus II against the Mongolians, and then taking shelter in Constantine, and cooperating with the Byzantines. And during those times, that is; when they had good relations, Sarisaltuk Turks were populated either in the Balkans or the Crimea. There are Byzantine and Turkish records about that. Within that context; approaching towards the Rumelia in a broader sense was the first settlements. But the extensive settlements of the Turks in the Balkan were during the Ottoman time. I would like to note that;

Turkish population in Anatolia is estimated to be 1 million in the 12th century (Inanc, 1944, p.175). In the 14th century, total population of the Anatolian principalities increased to 5 million (Oztuna). In terms of population, Ottoman principality was in the first place. Population was 1 million at that time. Upon the arrival of the Ottomans to the Balkans, Turkish people were continuously populated in the region. The palace officials and the bourgeoisie were located in the Rumelia. Saruhan train station is in the region of Tulbe. They were located there; that is to say, generally in the Tulbe area. But more settlements of Turkish people took place Yuruks (nomadic Turks) and Fatihans.

The Turks have extensively settled down in that region. Even during that time, a great Turkish movement was observed in the Balkans, the southeastern Europe. Omer Lutfi Barkan has paid a special emphasis on the colonization of the dervishes, the dervish lodges in the Ottoman Empire. When Ottoman Empire became a world state in the 16th century, the population was 100 million. There arises an idea about the Turkish population during the Ottomans. In 1453 13 million, in 1594 100 million, in 1700 77 million, in 1750 26 million, in 1800 63 million, in 1850 56 million and it decreases down to 25-28 million in 1874... In 1885 17 million, decreases down to 15 million in 1914; and in 1923 the population is 12 million. I will not go into the details of the resources. As you may see, there was an extensive settlement down in the Balkan during that period. I will not be going further details about the situation in Bulgaria. For example; in Bulgaria the population was 1.179.000 in 1500; and 1.631.000 in 1600; that is to say, a very low population. The population movements exhibit such a situation generally.

2: It may not be absolutely stated when Turkish emigrations from the Balkans to the southeastern Europe started. However especially with Karlofca and Pasarofca Agreements; Hungarian lands like; Buda Eger, Kanije, Erdel have been lost, and some time later even Belgrade was lost. At the end of 18th century, the beginning of 19th century; the establishments of independent nation states have intensified in the Balkan Peninsula. In 1815, Serbia has acquired autonomy, and Greece announced its independence after the Russian-Turkish war in 1824. During those times, Turkish and Muslim migrations have taken place for those legions. Those migrants were populated in especially Dobruca within the Ottoman Empire territory. Let us think about my students; the people who have come from Bosnia have been populated in Dobruca. And later in Trachea, etc...



With 1877-1878 war, a new phase has started for the migrations from the Balkans and especially Bulgaria. Before the 1877-78 war, total population in Bulgaria was 3.310.400. A total number of 1.800.000 people, which is 54%, of the population were Muslim. Bulgarians were around 45%. Russian-Turkish war was like genocide. During the war, 300.000 Turks were massacred. 1 million people were enforced for migration.

In those times, Russians were governing Bulgaria. Some of the Muslims migrating return back. They were not allowed at the boundaries to enter Bulgaria; their lands were taken over; they were in a very difficult situation. During the Balkan wars; First Balkan War turned out to be a massacre like the Russian-Turkish war. At that time, many people emigrated. The figures in relation with years are; 1 million in 1880, 200 thousand in 1880, 11 thousand in 1893, etc. A total number of 1.710.000 people.

After the year 1913, the relations between Turkey and Bulgaria have changed. And after the second war of the allies, Bulgarians cooperated with the Ottoman Empire. They fought together during the First World War. During the Independence War of Turks in 1919-1922 and after the declaration of the republic in 1923, the two nations have come to an agreement. The policy of Turkey during those days was; to gather all the Turkish people in Anatolia. Ataturk, at that time; made speeches and his address in Izmir... He says: "The population of Turkey has decreased down to 8 million. How can we save the world of Muslims in such a situation? Take India for example; population is 70 million; they can do it. Ataturk, in another speech, states: "The population should at least be 15 million in order to protect its independence. It has to be 70 million in order to be a state of legions." A program has been established based on that fact. Thanks God, during the republican period, the Turks have been gathered from various regions and I think Turkey's population is nearly 70 million today.

As for the other emigrations, I have the information but I will not go into details. 198.680 people have emigrated from 1923 to 1939. This occurred in accordance with the agreement between

the two countries. They have sold their goods, bringing their money, etc... During the totalitarian times, the Communist party in power had a hypocritical policy. On one hand, they have provided some advantages for the Turks; but they were conducting sly policies against the Turks on the other. In 1947, they have started to practice domestic immigration. They have evacuated the Turks from the borders, and have tried to locate them in the northern regions. And they did that in great numbers. In 1950-1951, a total number of over 200.000 have emigrated; that is to say, they were forced to migrate. Stalin states in 1949, while talking to the presidents of Bulgarian administration; "Force the Turks to emigrate, and exchange money." Those took place due to the effects of that approach. But the policy of Moscow has changed afterwards. Supposedly, Central Asia Turkish states had an affect on that. Stalin picked the phone up and told the Prime Minister 'to stop emigration'. From that date on, Bulgaria is the homeland of Turkish people. This continues from 1951 to 1960. And continues till 1984; secretly of course... And the main objective is to realize the world revolution of Stalin; preparing staff in Turkey and having them participate in the revolution in Turkey.

I would like to sum up and finalize my speech. Now, new schools are established; from the elementary school to universities... A "Turkish Desk" was established in Sophia University at that time; and people are brought from Azerbaijan. The cultures are developed. But in contrary to what they have expected; a healthy and nationalistic Turkish intelligentsia grows. And they reject the totalitarian regime. As a result, that policy is changed and genocide takes place; and it is openly done. And the genocide starts at that time; that is to say, a genocide on a greater scale and more extensive. A number of 200.000 people emigrate from Bulgaria during those times. Passports of 100.000 people have been taken. Turkey accepts the emigrants. And that emigration continues for years.

Thank you very much.

Note: The paper of Mr. Tatarli has not been sent to us; therefore his speech is published. (Editorial Staff)



Safer Cinar

*Spokesman of Berlin-Brandenburg Turkish Community
Chairman of Berlin-Brandenburg Association of Turkish Parents*

Born in Brussels in 1946. Is a Turkish-German citizen. Graduated from the Department of Managerial Economics in Western Berlin. Serving as the Manager for the Consultancy for Aliens of DGB Berlin-Brandenburg Organization of the German Trade Unions Association since 1991, Çinar has carried out several duties on the issues of youth, education and translation tests and been active in NGOs. Chairman of the Turkish Parents Association in Berlin-Brandenburg. Also the founder of 1977 Aliens Committee. Served as spokesman for DPWV Migration Board between 1987 and 1991 and member of the Federal Board (congress that elects the German President). Awarded with the Order of Merit in 2005 by the Presidency of the Federal Germany.

Immigration Process from Turkey to Federal Republic of Germany and Problems

"It was workforce that was required; but people came."

-Max Frisch (1965)

There were 1.877.661 Turkish citizens, 866.825 of which were women, residing in the Federal Republic of Germany as of the year 2004 (25.6% of all foreign nationalities). 650.000 people who have acquired FRG citizenship may be added to that number. In that population, the number of people who were born in FRG is 654.853, and 1.059.300 citizens of Republic of Turkey have been residing in this country for over 15 years.

Worker immigration from Turkey to FRG has started with the "guest worker" agreement signed on the 30th of October, 1961. We may examine process of immigration from Turkey to FRG in four phases:

1. Guest workers (1961-1973)
2. Family unifications (as of 1974)
3. Incentives for returns (1982-1986)

4. Permanent stay in FRG and the period of harmonization discussions (as of 1990)

1. GUEST WORKER (1961-1973)

As of 1961, German Federal Labor Office has announced that Federal Germany has launched an employment process by placing advertisements in the newspapers in Turkey. The office has established "guest worker" employment bureaus in Turkey, and by employing specialist staff partially from Germany has started this process. As it was envisaged that the guest workers to be employed would do heavy and trivial jobs, the main condition required from the candidate was to have an elementary school diploma and to be under 3 years of age. The people who have applied the bureaus have undergone a medical check-up, and their hands skills were tested; finally the eligible ones were sent to Germany.



Although during the first couple of years, the selection of workers required by the workplaces was carried out by those bureaus; in the following years, it was made possible for German workplaces to invite workers from Turkey (through the bureaus again) by providing names. Within that context; the workers in Germany have had the opportunity of having their wives, relatives in Germany as "guest workers." In the late 1960s, the applications from the underdeveloped regions of Turkey were prioritized in compliance with a protocol between the two governments.

One-year-contracts were signed with the guest workers, and it was legally possible to send them back to at the end of that term. Federal German governments have defined this fact as "rotation policy" and have defended for long years. This approach (with the pressures of the employers), in contrary with any economical logic, even though it was not valid in the practice, the deception of "rotation policy" added to the deception of "guest worker" has been the main basis of harmonization problems of today. Our people have perceived themselves as temporary in Germany for decades; and German society also had the same approach towards those people.

In the contracts of "guest workers", there was a clause stating the obligation for them to reside in the facilities (guest worker hostels) provided for a period of one year; and in case of quitting the job/layoff the before a term of one year ends, the necessity of returning his own country arises.

However, the economy continued to grow in spite of the crisis in 1965-1967, the contracts have been steadily extended, and "guest worker" employment lasted till September 1973.

2. FAMILY UNIFICATIONS (as of 1974)

After the petroleum crisis, the government of Federal Germany has officially ceased the employment of "guest workers" on November 23, 1973. As of 1974, guest workers were allowed to bring their close family members (wives and children under the age of 18) to the country within the framework of family unifications. Family unification was dependent on the condition of having the sufficient income to take care of the family members and having a residence to have them stay. During that period, the number of foreigners in Germany has increased from 2.976.500 (1970) to 4.453.000 (1980). During the same period, the increase of the number of socially secured working foreigners was only from 1.838.900 to 1.925.600; and this situation shows the process in figures.

But Federal German governments and therefore the society

have continued to regard those people as 'temporarily residing in Germany'; that is to say, although the policies of FRG allowed family unifications in 1974 and transformed the "guest worker employment" into a "receiving immigrations to the country" process, they failed to develop a systematical immigration and harmonization policy; and were not successful in defining the roles and responsibilities of both FRG society and the immigrants. Therefore, no kinds of effort to harmonize with the society has been required from the family members who have been permitted to enter the country, the precautionary measures in order to support the achievement of harmonization were not taken.

If the measures to be taken today, including being over 21 years of age for both the spouse living in Germany or who will be coming to Germany, sending the spouses back of those who have not attended harmonization courses, proving knowledge of German before coming to Germany (according to us, this is contrary to constitution of Federal Germany and European Agreement of Human Rights), were actually lawful and legally appropriate when family unifications were first allowed in 1974.

Federal Germany government was following the ideology of "FRG is not a country of immigrations" on one hand; established the "Official of Federal Foreigners" body due to the harmonization problems growing every single day on the other; and appointed social democrat Heinz Kühn to that position (November 2, 1978) who has been the Prime Minister in the North Rhine - Westfallen state for long years. Upon the publishing of "The Memorandum Regarding the Status and Development of the Harmonization of Foreign Workers and Their Families in FRG" by Heinz Kühn in 1979, a comprehensive analysis and solutions package for the first time was proposed but never have been implemented. That memorandum, even today, is still up-to-date in spite of 25 years passed.

3. INCENTIVES FOR RETURNS (1982-1986)

During the late seventies, springing from the fact that there was a positive development in the economy, even beyond not being able to implement the memorandum, social democrat-liberals governed by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt made the coalition government take severe measures; first the family unifications and later the right of political asylum was limited. In the October of 1982, the coalition of Christian democrat-liberals, established upon the becoming of Helmut Kohl the chancellor, included "reducing the number of foreigners in FRG" in its program and enacted a "Law of incentives for returns" on



1st of December, 1983. However, "incentives" stated in the law are essentially an in advance payment of foreigners' vested rights of social funds; therefore the number of returns were not as high as expected. Although 500.000 foreigners have left FRG during 1982-1986, the total population of foreigners has only decreased from 4.666.900 down to 4.512.700.

Although financial funds have been abundantly spent from 1980 to 1990, due to not being able to develop a specific political and social perspective, the desired results were not attained. Permanent

5. THE PERIOD OF PERMANENT STAY IN FRG AND DISCUSSIONS ON HARMONIZATION (as of 1990)

Let alone the unsuccessful attempts of incentive measures for returns, this policy had a counter effect; the people who have come the FRG as "guest workers" and the people who have followed them comprehended that their status has turned out to be one of a permanent. When the possibility of returning the homeland came on to the scene by a financial contribution, even though a small amount, they have seriously thought about the subject and they have perceived that FRG has become their second country, a center of their social lives.

This new perception; not only resulted in a less demand for returns, but also as the 90s were on the way, the Turkey originated immigrants involved in political developments in Turkey and establishing organizations with regards to the political movements in Turkey in the previous decades; they have started to establish their own organizations and struggle for equal rights in FRG.

Within this context, Berlin-Brandenburg Turkish Community (TBB), and the roof organization of TBB; Germany Turkish Community (ATT) were established in 1191 and 1995 respectively.

In the beginnings of 90s, in addition to the facilitative reforms in The Citizenship Code of FRG regarding the attaining German citizenship, as a result of the realization of legal regulations of Turkish governments regarding acquiring citizenships of the countries they live out of Turkey, (the possibility of termination of Turkish citizenship before completing military service, easy regaining of Turkish citizenship, pink card, etc.); there has been great developments in acquiring German citizenship. And this situation led to an increased number and effect of Turkey originated voters; during that period, people of Turkey origin were elected to Federal Parliament, State Parliaments, and municipality councils.

Schröder government, established with the coalition of social democrat-green in 1988, has received a great support from Turkey originated voters with their promises on harmonization and equal rights. However, the promises were not kept; and the amendment regarding the re-acquiring Turkish citizenship after acquiring German citizenship, the termination of German citizenship would automatically take place, so that situation hindered the pace of re-acquiring Turkish citizenship. In spite of that law, people who have re-acquired Turkish citizenship face an unjust treatment due to that situation. Immigration Code, enacted in 2005, has been unable to offer measures on the issues of equal rights and the equality of opportunities; and what is more brought some severe decrees. In spite of the binding directives of EU, no laws against discrimination have been enacted.

SUGGESTIONS AND DEMANDS

First of all, the basic approach and objectives of FRG immigration and harmonization policies should be changed: The fact that FRG has turned out to be a country of immigration should be taken into consideration; and rather than conducting policies based on blaming and sanctions, an approach of trying to realize equal rights and prevent isolation should be sovereign.

Legal measures:

- The foreigners' law should change; and the restrictions on the family unifications of immigrants, settlement in the country should be abolished.
- The Law against Isolation, a necessity of EU law, should be enacted in a way that it includes all the relevant directives.
- German Citizenship Code should be modernized; dual citizenship should be regarded a normal condition, and the German citizenship should be granted to the children who are born in FRG without looking for any other conditions other than that of the mother and/or the father of the baby is resides in the country legally.
- The right of being elected locally should be granted to third country nationalities who have settled in FRG.
- The content of the harmonization courses should not be limited to German language courses for the new immigrants; it should also include practical information about the society and it should bring measures supporting employment.

Education:

- FRG education system should be restructured in accordance with the requirements of a multi-cultured society.



- Multicultural structure of the society should be taken into consideration in the appointment of teachers and instructors, curriculum plans, and text books.
- The native languages of the immigrant origin children should be regarded as richness; and those languages should be included in the curriculums of educational institutions. For that purpose; appointment of Turkish instructors to German universities should become widespread.
- The lack of knowledge of German language should not be a cause of excluding measures for the children of immigrant origin who are at the age of starting education.
- Immigrant origin people should be prioritized in the appointment of teachers and instructors.
- Special support should be provided to immigrant origin young men during the process of professional education.
- Programs, aiming to increase the contribution of immigrant origin parents to the educational system, should be implemented.
- The necessity of providing religious education in schools to children having Islamic beliefs like the Christian children should be realized. Within this context, Islam Religion Course curriculum and text books in compliance with the conditions of FRG should be prepared and the appointment of relevant instructors to FRG universities should become more widespread.

Employment:

- Special measure should be taken for immigrant origin unemployed people, and within this scope; the elimination of insufficient knowledge of German language should be included within the tasks of the Institution of Labor.
- The equivalency of professional diplomas and certificates of the immigrant origin people should be recognized; and if there are qualitative deficiencies, courses in order to improve those should be provided.
- The legal obstacles against opening a workplace and receiving credits should be abolished; supportive measures need to be taken for those attempts.

EXPECTATIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

With the beginning of 90s, the governments of Republic of Turkey gave up perceiving the people living abroad as “people living from their homeland” and rather focused on policies which promote establishedness and harmonization. Within

this context; we may observe new facilitative legal regulations promoting especially the acquisition of citizenship. Those policies need to be developed more and the actions need to be taken in order to integrate people with the society they live in. Especially the fear of losing one's authentic personality should be eliminated; and from now on it should be mentioned as German people of Turkish origin, French people of Turkish origin rather than Turkish people in Germany, Turkish people in France. One of the most important elements within that scope is: the curriculum and text books of the consulship courses (education of native language, courses on religious culture) should be organized in relation with the conditions of the country being lived in, the instructors should be possibly chosen from young people who have lived in that country, and if it is deemed necessary to appoint teachers from Turkey, the rotation system should be given up. Otherwise, up until the day those teachers perceive the conditions of the country and the social psychology of our kids, their terms of work end and everything is started from the scratch again. The similar implementation should be valid for the appointment of religious officials.

CONCLUSION

Today, on one hand people of Turkey origin participate in all the fields of the society (industry and trade, politics, self-employment, public sector, etc.) on the other hand, there is an extensive failure of education and unemployment observed. In parallel to that, a part of the Turkish origin society in FRG become introvert, has the tendency of dealing with extreme nationalism and extreme religious movements.

The policy of “accepting the reality of immigration” practiced in FRG has integrated with the “we are temporarily here, we will sooner or later return home” psychology the Turkey origin people have dreamed of up until the 90s. The main reason of the problem of harmonization of Turkish origin people in FRG is; in spite of a period of immigration lasting for 50 years, a systematical harmonization policy has only come on to the scene in the last couple of years.

These facts, due to the differences of lifestyle of Turkish and German society together with the social section of the majority of people coming from are affiliated with, have caused more severe problems.

And Turkey origin society has developed a lifestyle of their own; as they have been employed for heavy jobs with very low wages for decades and as long as they have kept doing their



job they were never asked for any other things. During the last 10-15 years, and especially 2000s when the problems presented themselves severely, blaming the Turkey origin people for the problems in harmonization by the FRG institutions is at least an unjust situation.

BERLIN-BRANDENBURG TURKISH COMMUNITY (TBB) is a ROOF organization defending the rights and advantages of 1700.000 Turks living in the two states of Germany; Berlin and Brandenburg. TBB is a member of Germany Turkish Community (ATT).

- The aim of TBB may be summarized as; struggle for attaining equal rights for the foreigners in Germany, and against racism and isolation.
- The activities of TBB are oriented for Germany only.
- TBB, are not into the politics of Turkey and the world; does not make comments on them.
- The primal demands of TBB for Turks who have settled in Germany and other foreigners are:
 - Facilitation of acquiring German citizenship, automatically becoming a German citizen for those who have been born in Germany and in both cases protection of Turkish citizenship (dual citizenship)
 - In addition to German, courses on Turkish language and culture at schools.
 - Radio-television broadcasts of foreigner living in German in their mother tongues.
 - Employment of foreign origin people especially in the state sector.
 - Measures to be taken against exclusion foreigners and racist practices.
 - TBB tries to establish a public opinion in relation this these objectives; affect especially political decision making bodies and strives for achieving relevant legal and other regulations.
 - In addition to these objectives; BERLIN-BRANDENBURG TURKISH COMMUNITY, also provides social and cultural services to our people in Berlin and Brandenburg.

Currently, there are 19 members of BERLIN-BRANDENBURG TURKISH COMMUNITY:

1. Association for Protecting and Beautification of Bahadın (BAHADIN-DER)
2. Bengi- Center for Turkish Folkloric Studies (TÜHABİLİM)
3. Berlin Turkish Science and Technology Center (BTBTM)
4. Berlin Council of Turkish Culture (BTK)
5. Berlin Association of Turkish Travel Agencies (BETÜSAB)
6. Berlin Association of Turkish Women (BTKB)
7. Berlin-Brandenburg Association of Turkish Parents
8. Accumulation Culture Center
9. FC Goztepe
10. Association of Solidarity of Retired, Physically Disabled, and Elderly People (EM-DER)
11. Black Sea Culture Association
12. KSF Umutspor
13. Center for Intercultural Social democrats (IZ)
14. The Union of Psychosocial Specialists (BPSF)
15. SG Anadoluspor
16. The Solidarity Association of Turkish-German European School
17. Center of People from Turkey
18. Black Sea Environmental Protection Association.
19. Forum of Turkish-German Academicians.

Activities carried out by BERLIN-BRANDENBURG TURKISH COMMUNITY having a total staff of 25 people:

- Multicultural Information Center: Law of foreigners, citizenship code, military service in FRG and Turkey, etc.
- TBB Institution for Education of Adults
- The Project of preparing unemployed adults for professional education and employment
- A network of Protection against Racism and Exclusion
- Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Regional Development Project
- The Project of Promoting the Process of TR-EU Membership
- The Project of Contributing to the Education of Adults in Turkey and EU.

In addition to all these, member institutions to TBB provide services in their relevant fields.



Dr. Said Vakkas GOZLUGOL

Governor of Karabük

Born in 1965 in Kahramanmaraş. Graduated from the Faculty of Law in Ankara University between 1984 and 1988. While serving his internship for the post of district officer between 1990 and 1992, obtained Master's Degree on the Discipline of Public Law. From his post of the Chairman of the Strategy Center of the Ministry of Interior where he was appointed in 2003, he was appointed as the Governor of Karabük. Has got numerous published articles and two books. Served as manager for many projects and as instructor on human rights.

Effect of Domestic Migration on the Occurrence of Crimes and Internal Security

Urbanization is an inevitable process for every country undergoing a development of industry and technology. Developed and developing countries have undergone the process of urbanization and they still are. This process, evolving in different patterns and timings in each and every country, leads to many structural problems in countries which struggle to become an industrial society today.

Including the developed countries which have completed the process of urbanization in a great extend; no country in the development phase has prevented the problems caused by domestic immigration by planned measures and consequently they have experienced such problems.

1950s is evaluated as the starting process of immigration from rural to urban areas. Within this framework; urban population which was 25% in 1950 has increased to 65% in the year 2000 according to the census.

Today, the rates of urbanization are regarded as one of the

indicators of the level of development of a country. And in developed countries, the rate of urbanization goes high up to 80-90%. Within this scope, activities carried out in order to prevent or invert immigration are perceived as a false strategy for the countries which are on the way of becoming industrialized. For this reason; as far as orientation and control of immigration are concerned, preparing the infrastructures of cities and realizing the integration of immigrants in the city should be considered as the basic precautions to be taken.

Today, inability to control migration from rural to urban areas -and even to big cities- caused areas of non-planned urbanization which are called in the cities as 'suburbs'.

On the other hand; this process brings unhealthy settlement regions, low socio-economical life standards, imbalance in the levels of income, dissolving social structure, scattered families, enforcing children to work on the streets, violence within the family, sexual and emotional exploitation and lack of educa-



tion and many other factors which compel our children and young people to the street and crimes.

In relation with those factors, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of kids living on the streets and usage volatile substances among them; and public security incidents carried out by kids occupy the agenda of the public increasingly.

The researches conducted by sociologists and economists bring up that there is a relation between the economical conditions of young people and crime rates. This relation is more clearly observed especially between unemployment and crime oriented attitudes.

Undoubtedly, poverty has an affect on security. The problems caused by poverty negatively affect the family life and social development. This process leads to negative results both for children and adults.

Today, Istanbul being in the first place, we face a lot of security problems in big cities. Some of those problems are; street kids, purse-snatching, picking pockets, addiction to drugs and etc.

In addition to this, factors like; inability to achieve social integrity, imbalance in the distribution of income, social inequalities prepare the grounds for easier formation of mafia and terror organizations in the rural areas and shanties of the city.

People, migrating from the rural to the urban area with great expectations, not being able to find the services -education, health, job, and security- that will meet their expectations or the insufficiency of those services will cause especially young people come face-to-face with illegal organizations.

The individual facing such an environment tends to become a

member of any formation which will embrace, value, and provide them an identity; and may become of the fieriest defender or owner of the community they belong to. Those groups of people, feeling depressed, despised, and refused; takes on a different identity in such formations with the effect of being valued.

Terrorist organizations intensify their propaganda activities on our citizens living in the shanties; and exploit the situation caused by the educational, economical, and social problems.

Especially, inability to establish neighborhoods or municipalities in the suburban-like new settlement areas around the big cities leads to a lack of authority; and when this lack of authority combine with the other problems of the city prepare the appropriate grounds for terrorist organizations.

Besides, the complicated structure of those regions due to unplanned construction facilitates the accommodation of terrorist organizations and makes it harder for security forces to intervene with incidents taking place.

This situation, at the same time, leads to an incapacity to conduct effective controls on the region and paves the way for the members of the terrorist organizations to carry out their activities freely and hence putting a pressure on the people of the region.

Therefore; it is compulsory to ensure a planned development together with urbanization and environmental policies. Within this framework, in addition to restoring policies which have been conducted in the past and still being, the obligation of developing preventive policies and achieving a planned improvement within that respect is awaiting us on the way.



Ibrahim GAZIGIL

Ahiska Community

Born in 1952 in Uzbekistan. Graduated from the Faculty of Law of Tashkent State University.

After completing his education in 1979, served as legal adviser and chief legal adviser at the Ministry of Communications of Uzbekistan. Obtained his Master's Degree on the patents law at the Institute of Inventions and Patent-Holders in this country. He immigrated to Turkey with his family and cause associates on 11th February 1993. As from 1996, began to practice law on behalf of the Turkish citizens and firms in CIS countries.

An Immigration Story: The Immigration Story of an Ahiskan

Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. Everybody in Turkey knows who the Ahiskan Turks are. Unfortunately, 15-20 years ago nobody knew about us. I myself had suffered from that. In 1578, after the Ottoman conquers the Caucasus; that is Georgia, populates the region with Turks coming from various regions of Turkey. I am one of the grandsons of them. In 1829 after the Russian-Turkish war, in accordance with the Edirne Agreement, Ahiska is given to Russian. The remaining people after the killings in Ahiska and the cities in the region immigrate to Anatolia. Today, the people living in Corum and around are grandchildren of those people. The Ahiskan in the villages continue to live there up until 1944. In 1917, after the Russian Revolution, Menshevik Georgians and Dashnak Armenians massacred there. I say this everywhere I go, but they it is not like that. But the documents tell us that it is the way I say. But the worst grief of all starts with the withdrawal of the Ottomans, and we and our ancestors staying there. Because starting from that day on, our community -the Ahiska community- cannot participate in any activity regarding the governance of the state. And the Ahiskans are not accepted for

serving the military among all the Caucasian communities by Russian state. Although the other communities during various periods have been accepted for serving the military, the yare not accepted. Why? Because they regard our community as a continuation of Ottoman State! In the same manner, after the establishment of the Soviets in 1917, the Ahiskan Turks living in the Ahiska region are not accepted for military service up until 1938. And at the end, in the year 1944, as previous speakers have mentioned, based on the decision of Stalin; the Ahiskan Turks are evacuated from the region they have settled down; and that is the reason, the documents are in unveiled, the archives. The Soviets, taking into consideration that after the war they would have attacked Turkey; and if such a war takes place, as Ahiskan as Turks, they will be against us together with Republic of Turkey; because the cause has been shown that way. Consequently, they were exiled to different regions of Central Asia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan in November 14, 1944. This is a reality. I was born in the city of Fergana in Uzbekistan, in 1952. I am a graduate of the faculty of law. Since the day I had got to know myself, I struggled to



come to Anatolia; the homeland of my ancestors. Within that struggle, we have established such a formation, putting some money, with my friends at the beginning of 1980s. We thought some day in the future the nation will fall over. We should not be crushed under it. We put our efforts to reach to our homeland. As of 1985, when Gorbachev made his first speech in April as he was in the power, I said to my friends: "It is over, this nation is over!" because everything was summarized in his speech. Our first job to do with friends was to write petitions to the Turkish General Embassy. But during that time, no one knew about us in Turkey. We could not get any replies. Despite, we presented our first petition to Russian authorities in 1987 officially. We also informed the Turkish authorities. And the reply from the Turkish authorities was: if the Soviets allows, you may come to Turkey; but the Soviets did not give us permission. In the meantime, Gorbachev was elected as the president; the concept of 'democracy' started to appear, we saw that everyone was somehow looked after but we as 'Turks' were not. I told the Turkish Ambassador of the time, Volkan Vural. I said, 'Mr. Ambassador, look after us. It will be enough if you imply that you will be receiving us to Turkey; no one will be able to touch us.' He said: 'No, we cannot involve in this.' And unfortunately it all happened. You want to know what happened. A massacre took place against the Turks in Uzbekistan on the 23rd of May, 1989 due to reasons we still do not understand. When I say 'massacre', people tell me not to use the word. But it was a massacre. This is how the massacre happened: In Uzbekistan, having a population of 20 million, 10.000 Turkish people was massacred. It started in Frangana city. In the beginning, this was written on all banners: "Death to Turks. We repeat what Timur the Lame did!" That was catastrophic, what a grief it was. I and my friends tried to reach and talk to the administrators of Uzbekistan. We said, 'What are you doing? This is a historical shame. But nobody listened to us. Everyone pretended not to see. We have applied many times to the administrators and Gorbachev and nothing was done. We were defenseless in a very big country of 300 million people. What could we possibly do? In spite of all these, nobody could defend us. We still remember the bitterness we have experienced in Uzbekistan those days. We are sad; I personally think all these are due to ignorance. It is ignorance

beyond a fratricidal fight. The same race, same religion, same sect; and what is more we were not there voluntarily. They have forcefully taken and located us, our ancestors there. While all these were happening, we struggled to settle down in Turkey. The officials of the time said that we were to settle down in Turkey; but that did not happen. I came to Turkey, met with President Ozal. He gave me the promise that 1000 families of ours would settle down in Turkey on October 1, 1990. But it was not our destiny. Our immigration was postponed due to Saddam Hussein. Everything started from the scratch. When all these were resolved, an early election was made in Turkey, and a government was in power. With the new government, all our efforts up until that date have been for nothing. I came to Turkey for a second time. I stayed for five months. I started from scratch. I had meetings with Prime Minister Demirel and Turgut Ozal lasting for long hours. Ozal said to me: "If it is God's will, and if I live long enough, I will have settle down in the Southeastern Anatolia. And I will provide you with a gun and a flag. You will also serve for this country, and die if necessary." And we agreed that. But this could not happen. In the year 1992, a law was accepted in the Turkish Grand National Assembly; 'the immigration of Ahiskan Turks to Turkey with and without housing.' In accordance with that law, we were to settle down with or without housing possibilities. But due to some unknown reasons - Southeastern Anatolia Project region was concerned, maybe it was against the advantages of some third parties- only and only 150 families of Ahiskan Turks were let to immigrate to Igdir with housing opportunities allocated. Nothing has been done else than that. That law is still valid. But actually it has no validity. I would like to say -I do not care about what other people say- someone is trying to isolate us. They say, 'You are this and that...' Let me put it once more. I do not care about what other people say; I would like to say, 'We are a part of Anatolia. We have come to Anatolia and we will continue to come. Despite all, we come here to die. This nation is ours, this flag is ours. Yes, immigrating is very difficult. It leads to many troubles. In spite of all these, we come here to die! We come here not only to live, but also to die if necessary. And we will continue to come. The last Ahiskan existing will come here too. May everyone know this! Thank you very much.



Pro. Dr. Sabahattin ZAIM
Istanbul University

Undelivered Paper

A Report on the Last Yugoslavian Immigrants

I. INTRODUCTION

Although the number of the Turks emigrating from Yugoslavia, since 1953, had been as high as the Bulgarian expelling, between 1950 and 52, it did not have the same impact on the world media as the latter one did. In fact, there are many similarities in terms of the causes and conditions of the migration.

The Yugoslavian government opened its borders following the Balkan Treaty; however, it seemed reluctant, at first, for two reasons:

1. The possible danger of revealing the real conditions of internal situation of existing system by the emigrants.
2. In case of the increase in the number of the emigrants, the world would take this as the failure of the regime and it might affect Yugoslavia and Communism in a bad way.

Surprisingly, the free world and Turkic nations barely reacted to this, which led Yugoslavia to allow the migration making the use of this movement at its utmost. They tried to accelerate the process for the Turks, who had problems in adapting to the new regime and were considered undesired components.

The aim was take every bit Turks had before the migration started as much as possible, and make those people miserable and in destitute as burdens on Turkey's economy.

II. THE CAUSES OF THE MIGRATION OF TURKS IN YUGOSLAVIA

A. ECONOMIC REASONS

Even at the very beginning of the Communist regime, Yugoslavian government treated the Turkish people differently when they started the fight against the rich.



a. The mandatory and illogical quotas in agricultural production, and inequality in determination of these; decreasing the vital needs of Turkish farmers.

The aim of these was to force the Turks to leave their villages and lead them to the cities or to abuse of them until the migration. Those forcibly settled in the cities were assimilated into the communism system, they were told to join the communist party if they wanted to get a job. Those who opposed it worked for very low wages.

b. The ban of trading and the conditions of traders:

The interests, estates, and goods of traders were forcibly taken by the government after the new regime; furthermore, they were accused of being capitalist and put in the prisons. So, employers who had lost everything they had were obliged to become workers.

c. The conditions of self employed people;

This group was, too, forced to become workers at factories through the unequal practices of local committees or to join the governmental corporations regarding their working areas.

d. The employees

Even under the so-called protection of the regime, the Turkish workers were treated unequally in a way that they were ranked to some aspects such as "being a communist but not Turk", "Neither communist nor Turk", and "Turk but not communist". As we can easily see, the Turkish people in both political groups were considered at lower rank and statue.

e. According to new finance system, the taxation was arranged by committees, who could charge anyone in a subjective and flexible way; shortly, separate applications for Turks as all arrangements and decisions were made locally:

As in all other communist countries, the most effective way of pressure was financial mechanism, taxation system. The system worked on the basis of a so-called law to satisfy the external world, which allowed the state, de facto, to abuse and apply it to different groups in different forms.

B. SOCIAL CAUSES OF MIGRATION

The aim of communism was to destroy the some social ties that could create an opposition group. Especially, the Turks, whose traditional and religious lives were strong and who were conservatives and devoted to their families, were subjected to special pressures. The pressures on Turks could be divided as follows;

1. Compulsory purchase with the lower prices than it really was, forced internal migration, allocation of non – Turks, even communist spies, into Turkish houses designed just for one family;

These resulted in the loss of home privacy that Turkish people gave much importance.

2. Interference in the way they dressed and pressures on women;

Authentic dresses, the symbols of the traditional ties of Turkish women and element distinguishing themselves from the others, were changed by force.

3. The reaction of the parents in response to the imposing communist ideas to their children at schools and other communities;

The communist leaders resorted to any way to make the coming generations communist as they had realized it was not easy to turn the old into communists. Both in school life and in the social life, the political organization of AFJ worked systematically to make the Turkish youth accustomed to the new system. This became the most important reason of the migration for most Turkish Families.

4. Forced Marriages

The Turkish girls were urged, sometimes forced, to marry to Slavic boys. And the Turkish boys, member of communist party, were imposed to get marry the Slavic girls of the party.

5. Colonization Policy

The Slavic replacements, especially in the Turkish villages, and the transfer of Turks to the Slavic villages on the basis of land reform could be the best examples for this.

C. RELIGIOUS CAUSES

The religious pressures meaning abolishing the freedom of belief, which can also be included in the social causes, created a strong reaction from this conservative people as the religion was of great importance to Turkish people.

D. NATIONAL AND POLITICAL CAUSES

The local organizations of Turks to preserve their identifications and culture were spied and their members were killed in a cruel way. Many members of these organizations were executed or sentenced to life or 20 years in prison. Those returning from prison faced that their belongings were taken over by the state and they weren't recruited for any job in contrast to their Slavic friends from the prison.

Another reason for these pressures, in addition to those mentioned above, is the Slavism despite the communist regime.

III. THE CONDITIONS OF THE MIGRATION AND ITS PROCESS

After the pressures and violence they were exposed to in Yugoslavia, a Turkish family having decided to migrate had



just confronted the first part of difficulties ahead. Two factors that made the migration harder:

1. They needed to find a host family in Turkey
2. They had to have minimum economic level arranged for those to leave Yugoslavia and there were a lot of economic pressures on them.

IV. THE QUANTITY OF THE MIGRATION

The migration from Yugoslavia increased year by year. Especially after the Balkan treaty and visit of Turkish MPs to Yugoslavia, they abolished the ban on the migration from 1930 to 1950, which speeded up the process. The reason why not a mass migration did not occur was because of the obligation to have a host family in Turkey.

TURKS MIGRATING FROM ANATOLIA TO BALKANS

Turks have been spread throughout a wide range of geography. In Balkans, from Bosnia to Sancak, Kosovo, and Macedonia; from Turkey to Caucasian and from the end of

Turkmenistan towards the inside of Mogolistan and China lived different tribes of Turks.

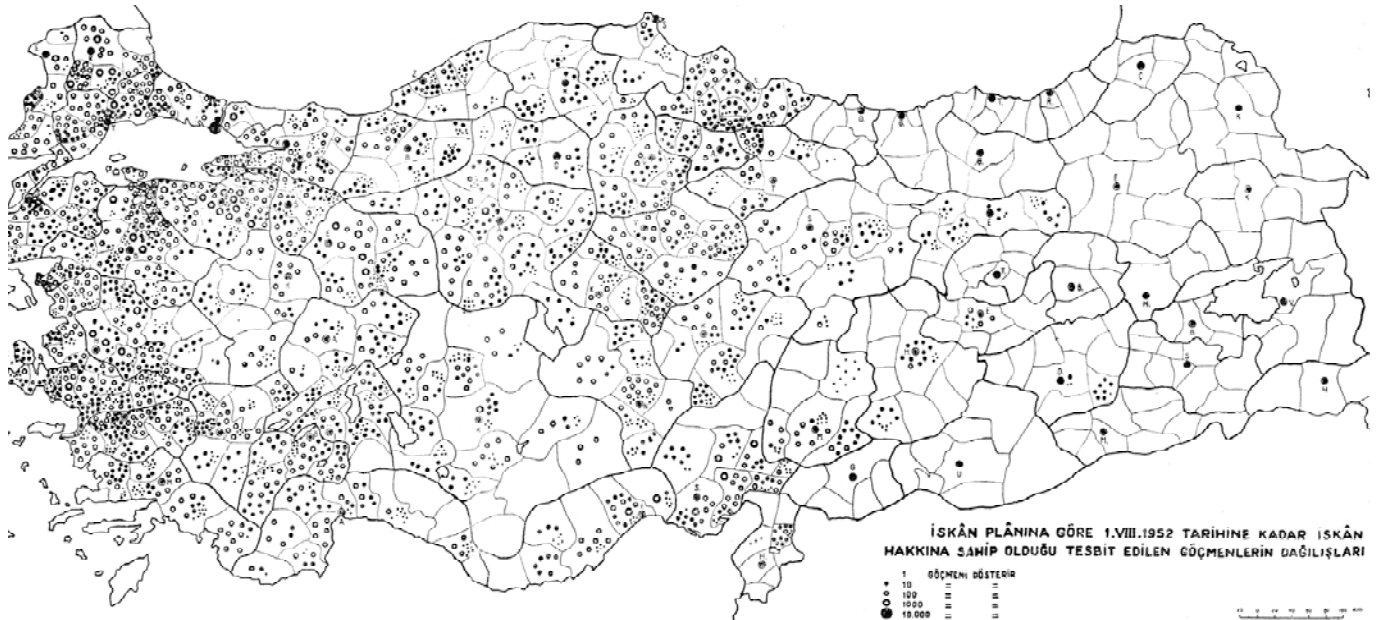
Turks out of Anatolia should be introduced to our youth and followed, we are supposed commemorate those struggled for this ideal. The study conditions may be unsuitable but we should keep it alive in our mind as our national consciousness.

Recently, some writers have reminded us of these forgotten regions as the TV serials, "Turkish Traces in Europe" by Yavuz Bülent Bakiler, did.

During the Ottoman Empire, Rumeli, Europe, states were of more importance than the Anatolian as Anatolia stood for the roots, Rumeli, for advancement, the road to Kızılirma*.

Today, when we hear of Macedonia, we feel as if we were talking about a foreign country; however, those places are no different from Yaşar Kemal's Üsküp, İttihat ve Terrakki's Mansatır, and Bursa. Many eminent Turkish people were from Balkans such as Kenan Evren, former chief commander of air forces, Tekin Arıburnu e.t.c

Note: This is an English summary of the original Turkish article. For the full version of the paper, please check the Turkish section.



The distribution of migrants coming from Rumelia to Anatolia in 1952 (Archive of İsmail Cengiz)
1952'de Rumeli'den gelen göçmenlerin Anadolu'daki dağılışı (İsmail Cengiz Arşivi)



V. SESSION

Migrations to Turkey



V. SESSION
MIGRATIONS TO TURKEY
09 December 2006 Friday

Chairman of the Session
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Timur KOCAOGLU
Koc University

Naim GULERYUZ
Deputy President of 500th Year Foundation
"Jewish Migrations in Turkey"

Sayit YUSUF
Undersecretary of the Prime Ministry
*"Migration of Turkish Minority Groups to
Turkey and the Consequences"*

Akif ATLI
From UNHCR Representation Office in Turkey
"How Many More Migration Waves Turkey Expects?"

Dr. Rasit GUNDOGDU
Prime Ministry State Archive
"Crime and Circassian Immigrants in the Archives"

Ahmet MURATLI
Representative of Iraq Turkmen Fronts
"Turkmen Migration from Iraq to Turkey"

Hamit GOKTURK
Researcher
"Migration from Eastern Turkistan to Anatolia"

Hizirbek GAYRETULLAH
Vice Prime Minister of Eastern Turkistan Government in Exile
"A Migration Story: Migration Memories from Eastern Turkistan"

Ali CAGRI
Afghanistan Turkmens Association of Social Aid and Solidarity
"A Journey from Afghanistan to Zeytinburnu"

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fethi GUNGOR
Sakarya University
"Endless Genocide and Exile at Caucasasia"

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hakan KIRIMLI
Bilkent University
"The Crimean Tatar Immigration from Crimea to Turkey"

UNDELIVERED PAPERS

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Timur KOCAOGLU
Koc University, Head of Strategic Researches Center
"Immigrations from Central Asia to Turkey (1918-2006)"

Mehmet CIFTCI
Chairman of Bayir-Bucak Turks Association
"Syria / Bayir Bucak (Hills and Subdistricts) Turks"



Naim GULERYUZ

Deputy President of 500th Year Foundation

Born in 1933 in Istanbul, graduated from the Faculty of Law of Istanbul University. Has actively been involved in social activities in capacities of Acting Founding President of 500th Year Foundation, Founding Project Coordinator and Curator of the Museum of Turkish Jews Museum of 500th Year Foundation, and Rapporteur of Inter-Civilization Dialogue Committee of UNESCO's National Commission. Has delivered conferences and participated in international symposia and congresses on his subject-matter in various cities of Canada, Mexico, and Europe. Wrote countless articles for national and foreign press.

Jewish Migrations in Turkey

On March 31, 1492, Saturday, the emperor of Spain, King Ferdinand of Aragon, and the queen Isabella of Castille signed a document known in the history as Expelling Edict in the ceremony hall of the fascinating Elhamra Palace

"Any Jew living in the border of our Kingdom, no matter what their ages are, their wives, children, and servants ...We want them accept to be catholic... Having thought about it and come to a decision, all Jews in the Kingdom shall be expelled and never let them come back..." With this edict, the 119 – month – period given to Jews to think about the choices was extended by a month.

At the midnight of a Thursday, august 2, 1492, in Palos, a small harbor on the south coast of Spain, three galleons called La Pinta, La Ninia, and La Santa Maria under the command of Christopher Columbus who had been claiming to find the route to reach India from West were setting out. At the same time, important ports of the country, Cadiz and Seville were full of Spanish Jews who were waiting for someone to save them.

Many Jews preferring to say goodbye to their houses, belongings, deaths rather than sacrifice believes of their ancestors, traditions and honors were in search for a land to escape and be sheltered, their keys with them hoping to return one day. However, almost no country was likely to accept those migrants in their lands.

Some took refuge from neighboring countries, Portugal and Navar, where they would be forced to accept to be Catholics (1498). Some went to the coast of the North Africa, where Berbers lived, but many of them died on the coast as they had not been allowed to enter the city for a while or were killed by wild animals. Crews of the ships from Genoa, who had heard about the Expelling Edict, robbed the Jews whom they took as passengers, threw them in the sea or sold them as slaves to the pirates. Those who reached Genoa were forced to be Christian. Some headed for England and England, Protestant opponents of Catholics, as some others tried to arrive at South France Coast passing The Pirenes.

Those days an emperor at a distant point of Mediterranean, Sultan Bayezid III, all of a sudden, invited those homeless,



landless migrants and embraced them. With his orders to governors of the states, Bayezid III declared;

"...Let alone refusing the Jewish migrants, you are to welcome them and create no difficulties for them. Anyone doing the opposite, treating badly or causing any harm will be punished..."

Furthermore, he sent ships commanded by Kemal Bey to Spain to help them leave the country. After less than 4 years, as Portuguese King Manuel, who got married to a Spanish Princess, ordered to expel Jews and Muslims in ten months on Dec. 5, 1496, many Jews having succeeded in fleeing to that country took refuge from Ottoman Empire and, like their coreligionists did, they chose Turkey as homelands.

Although different numbers are claimed by historians, the number of Jews migrating from Spain, called Sephardic, has been estimated to be around 120 – 125 000 as the population of the world and the countries of that time are taken into consideration.

Nearly %70 of the Jews having left Iberian Peninsula in a 5-year- time came to lands of Turks and they not only found calm shelter but also a new homeland. The first Jewish communities were organized in Istanbul, Edirne, and Salonika. They also settled in Izmir, Manisa, Bursa, Gelibolu, Amasya, Patros, Korfu, Larissa, and Manastir.

I want to correct a common mistake again, as the symposium is on migration. 1492 is not year when Jews came to Turkey; it is the year when they migrated to Ottoman Empire and were welcomed. Otherwise, the Jewish presence in Ottoman lands dates back to 4th century B.C. according to the documents and findings from the excavations in Aegean Region. The first encounter of Jewish with Ottomans was in 1326 when Orhan Bey conquered Bursa and Jewish living under the cruel treatment of Byzantine Empire accepted Ottomans as rescuer.

On the other hand, Sephardic migration starting in 1492 was not the first Jewish flow to Ottoman. Even in early 14th century, Jews escaping from pogroms in Europe Askenaz and Karay Jews and those who were expelled from Hungary in 1376 and France, by Şarl VI, in 1394 took refuge from the Capital of Ottoman Empire, Edirne. Also, the ones having left Sicily in the early 15th century and Salonika taken under the control of Venice in the early 1420s tasted the freedom in Ottoman lands. In 1450s, Isak Sarfati, the Chief Rabbi of Edirne, was calling out to the coreligionists in Europe with his famous letter:

"I learned the brutal laws befell our brothers in Germany, mandatory baptises and their sorrows appearing in exile, even

more painful than death. I heard that when they migrated to somewhere else as they are fleeing another, there were more sorrows waiting for them.

Brothers and teachers, friends and relatives! I, Isak Sarfati, despite being a French origin, born in Germany, and having learned everything on the laps of our dear teachers, announce that Turkey is a country lacking nothing and a place where everything will be all right. If you take my words, the road to Turkey is the road to life... Do be lazy and come to where comfort is... Everyone lives here in comfort and peace under in his garden, under the shadow of his own fig trees... And the uses and benefits of this country and goodness of my people can be found in Germany..."

With this invitation, many German, French and Italian Jews came settled in Ottoman Empire.

Migrations went on the following years. Those who had been exiled from Apulia after taken under the control of Vatican in 1537 and from Bohemia in 1542 were made to settle in different cities of Ottoman Empire. With the conquering of Budin, several Hungarian Jews migrated to Istanbul and Ottoman cities in Balkans through Tuna.

According to the records of 1447, the number of Jewish houses in Istanbul reached 8070 after half a century. To the statistics, 2645 of 4863 houses in Salonika were Jewish, 12229 of them were Muslim and 989 were Christian. Istanbul Jewish community with its 30000 members became the most important Jewish centre of the entire Europe. Talmud Academy established just the end of the 14th century in Edirne educated the students from all over the Europe with the participation of philosophers, thinkers, and scientists. Safed became the most significant theology and Cabala centre in the world.

Kanuni Sultan Süleyman demanded that Pope the IV who restricted the lives of Jews as soon as he became the pope freed the Ankona Marranos who the Sultan declared as his citizens by sending a letter in March , 1556. The Pope had no choice but to obey that as the Emperor was of the super power of that time.

The Russian Jews fleeing from Bolshevik and those from pogroms in 1881, 1891, 1897, and 1902 took refuge from Turkey as well.

In those dreadful days of WWII, Turkey having succeeded in being impartial and not joining in the war both tried to save as many Turkish Jews as it could through its diplomats working in regions under Nazi occupation from a certain death, and became a transit route for those who could escape from Nazi terror.



Spanish migrants were forced to leave their belongings and wealth behind, but neither Spanish Kings nor the pirates were able to steal the talents and knowledge of them. Sephardic Jews, having skills in medicine, printing, production of gun fire, textile, leather, copper, art, and trade, offered the knowledge of Golden Age when they had lived with Muslims and Christians together in Spain to their new homelands when Ottoman Empire, having completed its foundation period and started to expand, needed qualified people mostly.

As a result, the first printing house of Ottoman Empire was established by David and Samuel ibn Nahmias Brothers, two Spanish emigrants, in 1493, 234 years before Ibrahim Mütefferrika. The first book, *Arba'ah Turim* by Yakup ben Asher, was published on Dec. 13, 1493. It was Sonsino family, who came to Istanbul through Italy in 1530, that introduced new methods like italic type, folio marking technique, paper arrangement, and capital letters at the beginning of texts to the printing art. From 1540 to 1547, Sansino family published over 40 books, the most famous of which is a masterpiece, *Multi Language Tevrat* (Bible Polyglotte) in 1547. In this work are the Hebrew text, Aramaic Onkelus text, the Arabic text of Saadia Gaon, and Persian translation of Jewish scholar, Yaakov ben Yosef Tavus, which was brought from Iran by Dr. Mose Hamon, all were in the same 1916 pages orderly and clearly.

Istanbul became one of the most important centres of Hebrew printing from the early 16th century to the late 18th. One of the Arabic types, used in Mütefferrika's printing house, calligrapher and foundry man was Yona ben Yaakov Eskenazi, owner of a printing house in Ortaköy.

Jews developed especially in terms of religious literature and produced world-famous works under the Ottoman Empire's tolerant and free reign.

Jews experts in production of gunpowder and cannon foundry equipped the Ottoman Army with those weapons. While catholic emperors were expelling the Jews from their country, they, probably, were not aware of the fact that they made Ottoman Empire, their opponent, a present of important sort of technology that would be used against themselves.

Those having served in state works were recruited in the field of foreign affairs and finance. Most of the doctors in the palace were Jewish and escorted the Sultan when he was on military campaign.

By the way, let's remember the famous quotations of Bayezid II.; "How do you call this King 'smart Fernando'? He is making his country poorer and poorer while making mine richer..."

In Salonika where a Jewish community of 36 different groups was established, the influence of Spanish emigrants was so great that others, especially German and Italian speaking, were obliged to learn Spanish for the daily life. With the population of over 30000, Istanbul Jewish community became the most important Jewish centre of all Europe.

Communities called Kehila, formed in the settlements of emigrants from Spain and Portugal to the Ottoman Empire, were divided into sub-communities, Kahal, named after their origin and the names of the cities or regions they abandoned. Those Kahals each of which was autonomous and owned their own synagogue had their rabbi, teachers, schools, religious institutions, and charities, even their own religious courts, Bet-Din. In the middle of 16th century, only in Istanbul, the number of Kahals was nearly 40, and the city's Jewish population was up to 50 000.

Interestingly the emigrants, especially those bearing the surname of religious – historical origin such as Kohen, Levi, and Nasi, mostly either picked the names of the city or region they left up as surnames or named the synagogues established in the destination cities after their original regions. Some examples to show the names of the cities used as surnames: Toledo, Kordova, Navaro, Soria, Karmona, Katalan, Saragosi, Geron, Bejar, Leon, Taragano, Benaroya, Sonsino, Mayorka from Spain; Faro, Pinto, and Zavaro from Portugal; Mi-trani from Italy etc. In the case of Synagogue names: Katalan and Aragon, of Spain, in Istanbul and Edirne, Toledo in Edirne and Manisa, Kordova, Mayor, and Quana in Istanbul; Portugal, of Portugal, in Izmir and Edirne; Ahrida, Yanbol, Kasturiya, İhit-pol, Serez, and Verea, of Macedonia, in Balat of Istanbul; Messina, Sicilya, and Pulia can be given as examples.

Best examples to show the Jewish emigrants' acceptance the new land's culture and adaptations to that country are seen best in music. Works of in numerous composer and singer have reached up today, some are still executed and listened although their names are not known or remembered. Also, most of the hymns and prayers read on religious days have been composed in Classical Turkish Music.

When we are to mention about the Jewish settlements in Istanbul, in Byzantium age, 4th and 5th century, Constantinople Jews are known to have lived in Halkoprateia region and it is known that even in 318 there was a synagogue there. Theodosius, later, prohibited them from living in the city centre and forced them to settle in a region called Stenum or Stanyere at skirts of Galata, on north coast of Haliç (Golden Horn). Since 9th century, the Jews had been living on the south



coast of Haliç, especially in the region between Bahçekapı and Hagias Sophia. Although the door of the street leading from castles to the sea, Porta Ludece (Jewish Door) was first believed to be in front of Sarayburnu, many came to a consensus that it was around New Mosque (Yeni Cami). The fire, started with the riots arising from provocations of Jews in Synagogues in Bahçekapı by Flagman soldiers, with the help of Latinas, in the invasion of Istanbul in 1204, 4th crusaders attacks, destroyed the region up to Hagias Sophia, with the help of wind. From the late 13th century to the conquering of Istanbul, Jews were known to have lived in especially Langa and dealt with leather works. On the other hand, as seen from documents of synagogue repairing orders, Jews lived in both coast of the Bosphorus and Balat regions, at least in Ortaköy and Civan regions. While the Spanish emigrants to Istanbul settled in Balat region, Karay Jews, living in the region during the New Mosque's construction, were transferred to Hasköy. At the same time, Jews settled in different districts at both sides of the Bosphorus, Üsküdar, Selamsız, Dağ hamamı, and Kuzguncuk in Anatolian side; Arnavutköy, Kuruçeşme,

Ortaköy, and Beşiktaş in the European Side. While, in the early 20th century, rather wealthy Jews preferably moved to Talimhane, Şişli, and Nişantaşı, the modern areas in the city, others started to live around Galata Tower. Today, Jews in Istanbul have distinct places.

I want to mention about the contributions of the scientists, most of them are Jewish, fleeing from threat of Nazi Germany and taking refuge from Turkey, to our universities and scientific life as Atatürk invited them to our country with his immeasurable envision in 1933 when the first indications of the new world war started to appear although the term can not be directly called "migration".

We, 500th Year Association, founded in 1989, still try to spread the exempling motto of Turkish nation who provided a peaceful life together for 7 centuries, which can be equal to eternity, after having invited those people from different origin, culture, and languages, even in middle age when the word "tolerance" was not included in dictionaries and even its meaning was not known.

Note: For the references of the paper, please check the Turkish section.



Sayit YUSUF

Undersecretary of the Prime Ministry

Born in 1965 in Trabzon. Graduated in 1988 from the International Relations Department of the Faculty of Political Sciences of Ankara University. Joined the civil service in 1989. Appointed as the Counselor at Prime Ministry in 1999 that he currently carries out, together with advising to Prof. Dr. Mehmet AYDIN, Minister of State. Had active roles in the parliamentary and local elections held in Bulgaria, Macedonia and Kosovo. Has extensive and specialized knowledge on the Balkans, Caucasus and the Central Asia, as well as the Turkish World. Has realized various projects in these fields and wrote articles that were published in various magazines and newspapers.

Migration of Turkish Minority Groups to Turkey and the Consequences

I- INTRODUCTION

Due to its location, Turkey has always been a country sending and taking immigrants. Turkey has been sending immigrants as workforce and qualified personnel; on the other hand a large number of immigrants from Turkish minority groups have come to our country from Balcanians, Caucasians, Middle East and Mid Asia. Another group of immigrants are asylum seekers and refugees who have come to Turkey from surrounding countries (Iraq and Iran) due to political incidents.

II- MIGRATION OF TURKISH MINORITY GROUPS TO TURKEY

A. REASONS OF MIGRATION

The main results of Turkish minority groups' migration to Turkey are political constraints, terror, loss of safety of life due to war and civil war, the will for better life standards, anxiety on future, the will of those whose relatives have migrated to Turkey earlier, the will of Turkish minority groups who have

been sent to exile in the USSR in 1941 to migrate to Turkey, their homeland.

B. MIGRATION OF TURKISH MINORITY GROUPS TO TURKEY IN NUMBERS

1. BEFORE THE REPUBLIC

During the period beginning in the 11th century when Anatolia was conquered by the Seljuk Sultanate and continuing with the expansion of Ottoman territory, the Turks have domiciled in the conquered lands and as a result of this they have been settled in a large geographical area. But following the period when Ottoman Empire began to loose ground and territory, due to the widespread of nationalist ideals, Anatolia has faced another wave of migration and this has caused the second Turkish settlement in the territory.

Beginning with this period it is known that more than 5,000,000 people have migrated to Turkey from Crimea after Küçük Kaynarca Treaty in 1774, from the homeland of Circassian and Abhaz due to the repressive policies of Russian



Tsardom, from Rumelia and North East (Caucasus) after 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War, from the territory lost after 1912-1913 Balcanian War and from other regions after the exchange treaties following the Independence War.

2. EXCHANGE TREATIES DURING THE REPUBLIC PERIOD

Within the context of migration treaties, Turkey and Greece have signed the "Agreement and Protocol on the Exchange of Turkish and Greek Populations" and this protocol has come into force with Lausanne Treaty signed on 30.01.1923. Another treaty is the treaty that has been signed on 22.03.1968 in Ankara between Turkey and Bulgaria and come into force on 19.08.1969. This treaty has allowed the Turkish citizens of Bulgaria whose close relatives have migrated to Turkey until 1952 to migrate to Turkey.

Considering the practices of migration organizations of Turkey, towards whom a strong immigrant potential exists, it can be said that the first important migration organization has been performed during the massive migration movements from the Caucasus in 1860. "Commission on General Management of the Immigrants" has been established with the aim of managing all issues related with the migration under the presidency of Hafız Paşa, the governor of Trabzon Province.

The republic government has also been through similar practices. The related acts: Settlement Act dated 14.06.1934, numbered 2510; The Act on the Acceptance and Settlement of Refugees Who Have Migrated from Afghanistan to Pakistan in Turkey dated 17.03.1983, numbered 2641; The Act on the Acceptance and Settlement of Meskhetian Turks in Turkey dated 02.07.1992, numbered 3835. In the meantime, related with migration, a large number of circulars have been published and a number of administrative enforcements have been applied in Turkey.

OFFICIAL MIGRATION TO TURKEY IN NUMBERS

During the republic period (1923 -2005), Turkish Citizenship has been provided for 1.774.126 official immigrants from Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Yugoslavia, Eastern Turkistan, Afghanistan, Iraq and Meskhetian Turks. While some of these immigrants have come to Turkey by migration treaties and migration visa, others have obtained citizenship within the scope of "Citizenship Legislation".

Between 1923 and 2005, 844,438 immigrants have migrated to Turkey officially. Only in 1989, 320,000 have come to Turkey and some of these have returned. The number of immigrants between 1989 and 1991 is approximately 300,000. Between 1923

and 2005, 2,933 immigrants have migrated to Turkey from Eastern Turkistan. In the same period, the number of immigrants is 308,336 from Yugoslavia, 126,028 from Romania, and 409,830 from Greece. On the other hand, approximately 5,000 people have migrated to Turkey from Afghanistan (Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh) when the country was invaded by the Soviet Union.

UNOFFICIAL MIGRATION TO TURKEY

Another kind of migration to our country is unofficial migration and the main reasons are the same. Some of the immigrants mentioned above have come to Turkey unofficially and then obtained Turkish citizenship.

The most common method for unofficial migration is coming to Turkey with a tourist visa and not going back after the visa period expires. Another method is coming to the country by illegal way and not leaving.

Also, some of the unofficial immigrants come to Turkey with an education or a working visa and do not leave the country. Providing clear numbers on unofficial immigrants is quite difficult. Excluding the illegal entries, the method for determining the number of people who come to Turkey with a visa and do not leave is calculating the difference between the entries and leaves.

The number of Turkish minority groups who have come to Turkey with a tourist visa from Bulgaria, former Soviet Socialist Republics (Russian Federation, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan), Iraq and Afghanistan and not left the country are more than a few hundred thousands.

The most difficult conditions are of those who do not have a visa or a residence permit. In spite of the humanitarian support and social asylum provided by Turkey, these immigrants face important problems like education, health and working due to the fact that they do not have a residence permit. Their residence in Turkey is illegal, so the government services can hardly be performed.

These people first of all aim at obtaining a residence permit and Turkish citizenship after the legal period of stay in Turkey. This struggle is individual, so it is performed by the help of associations and other non-governmental organizations.

III. POTENTIAL MIGRATION MOVEMENTS

The political conjuncture of the world is getting more and more complex day by day. There is a possibility that the fanatic nationalist movements may get stronger throughout the world, especially in the countries that are politically and



administratively changing. In case that these nationalist movements increase the repressions over the minorities, Turkey may face massive migrations once again. As a matter of fact, migration from the post-USSR countries, Iraq, Eastern Turkistan in the People's Republic of China, Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, Macedonia, Cyprus, Afghanistan, Iran and Azerbaijan are potentially possible. Along with these, due to its geographical location, Turkey sometimes faces a movement of refugees. The last example for this situation is the Kurdish refugees from Iraq. Some countries may send a part of their population to exile by any reason, using militarist practices. On such a case, Turkey's behavior to accept these people or not is very clear. This is a humanitarian issue.

One of the main reasons of migration to Turkey is economic problems. These problems have not been solved in the countries which send immigrants to Turkey, so it can be assumed that migration will not tend to decrease in the foreseeable future.

The potential regions mentioned above have sent immigrants to Turkey in the past. As the problems in these regions are not solved, migration shall continue.

As can be seen, Turkey is an attraction for the Turkish. It is a central region where the Turks interact and meet each other.

IV- RESULTS OF MIGRATION

A. GENERAL

For the country that sends immigrants, the main problems are loss of workforce, reduction in employment and the loss of qualified population. In case that the reason of migration is the behaviors of the public administrators, the country can face a difficult situation in the international community in terms of the international treaties it has signed and be exposed to the sanctions determined by these treaties. Although the sanctions arising from the international law are not sufficiently deterrent today, being specified as a human rights violator and marginalized can cause severe problems.

Forced immigrants are usually minority groups, so the majority groups and the neighbors of these people may sometimes allow these inhumane treatments due to some economic expectations concerns. Forced immigrants suffer considerable losses of their movable or immovable properties and a considerable part of these losses usually convert to benefits for the people who live in the area left by the immigrants. For this reason, sometimes even the best neighbors keep their silence. To prevent this, property holdings of the immigrants should be guar-

anteed by international treaties and the sanctions of these treaties should be effective.

Migration also changes the social relations. The immigrants are forced to establish relations with people that they do not know and the priority and the scope of their long lasting relations change.

The country taking the immigrants may help them with the aim of ensuring the social adaptation in a short period. Some of these practices are providing houses and farmland for the immigrants.

It is clear that the migrations to Turkey lead to an economic burden. But it should be noted that we have historical relations with most of the immigrants and these people are usually those who have been sharing the same nationality with us 90 years earlier. Greater problems could have occurred if these immigrants had been of a different religion, race or culture.

The main problems are not those caused due to the arrival of the immigrants. The main problem is that this migration movement taking place in the safety area surrounding Turkey usually conflicts with the strategic benefits of our country. These people who are devoted to Turkey migrate and cause the regions that they live to be unfrequented. However, a frequent population in these safety regions is a necessity for the safety and prestige of our country. Turkish minorities living in the countries surrounding Turkey are suitable communities for the establishment of well relations with the mentioned countries.

On the other hand, migration has undesirable effects on the economy of the country sending the immigrants and encourages the relatives of the immigrants to migrate. Besides, migration causes the population of Turkish minorities in the mentioned countries to decrease and the social and economic welfare those who stay decays.

Turkey has helped the immigrants with the aim of ensuring the social adaptation in a short period. Some of these practices are providing houses and farmland for the immigrants. Turkey has provided 172,480 houses for the immigrants between 1923 and 1960 and 23,495 houses for the forced immigrants from Bulgaria in 1989. Besides, 180 houses have been built for Meskhetian Turks in Iğdır.

The migrations have turned Turkey into a cultural basket of Eurasia. All immigrants have introduced their cultural practices that they have formed in their homeland in centuries and continue to keep these practices alive in Turkey. These practices include cuisine, etiquette, linguistic accent, clothing, folklore, entertainment and mourning. This cultural interaction



has caused the population to meet the cultural practices each other including Christian and Jewish minorities and people from different ethnicities.

The immigrants have brought workforce and brain power to Turkey. Today provinces of the Marmara Region that are well developed in terms of industry and agriculture, especially Bursa, have reached this level thanks to the immigrants.

The immigrants have faced various problems after coming to Turkey. To overcome these problems, they have organized and this has enriched the organized cultural activities of our country. This issue is to be mentioned in detail in the following pages.

B. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AS A RESULT OF THE MIGRATION

1. NUMERICAL INFORMATION

As mentioned above, Turkey has always been an asylum and sheltering center for the Turkish minorities living in other countries. The countries and regions that have sent immigrants to Turkey in a massive scale are Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia (Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sancak), Albania, Romania, Crimea, Russia (Caucasus), Georgia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Eastern Turkistan, Iraq and Syria. These immigrants have established several organizations with the aim of overcoming their economic and social problems without causing a burden for the government and providing national and international recognition on the issue.

These organizations that have been established with the idea of overcoming the problems that are difficult to solve individually are not institutionalized at the desired level in Turkey. There are a vast number of large and small organizations. According to the numbers provided by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, there are 443 organizations which are established for the activities related with the homelands of the immigrants in Turkey. Most of these organizations do not have important activities. Their activities are at a minimum level due to various reasons. Even the most active organizations are not capable of handling an international project.

Below is a general classification of these organizations according to the regions they address and the provinces they are established at.

Total number of the members of these 443 organizations are approximately 90,000. 92% of these people are members of organizations with members exceeding 100. The number of organizations having more than 1,000 members is 17. This corresponds to 40% in terms of total number of members and 4%

in terms of number of organizations. The number of organizations with less than 50 members is 168, the number of members is 3,875. This corresponds to 40% in terms of total number of members and 4.3% in terms of number of organizations. There are 8 organizations with 2 members, 5 with 5 members, 44 with 7 members, 9 with 8 members and 4 with 9 members. These figures are not clear because they include those who are members of more than one organization. The author is a member of three organizations.

The countries and regions that these organizations are related with are; Balcanians (212), (Bulgaria (124), Greece (35), Macedonia (17), Bosnia (14), Kosovo (11), Albania (3), Romania (2), Moldova (1)), Russia and Southern Caucasians (121), Middle East and Other Asia (34), (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, China-Eastern Turkistan and Pakistan), Crimea – Ukraine (33), Azerbaijan (24), Iraq (15), Georgia (13), Cyprus (5) and Syria (3).

This distribution does not seem to be accurate. Because there is a significant number of organizations that are related with two or more countries and regions. This is especially the point at issue for the organizations related with Rumelia.

There are also 17 federations consisting of the above mentioned organizations. The number of organizations participating in a federation is approximately 80. The number of federations has an increasing trend. Because the efforts to establish a federation has increased in the recent years. There are also federations that have been actually established but are not included in these statistics for the foundation procedures have not been completed yet. A confederation has also been established as a result of superior organization efforts.

The organizations are naturally mostly at the provinces where more immigrants live. The most important ones are Istanbul, Bursa, Ankara, İzmir and Kocaeli. The number of organizations in these provinces are 104 (Istanbul), 41 (Ankara), 39 (Bursa), 32 (İzmir), 27 (Kocaeli), 17 (Eskişehir), 13 (Balıkesir and Sakarya), 10 (Tekirdağ and Samsun). The other provinces are Edirne, Kırklareli, Çanakkale, Yalova, Düzce, Bilecik, Kütahya, Çorum, Konya, Niğde, Tokat, Denizli, Sivas, Amasya, Afyon, Muğla, Antalya, Adana, Osmaniye, Aydın, Hatay, İçel, K. Maraş, Iğdır and Trabzon.

Private status are provided by the governments for these organizations according to their activities. 14 of the above mentioned organizations are for public interest and 18 of them are for orientation and supervision. These organizations benefit from certain capabilities.



2. THE REASONS FOR THE FOUNDATION OF THE ORGANIZATIONS

The foundation of the organizations have been made easier with the new Organizations Code. It is easy to establish them, but they suffer insufficiencies in terms of their structures and capabilities. There are economic, political and technical reasons for these difficulties. These are to be mentioned later.

The main reasons for the foundation of the organizations are as follows:

1. *Immigrants have established organizations along with those who have migrated to Turkey earlier and close to themselves for solving their urgent problems.*
2. *Some organizations have been established with the encouragement of the government for the problems related with adaptation, supplies, sheltering, health, education and employment with the aim of reducing the burden of the government.*
3. *Some organizations have been established with the feeling of fellow citizenship and with the aim of helping to improve the social and economic conditions of their fellow citizens.*
4. *Some organizations have been established with the aim of bringing up the human rights violations that have took place in the homeland of the immigrants.*
5. *Personal conflictions have led some members to leave the organization and establish a smaller one. The quarrel for presidency, disagreements and other reasons have led some members to establish new organizations.*
6. *Some individuals have established organizations with the aim of providing social and political status for themselves.*

The reasons stated above are the more important reasons for the non-governmental organizations to be established. There are of course other reasons. The organizations that are active in Turkey have been effective in critical times. Bulgaria, Greece, Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan are good examples for this effectiveness.

3. IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF THE ORGANIZATIONS

At the beginning of the chapter, 433 organizations have been mentioned. This indicates the disorganization in the field. Most of the immigrant organizations in Turkey have been established on good faith, extraordinary efforts have been spent for the activities directed towards the objectives and fiscal sacrifices have been made; this process still continues. Unfortunately these efforts have not led to fully-effective results due to many reasons.

The problems that the organizations face may be outlined as follows:

1. The revenue sources of the organizations are very limited.
2. The organizations have to carry out their activities by membership contributions and donations but they are almost

devoid of these resources due to the fact that their members already live in difficult economic conditions.

3. Limited revenues may sometimes reduce even more due to internal disagreements and splits.
4. The number of qualified members is limited.
5. The organization centers may be insufficient in terms of physical condition.
6. The members have high expectations on the organizations. Due to limited resources, the organizations are not capable of meeting these expectations and this reduces the prestige of the organizations against their members.
7. Most of the immigrant organizations in Turkey are busy with daily activities like residence permit, citizenship, education and health due to the large number of immigrants. They are not capable of handling international projects.
8. Lack of knowledge and institutionalization, economic and physical insufficiencies have been reducing the capabilities of the organizations to prepare and apply projects. Splits also lead to loss of capabilities in this manner.
9. Lack of knowledge reduces the ability of contacting national and international project support institutions and benefit from the resources provided by them. In the last years, positive developments have been observed.
10. The organizations have increased their efforts to come together and establish federations. 13 federations have been mentioned earlier. As a result of establishing federations and confederations will surely increase the power of this civil initiative. So, minor problems like leadership should be solved.

V. RESULT AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE PLANNING OF MIGRATION

Migration of Turkish minority groups cause the strategically important areas to be unfrequented. This movement should stop and all precautions should be taken in this manner. Furthermore, comprehensive precautions should be taken and migration towards Turkey should be made beneficial for the economic development and domestic safety of Turkey. In Turkey, a well-organized system on this issue does not exist.

Below are the recommendations about international precautions to be taken to stop migration or decrease the number of immigrants:

1. Turkey should have an active role as a participant in the international contacts with the aim of decreasing civil wars, wars and other political instabilities in the countries that are sending immigrants to Turkey.



2. In case that discriminatory policies against Turkey exist in the mentioned regions, Turkey should imply multiple pressures on these countries.

3. Immigrants who have not had the chance to improve themselves in economic, social and political areas should be assisted within the context of specific plans and projects.

4. The main reason of the pressures on Turkish minority groups is that the countries they live in see them as a potential comprador and perceive them as a threat. A powerful relation should be established with the mentioned countries and they have to be informed that Turkey does not claim any right on any land and that Turkish minority groups living in their country would have positive effects on the relations between the two countries.

The activities performed on the above mentioned issues have been giving positive results in the last years. The recommendations have been declared with the aim of providing the continuity of these activities.

In case that a political stability and regional cooperation is provided in the region surrounding Turkey, Turkish minority groups living in these regions will surely benefit from this.

The precautions mentioned above are long-term activities. As soon as the conditions continue to be the same in the countries that are sending immigrants, migration will exist no matter what official measures are taken. At this point, it is necessary to emphasize this. Visa application for Bulgaria has been canceled as of 01.07.2001 and following this, on the contrary to what was expected, the number of immigrants has decreased.

Efforts for solving the problem that leads to migration should be made, but on the other hand measures for the organization of migration towards Turkey should be taken. Until now immigrants have either been domiciled in specific regions by the government (Bursa, Istanbul, Trakya, Eskişehir, Balıkesir, Diyarbakır, Van, Tokat etc.) or they have chosen to live in the cities where employment chances are higher by the help of their relatives. Considering the high levels of internal migration towards these regions, external migration has increased the population even more and it has been difficult to provide the social services. This issue has led to social problems in these regions and this causes a conflict that is not in favor of Turkey. Living in the Eastern and South-Eastern regions which have been unfrequented due to internal migration should be encouraged or made compulsory. Domiciling the immigrants in the regions where fruitful agricultural areas exist will be beneficiary for both economic and the demographic structure of the country.

It would be useful to establish a unit to control the internal-external migration, domiciliation of the immigrants in Turkey, adaptation and the productivity of the immigrants, plan and execute projects on these issues. It would be effective to establish this "migration management" unit within the structure of the Prime Ministry with funds sufficient for the objective. The following structural recommendations have been declared with the aim of making this issue more clear and providing examples.

Below are the recommendations about the unit to be established:

The objective of the unit will be organizing the domiciliation of immigrants and refugees in Turkey, assisting them about the adaptation problems, taking the measures to make them productive and managing the coordination between the official and unofficial establishments related with the immigrants. The functions of the unit which is to be within the structure of the Prime Ministry and have a separate budget should be as follows:

1. Assisting the cabinet in developing and defining the policies related with the immigrants, refugees and their domiciliation in the country.
2. Managing the coordination between the official establishments related with the citizenship, health, education and employment issues of the immigrants and refugees.
3. Performing the activities defined by the Settlement Law nr 2510 and its amendments,
4. Preparing the projects and recommendations on the problems of the immigrants and the refugees.
5. Recording the information about the immigrants and refugees centrally and preparing the settlement maps.
6. Ensuring the Special Settlement Fund to be used in accordance with its objective and the related legislation,
7. Taking the necessary measures for the employment of the immigrants.
8. Prepare the necessary plans and projects for the social adaptation of the immigrants to Turkey, executing these plans and projects and managing the coordination of the official and unofficial establishments acting on this issue,
9. Performing other functions provided by several Laws and Cabinet Decisions.

Along with the central unit, country units can also be established if necessary. Functional and organizational structures of the main units, consulting units and the assist units of this establishment can separately be discussed. Service of Immigration and Naturalization in the United States of America can be a good example for this organization.



Akif ATLI

From UNHCR Representation Office in Turkey

He was born in Diyarbakır in 1960. He is currently working at United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees in Ankara (UNHCR).

How Many More Migration Waves Turkey Expects?

When starting, I wish to indicate briefly that despite the fact that the heading is terrifying, I do not expect a migration wave to Turkey like the ones in 1988 and 1991, under the present circumstances. I am going to state briefly in this note my personal views about the possible migration issues that may arise in the near future.

Residing in Anatolia and refusing migration is impossible. If you believe that you are 'bridge between the East and the West', you should have been convinced that 'those passing from the East to the West' pass through this country. Anatolia that has been the key point of the East-West and North-South mobility of migration, which is the most determining movement of the world history, has always been the main route of migration. Migration that has progressed in different forms ever since the Tribal Migration or even before it, has offered Anatolia to people sometimes as a regular way and sometimes a resettlement space. Consequences of shutting the Bosphorus Bridge to traffic bring similar consequences of Turkey's actual hindrance of migration. A strong congestion, an intensive population pressure, intensive nervousness and animosities due to all of these... Innumerable depressions and crises... I am sure that you will find numerous similarities between what we

feel when the bridges in Turkey are jammed and what the World feels if migration is halted...

We make all our evaluations European-centered. History, geography, economy etc orientate our lives with Europe-centered understandings and evaluations. When we open a map in front of us we look at the world through a European-centered map. The first longitude, i.e. the geographical arrangement of the world, passes through Greenwich in UK. We adjust our watches according to it. 0. Meridian now passes through Istanbul. Everyone will now make his own adjustments about migration according to Istanbul.

World is a new World now! It may not be accepted that we personally live on a new Earth but now there is a talk about a 'New World Order'. Those living in the world are engaged in an effort to adapt themselves to the new order by way of resisting or supporting it or staying on the side of it. Being a supporter or not may be a matter of preference but it is impossible to block the developments in the World. Every change causes human migration. At least 5-10 persons migrate. As a result of the change in power in Kyrgyzstan, President of the Republic and a small group under him fled to Russia. Even a bloodless coup may lead to a migration. Potential changes and ef-



forts exerted for bringing about changes would lead new migration waves. As a significant portion of these will occur around Turkey, the latter will continue to be an important route of the human migration.

Migrations in our region occur with human reasons such as famine, scarcity, and war. This is a situation that we come across with frequently in Eastern Africa. Somali is still a battlefield. Hunger is prevailing there. War could not be ended in Afghanistan and Iraq. There is a very precarious and fragile state of affairs in both countries. It does not seem probable in the very near future that the state of affairs in Chechnya will become stable and that, depending on this, Georgia that is under the pressure of the Chechen population, will form its sensitive balances on a reasonable and sound equilibrium. In some places, people give their decisions between death and life. Again, migrations occur for political reasons. The political conditions in their countries can activate the individuals and/or groups. Andican events in Uzbekistan that took place on 13th May 2005 caused thousands of people to flee their country. When the members of the Muslim, Uyghur, and Kazakh movements in the Eastern Turkistan seek a safe haven for themselves, what it comes to their mind first is Turkey and even Istanbul and Zeytinburnu. You might have met part of those who fled from the ethnic clashes in Darfur, Sudan.

Why do these people come to Turkey? Replying to this question is not very simple. The first reply that may come to one's mind is that they have come from the neighboring or brotherly countries. Now you are regional neighbors, apart from being border neighbors. It may appear on the map that you are not neighbors with the Sudan. As a matter of fact, Turkey is either a neighbor or limitrophe to those countries that give out the largest number of displaced persons or refugees, between the South and the North and the East and the West. Turkey is a fraternal country to the Eastern Turkistan that is a Turkish entity since Sultan Abdulhamid. They still name their children as Abdulhamid and Enver. People with similar mentalities live in Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Iran, Iraq and Syria and when they look at a map they first search for Turkey. Given the cultural and linguistic affinity, similar social structures, relatives in Turkey, these people prefer Turkey when they take the road.

Under the circumstances, no one expects the formation of conditions that would necessitate of massive migrations around Turkey. We may briefly summarize the situation in those countries that can be deemed as neighbors or fraternal countries: Situation is relatively calm in Syria. Syria takes utmost care

about how it should react against the American pressure. (Besides intimidating the groups that may lead to stabilization (destabilization?) in the country, the Damascus regime occasionally give warm messages. Kurdish groups and Muslim Brothers Organization stand in the middle of these balances. Despite it suppresses bloodily the incidents where the Kurds live, the Syrian Government is trying to maintain the balance by granting citizenship to the Kurdish groups that it regards landless and thus lessening the pressure upon the ethnic group that is the nearest group to any revolt against the order in the country. Now, more Syrian refugees will appear in the World but any development that would lead to a massive emigration of the Syrians in the near future. Syrian Kurds live in places that are close to the Turkish and Iraqi borders. Measuring social and military tension in this area will give away hints about the course of the events.

Probably it will take too much time for the stabilization of the situation in Iraq. About 280 thousand refugees returned from Iraq and an equal number returned from other countries. At present, about one million Iraqis live in different countries. Negative conditions in the country provide signs us that Iraqis who live in a fragile balance may take the road any time. 'International community' in which Turkey is included has no tolerance for a civil war in Iraq. Some movements of certain minority groups may be seen towards Turkey. (Turkmens, Syrians, vs.) and this can create a refugee pressure, but no one should expect any mobility on the scale of the ones in 1988 or 1990.

American pressure over Iran shall continue in the political arena and this may set into action the ethnic groups such as the Azeris, "Bellucians" and the Kurds that realize their national and political expressions through organized groups. Greater number of Azeri and Kurdish dissidents may be seen in Turkey but the number does not reach insurmountable dimensions for a couple of years to come.

Struggle for power in Azerbaijan continues calmly. Because the overall position of the oppositionist groups such as the Musavvat Party is to be elected to power rather than overthrowing the Government, the outburst of a general unrest in the country does not seem likely. Mutual political tolerance is kept at a level in which mistreatments do not become necessary. There is an expectation to the effect that with the appearance of the Azeri oil on the international markets, the level of prosperity in the country will increase. Is this expectation is not met, Azerbaijan will experience serious problems. Nevertheless, more Azeri refugees will be seen in Turkey or the European countries to which access is possible through Turkey.



Rather than its own situation, Georgia suffers from the pressure of the Chechen population. Even though the change in power in the country has relatively assuaged the political problems, much time is needed for the stabilization of Georgia. Georgia is not in a position of changing its traditional line on giving out refugees to Turkey. Silent migration of the Georgian and Abkhaz groups will continue at scales that will not pose major problems.

Armenia is not a country that gives out refugees traditionally and is actually a country that has a very expansive diaspora. Moreover, about 50 thousand Armenians work illegally in Turkey. No change is expected in Armenia; even if any change occurs, there is no expectation for migration to Turkey.

Full stabilization of Afghanistan may take some more decades. Poverty and undersupply of the production possibilities already necessitates the existence of a large population abroad. According to the estimates, there are more than 2 million Afghans in Iran and about 2 million Afghans in Pakistan. Earthquake in Pakistan that took place in 2005 and the economic problems in Iran may orientate the Afghans living in the region to better places (such as Turkey and Greece.) Iran has co-opted the Afghani refugees by making the Afghani workers do more cheaply the jobs that the local workers do not want to do. The triggering of a population movement that would allow for an intervention in Afghanistan, with the change of political conditions in the region may leave Turkey under the pressure of the Afghani refugees and asylum-seekers.

Pakistan possesses a dense population that lives under tough economic conditions. 2005 earthquake will drive more Pakistanis to the west with concerns of bread, health and future. Even though millions are not expected all of a sudden, greater numbers of Pakistani refugees and asylum-seekers will be seen.

Suppressed opposition in Uzbekistan is virtually keeping throwing themselves everywhere they feel closer. You may find Uzbek refugees everywhere, ranging from Afghanistan to Turkey, from here to Norway. Andican event of 13th May 2005 showed that the neighboring countries (Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan etc) did not welcome the refugees. Uzbeks and particularly the opposition groups regard themselves closer to Turkey. So long as the existing political setup continues, more applications for asylum should be expected but conditions re-

quired for regional/massive migration have not yet been created.

Uyghurs and Kazakhs, the peoples of Eastern Turkistan, see themselves closer to Turkey historically. Besides the political pressure of China, the reserved attitudes of the other countries in the region to the refugees and displaced persons from Eastern Pakistan and arrests and deportations render impossible the stay of this group in places like Pakistan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan and they increasingly tend to those places which they feel closer and where they are received friendly (such as Turkey). Even though massive migrations, like the ones in the 20th century, are not expected, the situation of the Uyghurs and Kazakhs of Eastern Turkistan are on a critical junction.

Famine, civil war, undersupply (or shortage) of production possibilities in Eastern African countries such as the Sudan, Eritrea, Somali give rise to a constant 'obligation for migration'. In general, they take the road with the concern of accessing to (Western) Europe but we are going to find more Eastern African refugees and displaced persons in Turkey for longer stays.

Migration is a movement that cannot be stopped. As the reversal or adjustment of individuals or groups that are subjected to developments we have tried to described above is impossible, what merely seems possible is to alleviate, at least to a certain extent, this human drama by way of addressing the plight of people that are forced to endure the conditions pending migrating that are tough and take the dimension of tyranny and turn the 'migration issue' into a more controllable and foreseeable form by way of regulating the issue so that it is institutionalized legally. Through an institutionalized migration regulation, a legal basis can be created in the determination and provision of the national interests. Legal basis of migration that would be created by way of incorporating the nationally appropriate policies and human and international requirements into the legal regulations would necessitate Turkey's paying attention to the migrants without undermining her relations with the countries of origin, formulating strategic and tactical targets and, bound with all this, constructing social structures and policies. It is essential that Turkey forms a migration and asylum system urgently. Such a structuring would not only ensure the international cooperation but would keep the relations with the peoples and countries sending refugees and displaced persons on reasonable and acceptable platform.



Dr. Rasit GUNDOĞDU

Prime Ministry State Archive

Born in 1963 in Kırıkkale. Graduated from the Faculty of Theology of Ankara University in 1986. Joined the Ottoman Archives Office under the Prime Ministry in 1987. Earned doctorate on history from the Social Sciences Institute of Istanbul University. Currently working at the Ottoman Archives Department of Prime Ministry.

Crimea and Circassian Immigrants in the Archives

The dictionaries define the word “migration” as leaving the homeland and going to another country, changing the country. Migration is the geographical movement of the individuals from a settlement unit to another, with the aim of living the rest or some part of his life.¹ The reasons of migration can be scarcity and natural disasters, leaving the agriculturally unproductive lands and searching for the possibility of a better life, wars, post-war administrative revisions, the will for finding a better place to live due to political pressures being exposed.² The treatment of the victorious to the defeated can also be a reason for migrating.

Various migrations have been made to the Ottoman Empire from a lot of regions beginning with its foundation. These immigrants have been Muslims and Non-Muslims. The Ottoman Empire, regardless of their religions, has provided the necessary support and seen this as a humanitarian duty. Food has been provided until the settlement, houses have been built, land has been distributed for agriculture, seeds and all other required tools have been provided, necessary facilities have been provided for the craftsman. For example, a group of

Jews and their Rabbi have come to Istanbul from Kerch in 1865 and they have been helped as necessary. Besides, they have declared that they are a different religious group, they have no relations with the Spanish Jews and they have requested a separate Chief Rabbi. These requests have been accepted with the conditions that their Rabbi is to be one of them and they are to be bound to the Ministry of Internal Affairs for all other issues.³ 51 immigrants from the Malakan tribe have entered the country from Kars.⁴ As mentioned by Mr. Aytunç Altındal in the previous session, the Ottomans have accepted the Mother Baptists, a group of Christians to their country and protected them from their coreligionists.

The first immigrants from Crimea and the surrounding region have come to the Ottoman Empire in 1856 and they have been settled in Dobruca. A new city has been founded in the Karasu region of Dobruca for these immigrants and the city has been named “Mecidiye” after the name of the sultan.⁵ Naming the cities founded by the immigrants after the name of the sultan has been a tradition. A city named after the sultan or the prince can be seen in all regions where immigrants were settled.



These migration movements, which were on a basis of individuals earlier, has reached massive numbers following the Crimean War. The migration has been fast and massive especially between 1856 and 1857, 1860 and 1862, 1864 and 1865. The volume of migration has than decreased and increased from time to time. These fluctuations have been greatly effected by political and military issues and the decisions made.⁶ Rumors whispering that those who have served the army are to be settled in Silistre region has led to the will of Turks and some Christian families to migrate to Silistre

So many people wanted to come to Istanbul that the ships assigned for their transportation were insufficient. Merchants' ships and military ships were also used. Two thirds of the passengers were immigrants and one third of them were soldiers.

Feyz-i Bârî, Malakof, Tâir-i Bahrî, Şehir, Laplata, Oltanice, Teşrîfiye, Nusretiye, Bavekol, Hümâ-yı Tevfîk, Savn-ı Bârî, Ömer Paşa, Şeldirek, Antilop, Mukaddime-i Hayr and a lot more ships were carrying immigrants from the region.⁷ These ships and other have carried approximately 396,000 immigrants to the ports of İstanbul, Trabzon, Sinop, Batum and Rize. Especially in winter, sea was extremely dangerous. The death of 100 immigrants in a merchant's ship sinking at Ereğli coast and death of 174 of 451 immigrants who were on a ship which ran aground at İnebolu coast are indicators of this danger.⁸

Crimean and Caucasian immigrants were usually brought to İstanbul by ships, settled here temporarily and then sent to the permanent settlement area

SETTLEMENT OF THE IMMIGRANTS

Examining the documents, it can be determined that the Ottoman Empire had not expected such a massive migration from Crimea. The government has had a positive approach to the immigrants earlier, provided financial assistance and fully met all kinds of their needs. But later, facing the same requests from the endless number of immigrants, the government has been forced to make new decisions and take new measures about the immigrants and review the old decisions. In an official report prepared for a group of immigrants from Circassia, dated 28.10.1852, the following issues are marked: The immigrants request the allowance of salaries and this is a burden for the treasury. Besides it would be an example for the immigrants to come in the future. A method should be defined and continually followed. The recommendations are distributing land for agriculture, providing a reasonable assistance for building a house and providing the tools necessary for build-

ing, providing exemption from all taxes for a period of 4-5 years. With this method, the immigrants will reach a level of welfare and the empty state-owned agricultural lands will be productive.⁹

During the Crimean War, the government has made a lot of expenditures and borrowed money from its allies, France and England. So why have they made implemented such a policy that can put the treasury in a difficult position?

1- First of all, the main reason is their humanitarian approach. The idea of saving these people, who have been driven to the inner regions by Russia for an annihilation, has been more important than every other economical issue. Similar to the earlier practices, the government has condoned some Non-Muslim groups to migrate for this reason.

2- The Ottoman Sultan is at the same time the Caliph. The Caliph is the chief and the protector of all Muslims on earth. The Muslims wish to execute their all religious duties freely under the flag of the Caliph. Not taking care of the sufferings of the Muslims can harm the devotion and the confidence of the Muslims to the Caliph. Taking care of them would be beneficiary both religiously and politically.

3- The population of the state was sufficient but with the acceptance of the immigrants, the country would be more developed, empty state-owned land would be more productive, some swamps would be dried and illnesses like malaria would be prevented.

4- Crimean and Caucasian immigrants would be productive by the help of the government and the taxes to be collected from them would be a great revenue for the treasury.

5- Circassians, Chechnyans and Dagestanians, who have fought against Russia for a long time, would be very useful in terms of military activities due to their great experiences.

6- Immigrants who have been forced to leave their homelands would be devoted to the state in case that they are supported. They would be a role model in the regions where they are settled. And this would be helpful in the civilization of the nomads who do not care about the government authority and some Kurdish and Arabic tribes.

These decisions have been given by good intentions but when examined, it can be realized that they have not been discussed enough. On the other hand, the government has stood for these decisions as much as possible and turned the issue into a concern of prestige.¹⁰

The settlement policies of the government has been managed by the Ministry of Commerce and the Governors in the earlier



days, but on 05.01.1860, the Commission of Immigrants has been established. The commission has gained a fully-independent status in July 1861 and settlement issues has then been organized by this establishment.

The unexpectedly vast number of the immigrants and the enlargement of the settlement areas has made the foundation of the country units a necessity.

Providing the settlement of the immigrants and making them productive elements as soon as possible has been the most important issue. Starting the process immediately would prevent the immigrants from living in difficult conditions, and the resources allocated for these people would not be wasted. In the directive sent to the Governor of Silistre about the settlement of the Crimean Immigrants on 03.05.1856, the following issues have been emphasized:

1- The immigrants arriving at Black port by ships will initially be settled in tents or in the villages or towns nearby. 2000 bags of money has been provided for this.

2- The immigrants, regardless of their religions and orders, shall be exempted from all taxes for a period of ten years until their economic strength is achieved. Empty and fruitful agricultural lands shall be provided for these people. These lands should be close to water and to the sea. Because, in case that they are settled in different villages individually, no benefits can be achieved from themselves and their properties. The immigrants who have knowledge on farming shall work on their lands and the craftsman shall work in the villages they are settled. There are sufficient lands in Dobruca region for these people. The book that is to be kept by the governor for the villages to be founded for these people and the lands that are distributed shall be sent to the center by the governor, the deeds shall be delivered free of charge.

3- In the villages to be founded, rich immigrants shall make their houses themselves and the houses of the poor shall be built by the government. For reducing the costs, the local population shall help with the transportation of timber and other construction tools. This is important; the construction costs for the houses to be built shall be determined and the process shall be started as soon as possible. The houses to be built shall be timber; but care shall be taken to build the houses as uniform as possible and arrange the streets properly.

4- Seeds and supplies shall not be delivered to the rich immigrants but these shall be delivered to the poor and the amount will be declared to the center.

5- All of the agricultural tools shall be supplied from the region

of settlement and the neighbors shall help for these activities.

6- These immigrants who have just settled shall be free of taxes for a period of time, they shall be recorded in the registry books properly and one copy of the book shall be sent to the center. Imams shall be assigned to the villages to be founded, the village headmen shall be selected from the immigrants, a number of villages shall be combined and districts shall be formed, district managers and registrars shall be assigned to the districts, salaries shall be provided for these officers and police officers shall be provided for the entourage of the district managers.

7- Purchasing the seeds, supplies and other tools to be provided by the government is a great burden for the treasury. At the moment these should be regarded as support. In the future, when the immigrants are capable of paying, the sum shall be collected from them and the burden to the treasury shall be reduced. For this reason, when purchasing the equipment, consecutive bails shall be present.

8- The opinion of the center shall be taken for any issue that is not mentioned above.

For the immigrants who arrived later, small amendments have been made but basically this directive has stayed in force.

The immigrants who have come directly to Istanbul have been settled in hotels, foundations, schools and empty houses temporarily and later they have been transferred to the location of permanent settlement. The needs of the poor have been met, craftsman have been settled in places where they can work and the students have been sent to the appropriate schools. According to the Directive numbered 23387, 30 immigrants have come to Gözleve to İnebolu and than to İstanbul. Those who can read and write and craftsmen have been settled near Balat by the governor. İsmail Efendi, a Crimean immigrant, who has come to the capital for education has been settled in one of the rooms of Beyazıt Madrasah. Some of the Circassian immigrants, who have great skills in raising horses, have been sent to Adana and employed in the farms founded for raising horses for the army. Ömer Bey, who has been a colonel in the Russian army, has been employed by the army with his men with the same degree. A lot more examples can be provided.

Some immigrants who have come to İstanbul but not been settled yet have started problems. For this reason, the government has tried to specify the settlement location and send them out of İstanbul as soon as possible. But some groups, aware of the fact that supplies provided would no longer be delivered after the settlement, have not liked the locations and caused



problems for the government. Nogay immigrants who have come to Konya in 1859 and been unwilling to be settled for the supplies is a good example.

Migration has always been present in the history of human. And the Ottoman Empire has always been a country accepting immigrants. These immigrants have been Non-Muslims as well as Muslims. As a government, the Ottoman has seen the immigrants only as human regardless of their religion, belief, ethnicity and order. They have tried to settle them as properly

as possible, built their houses or helped them to build their houses provided land and seeds for the farmers and provided every opportunity for the craftsmen so that they can work. A vast number of documents on this issue is present in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive Department. Some of these documents have been declared in our communiqué as examples; all documents can be accessed via the catalogues or at www.devletarsivleri.com The documents on migration can be found especially in Ministries of Internal and External Affairs and other departments.

1. Taylan Akkayan, *Migration and Change*, İstanbul 1979, p. 21.
2. Cemil Çalgiuner, *Population Shifts*, Ankara 1959, p. 51; Nedim İpek, "Migration from the Caucasus to Anatolia (1877 -1900), *Ondokuzmayıs Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, Samsun 1991, p. 97.
3. İ.HR. 6857; Abdullah Saydam, *Crimean and Caucasian Migrations (1856 -1876)*, Ankara 1997, p. 92.
4. Abdullah Saydam, *Same*.
5. *Internal Circular*, 23226.

6. Abdullah Saydam, *Crimean and Caucasian Migrations (1856 -1876)*, Ankara 1997, p. 81.
7. İ.MMS, 283; Abdullah Saydam, *same*, p. 83.
8. Abdullah Saydam, *same*, p. 89.
9. C. DH. 4150; İ. MVL. 9218; Abdullah Saydam, *same*, p. 96; Ömer Şen, "Economic and Social Precautions Related with the Immigrant Families ", *Turkish Family in the Socio-Cultural Change*, c. I, p. 319.
10. Abdullah Saydam, *same*, p. 98.



Ahmet MURATLI

Representative of Iraq Turkmen Fronts

He was born in Kerkuk in 1952. Muratlı migrated to Turkey in 1981. He graduated from Ankara Academy of Engineering. He has been the Ankara Representative of Iraq Turkmen Fronts since 2005. He is married with two children.

Turkmen Migration from Iraq to Turkey

Dear Guests;

It is necessary to take the situation of Iraq Turks from a historical point of view for you to get acquainted with us -the Turkmen- and for me to describe you better. Therefore; I will be first mentioning about the SITUATION OF TURKISH PEOPLE IN IRAQ and then the TURKMENS AND THE FACT OF MIGRATION.

THE SITUATION OF TURKISH PEOPLE IN IRAQ

The destiny of Iraq Turks was shaped in Lausanne. The problem of Musul which was suspended in Lausanne resulted in favor of the English after long negotiations; hence together with the petroleum in the region the Turkish community was deported from the region.

Turkey, exhausted after the war, chose to agree with England rather than irritating each other and having conflicts due to Musul problem.

On the 5th of June, 1926 "TURKEY-IRAQ BORDER AND FRIENDLY NEIGHBORS AGREEMENT" was signed in

Ankara among Turkey, England, and Iraq. In accordance with that agreement, Turkey accepted to leave the city of Musul to Iraq and the Turkish people living there.

Serious discussions took place when this agreement was presented for the approval of the Turkish Grand National Assembly; and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the time, Dr. Tevfik Rustu Aras said; "We agreed to leave Musul as we suffered patiently."

4th article of the agreement, having a total of 18 articles, is very important. The populace living on the territory that was left to Iraq was to become Iraq citizenships. However, those who were over 18 would choose their citizenship in two months time in case they wanted to. In other words, the Turkish people living in Musul could attain Turkish citizenship if they were willing to.

Although we do not have concrete information on this issue, it is observed that Musul Turks chose not to take advantage of that article and they stayed in Musul instead. This has to be understood and interpreted very clearly.



The issue of situations of Turks staying in Iraq was handled in the following years once more and their residences were facilitated. This led to a new opportunity for Iraq Turks and also caused for a reevaluation of the relations with Turkey.

After that date, the situation and the location of Iraq Turks has a parallel development in accordance with Turkey-Iraq friendship. The improvements in the friendship of Turkey-Iraq have started in 1931; the visit of the King of Iraq to Ankara and he embracing Ataturk. Upon that visit, some benefits for the Turkish people in Iraq were gained. After that visit again; 3 agreements were signed in Ankara on the 9th of January, 1932: 1) The Agreement on the Returns of Criminals 2) Trade Agreement 3) Residential Agreement.

It may be stated that the second and the third agreement were signed especially taking the Turkish people in Iraq into consideration. With these two agreements; issues regarding residence, employment, having goods and properties were regulated. Turks have benefited from these primarily.

The residential agreement was approved by Turkish Grand National Assembly in accordance with the law no. 2003 dated 4th of June, 1932; and upon the exchange of the approval documents with Baghdad, it was enacted on 6th of July, 1933.

That date corresponding to the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the Residential Agreement was alike a 10th anniversary gift to the Turkish people in Iraq.

With that agreement, the relations of Iraq Turks with Turkey have been facilitated to a great extend. By this means, coming and goings in between Turkey and Iraq have increased, the Iraq Turks while preserving their Iraqi citizenships have acquired rights like; residing, working, owning a house, owning goods and property, trade, having their children educated, and acquire a profession in Turkey.

A specific section of Iraq Turks have benefited from those rights. Thanks to that, they have settled down in Turkey, became wealthy, and acquired certain positions. A certain group of them attained Turkish citizenship and settled down in Turkey for good.

The same agreement, as it provided similar rights to Turkish citizens, Turkish citizens of Iraq origin have primarily took advantage of those rights.

After the Turkey-Iraq border was determined, citizens of Iraq origin who were to settle in the Turkey region or who have acquired Turkish citizenship in compliance with the 1926 Agreement have gone to Iraq with no problems in accordance with the Residential Agreement and were busy with their businesses, property and goods there.

Another benefit of the Residential Agreement was; in accordance with the increase of visits to relatives between Iraq and Turkey, the positive effect on the moods and morale of the Iraq Turks.

TURKMENS AND THE FACT OF MIGRATION

The latest wars in Iraq compelled it to reevaluate the situation of Turkmens - the third largest ethnical group - in the country which was undergoing a restructuring process.

Turkmens are valuable human resources as they are a well-educated population.

One fourth of women and one third of men have university education. Only 10% of the population has not received regular education.

In the process of restructuring of Iraq, a fair involvement of Turkmens in the governing of the country, is under the responsibility of international community; Turkey being in the first place. Now the question is: Against a new type of ethnical cleansing policies which may take place in Iraq, will the international community and Turkey leave the Turkmens by themselves?

The failure in involving Turkmens in governing of Iraq increases the probability of the appearance of a clash like the Palestine example in Middle East.

Many international sources claim that there are nearly half a million Turkmens, according to Iraq Turkmen sources; there are about 3-3.5 million Turkmens in Iraq. That number is also confirmed by independent organizations.

The last census, which Turkmens had the right of registering themselves as "Turkmens", took place in 1957. According to that census; 567.000 of 6.3 million people were Turkmens. And this corresponds to a rate of 9%.

If we adopt that rate to today; and if we assume that there 27 million people living in Iraq, it may be observed that the Turkmen population will be about 2.5 million. But Iraq Turkmen Front claims that the population is 3.5 million equaling 13% of total population. The correctness of all these figures is disputatious. It is not possible to know the truth unless a just census is carried out.

The Kurds are the most uncomfortable ethnical group by the existence of Turkmens in Iraq. The reason of denial of Turkmens by the Kurds is that Turkmens live in North Iraq where the Kurds are extensively populated. More precisely to say, a part of Turkmeneli region -where Turkmens are extensively popu-



lated- is where the Kurds live and they want to establish the federation at. Accepting the existence of Turkmens will mean sharing the lands with Turkmens which they claim to own; and this acceptance is not likely to happen.

When we think about the opposite situation; a significant portion of Turkmens live in the north of Iraq, in a so-called Kurdish region. Turkmens are extremely worried about the privileged situations of Kurds in a new Iraq.

For all those reasons, Turkmens who have been tried to become Arabs are now tried to become Kurds. During Saddam regime, Turkmens, being exposed to becoming Arab policies, were enforced to give up their ethnical identities in favor of Arab identity for their property and life security. Today; the Kurds, by ruining the demographical structures of the cities they live in, have realized the objective of minoritizing Turkmens.

Turkmens are face to face with a very serious fact of migration... Turkmens, who have left their country for higher education at the beginning, then migrated due to pressures and tyranny.

It is observed that especially after the year 1980, the political pressure and armed battles, have caused Turkmens to migrate to neighboring countries; Turkey, Syria, and Iran.

Especially in Kerkuk, in one out of every three Turkmen house, at least one family member has migrated; and this figure represents a very high migration abroad rate. More interestingly, 10% of total Turkmen population has migrated abroad; and only 20% of them returned home. This is another indicator that Turkmens have been leaving their homelands due to the insecurity of the country.

In the beginnings, there were no social-economical reasons at all which caused Turkmens migrate. But later that factor was also effective... Therefore the migrations spring from an obligation. And the foremost reason is the security of life and property.

Today, almost the half of Turkmens is in the category of illegal migrants. Turkmens accept the risk of illegal migration since there is no other alternative.

If it is taken into consideration that, according to a research the population of Turkmens is about 3 million and 10% of them live abroad; it is estimated that 40% of them reside in Turkey. And this means; 120.000 of nearly 300.000 Turkmen migrants live in Turkey. These figures have to be seriously analyzed.

If we take a look at the years Turkmens migrated; we see that 80% of the migrations took place as two big movements with a difference of ten years; during the Iraq-Iran War in 1980, during the Gulf War in 1990. Therefore; those people were either forced or enforced to migrate due to reasons like; wars, ethnical discrimination, economical reasons, and life security in the last 25 years.

Today the situation is different. The Kurdish region which was formed in the north region and registered is the main source of lack of tranquility. In that region, changing the demographical structure where the Turkmens extensively live, unjust confiscation of goods and properties, damaging social justice, violations of human rights exist. In other words, Iraq Turkmens face the danger of being enforced to migrate to either Turkey in the north or Arab regions in the south in the following ten years.

Turkey's policy regarding Turkmens are as; "Stand on your feet". I greet you all with respect.



Hamit GOKTURK

Researcher

Born in 1950 in Eastern Turkistan. Emigrated in 1961 to Afghanistan with his father. In 1965, came to turkey with his father on the status of relocated refugee. Graduated from the Department of Social Sciences of Selçuk Education Institute in 1979. Serving as the secretary general of Eastern Turkistan Foundation in Istanbul since 1993. He is married with four children and he knows Persian.

Migrations from Eastern Turkistan to Anatolia

Eastern Turkistan, within the borders of People's Republic of China, has a survey of 1,828,418 Km² and constitutes 1/6 of the country. Eastern Turkistan is at the heart of Asia and is an ancient Turkish territory.

"The Chinese colonization and concentration in Eastern Turkistan is a threat for the Turks in the region and leads to the possibility of loosing this Turkish homeland. This activity also has an aim of changing the history and making a radical change in the human geography of Eastern Turkistan." ¹

In terms of international relationships Eastern Turkistan is neighbor of Republic of Altay under the management of Russian Federation in the north, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan forming West Turkistan and Afghanistan, India (Kashmir) Pakistan in the west, and Tibet and China (Kokunur Tungan Private Zone) in the South and China and Republic of Mongolia in the east. "This country is separated with hundreds of kilometers of natural barriers with the highest and widest mountains of the world. There is a desolate desert of 500 kilometers between the country and China and Mongolia on the east. In fact Eastern Turkistan is the only country in Middle East which doesn't ha-

ve any adjacent neighbors." ²

In this country where unforgettable personalities of Turkish-Islam culture has been raised like Mahmut of Kashgar, Yusuf Has Hacı, more than 200 uprising in arms have taken place in almost 250 years to protect their religious and national egos and as the result of these oppositions Turkish nation has accomplished to establish independent and national countries like Eastern Turkistan Islam Country (1863-1877) Eastern Turkistan Islam Republic (1933-1937) and Republic of Eastern Turkistan (1944-1949).

However the constraint and the terrorism regime that started with the invasion of Communist China Forces on October /1949 continues getting more and more everyday. In the first years of Communist China invasion the population of the country was 6 million and number of Chinese people living in the country was 300 thousand (5% of the total population). "On the other hands as the population shift applied by China management, it can clearly be seen that China follows the policy of assimilating Eastern Turkistan Turks and turning them into minorities. Today in the country 26 million Uyghur Turk, 3



million Kazakh Turk, 850 thousand Kyrgyzs Turk, 100 thousand Ozbek Turk and 70 thousand Tatar Turk lives which equals to approximately 30 million Turks, whereas China population reached around 11 million. 11 million Chinese transferred to the country in the recent years by the China government as military personnel, technical and qualified personnel is not included in this figure.”³

Eastern Turkistan Turks are facing the danger of being eliminated in their own land and tries to struggle to keep their presence.

Immigrations from Eastern Turkistan to neighbor countries and Anatolia has started after independent and free Eastern Turkistan government has been tried to be eliminated by foreign forces and after invasion of the country. “After the first Chinese invasion the massacres have continued for years. According to the report sent to China Empire on 1763 by the Commander in Chief of Chinese invasion forces, 1,2 million Turks were massacred in the country within 4 years and 12 thousand has been exiled to China. There is nobody left alive in Cungarya region on the North of the country due to massacres and immigrations after very strong resistance against China invasion has been demonstrated. Afterwards Chinese and Mançu immigrants and 6 thousand Turkish families living in other regions of the country have been forced to immigrate to this area. Invasion and holding by force has followed many great national resistance between 1768 -1857. 200 thousand people ran away from these massacres and immigrated to Western Turkistan.”⁴

On the other hand in order to meet food and logistic needs of the Invasion Army, Chinese government has started compulsory internal immigration operation to the North region that has been left vacant due to massacres and immigrations. Under the control of Invasion army without making any discrimination children, adults, youth and old people and without taking into consideration the temperature in the region being high or low this great immigration operation has been carried out without paying attention to the life of people and this caused huge disasters and a human drama. Even though 250 years have passed over this great compulsory immigration, it is still possible to see traces of this immigration in Eastern Turkistan. *Köç -Köç* (Immigration) epic and *palvan* and *Nuzuğum* epics, *Halk Koşakları* are the stories that tell the dramatic incidents that took place during these immigrations and heroes that became a symbol of resistance against invasion are narrated in this literatures.

Immigrations from Eastern Turkistan to Anatolia has started

after Eastern Turkistan Islam State established subject to Ottoman Empire in Eastern Turkistan on 1863 was demolished on 1877 as the result of the cooperation of Russia-China.

It is believed that family of the founder of Eastern Turkistan State (Kaşgarya Khanate) and its first emperor Muhammed Yakup Han Bedevlet and his ambassador in İstanbul, Seyit Muhammed Yakup Han Töre and his around 200 close relatives took shelter of Ottomans and settled in İstanbul... From this family Seyit Abdulkadir Han Töre born in Turkey has become a great Turkish music composer and music authority and died on 1946 in İzmir. Other member of this family industry man and business man Kaya Tığlıoğlu still lives in Germany and is in close contact with Eastern Turkistan.

Turkistan dervish lodge in İstanbul Sultan Ahmet (Bedevlet Yakup Han) and Kaşghar's club in Eyüp are the artistic Works of the foundation formed by Eastern Turkistan Turks who immigrated to İstanbul.

At the beginning of 20th century Eastern Turks have immigrated to İstanbul for educational purposes. One of them was Dr. Mesut Sabri Baykozi who returned back to Eastern Turkistan on 1914 and he has represented Eastern Turkistan in China Parliament and afterwards he became the first president of the State Government formed.

It was believed that Hadj event was missing made by Eastern Turkistan Turks without stopping at İstanbul and seeing the Caliph is missing. For his reason caliphs from Eastern Turkistan stop by Turkey when they return from hadj and stay here for a while and return back to their country.

“Hadjı Yoldaş from Eastern Turkistan among these came to Tarsus in 1920s. Right then resistance against French invaders had started in Çukurova. So Hadji Yoldaş decided not to return to his country and joined the National Forces and participated in the war of independence of Turkey and died for our country. Again in these years when returning from hadj Muhammed Sait from Eastern Turkistan passed by Gaziantep and participated in Antep Defense. He was also a very good jeweler and upon request of National Forces M. Sait has produced bombs and made great contributions to Antep Defense. Children of M. Sait Türkistanlı still live in Gaziantep”⁵

Grave of Hacı Yoldaş was repaired by Tarsus Municipality as show of fidelity and organized as a monument. Red flag and white flag still streams at the entry of this monument grave.

When Turkish Army was withdrawing from Arabia, Hadj Muhammed who came her hadj purpose and whose parents have died there have been adopted by a Turkish army officer from



Konya who worked in Mecca and they returned to Konya. Muhammed from Eastern Turkistan received his surname from the city he was born (Yenihisar) and died there".⁶

After Republic of Eastern Turkistan founded on 1933 was destroyed a few people from Musabay and Ahunbay family who were well known families from Kashgar have ran away from the invaders and immigrated to Turkey and settled in Istanbul. Children of these families have completed their higher education in Turkey and undertaken important positions. Among these lecturer of İstanbul Technical University Prof. Dr. Metin Ahunbay and his wife Prof. Dr. Zeynep Ahunbay are working on restoration of historical art works. They carry out restoration Project of Zeyrek mosque and county. Attorney İlhan Musabay has completed his law degree in İstanbul and Works as a judge in Istanbul. Aziz Türkeş Works as a high school teacher.

Fighter for Islamic fight Mehmet Emin Buğra one of the founders of Islam Republic of Eastern Turkistan who were in Afghanistan at that years has sent 20 students from Eastern Turkistan families who were in this country and India then to Ankara to get education in Turkey with the help of Kabil Ambassador Memduh Şevket Esendal. Most of them attended in Teacher and Military Schools and Kurban Koday who was a teacher returned to Eastern Turkistan on 1946 and joined the "Three Master` act carried out in capital city Ürümqi by Dr. Mesut Sabri Baykozi, M.Emin Buğra and İ.Yusuf Alptekin and served great services in Eastern Turkistan in education and press area.

Some of these students settled in Turkey and had great positions in our government. Niyazi Hekimler served as major in Turkish Army.

One of these people is E.General Sayın M.Rıza Bekin who is still the chairman of Eastern Turkistan Foundation. " E.General M.Rıza Bekin has served for 70 years for Turks. This service has been rendered in Turkey and sometimes in Afghanistan and in the war in Korea or at another location in the world." ⁷

After Islam Republic of Eastern Turkistan has been demolished, Russian Red Army has entered into Eastern Turkistan and attacked the people living in Cungarya region. Upon this Kazakh Turks who live in the region started resistance with arms. Resistance fighters who believed that Russian Union would beat them and that they would be massacred have immigrated to Kokunur (Chingay) province of China by passing from Mongolia boundaries and from there they passed from Eastern Turkistan and came to Kashmir boundaries over Tibet and requested right of asylum from English government. "When

they started the immigration they were around 18 thousand and after the immigration years only 1800 people could have reached the India boundaries."⁸ This immigration which was referred to as big Kazakh Immigration has become the research subject of many researchers and writers.

As the 2nd World War ended, the winners of Yalta Conference has left Eastern Turkistan under the management of China. On 1944, Government of Eastern Turkistan had to conclude an agreement with the China government forced by the Russians and the agreement concluded on 1946 is called as "11 bitim". China Communists who won the Chinese civil war under the leadership of Mao has took over the power. 8th Red China Army has came to boundaries of Eastern Turkistan on September 26, 1949. Turkish leader Mehmet Emin Buğra and İsa Yusuf Alptekin decided to "Leave the Country for the Country" after long negotiations. On October 1949 a big immigration convoy has started their journey towards India in groups. "From this convoy made up of 852 people 798 reached Kashmir. 54 died on the road due to cold, diseases and hunger. 49 people have become disabled as their hands and feet were frozen due to cold."⁹ İsa Yusuf Alptekin and Mehmet Emin Buğra meet with the Kazakh Turks from Eastern Turkistan who came to Kashmir under the leadership of Altay Hakimi Ali (Kali) Bek Hakim and Delil Han. "In total 1800 took refuge of Kashmir, India. Leader of Eastern Turkistan, Mehmet Emin Buğra and İsa Yusuf Alptekin who enabled the convoy to reach India under healthy conditions apply to the Turkish Ambassadorship in New Delhi."⁹ After great efforts, an offer was submitted to Grand National Assembly of Turkey to accept these immigrants to Turkey. "The issue was approved on March 12, 1952 and with the decree of the council of Ministers on March 13, 1952 under no 3/14595 it was agreed that 1850 are brought to Turkey as immigrants and the required costs would be covered under the general budget. The first convoy started its journey on November 12, 1952'd. These immigrants are settled in Kayseri, Niğde, Aksaray and Salihli county of Manisa and land is granted to them." ¹⁰

Following the political tension between Soviet Union and China in the early 1960's, diplomatic relations were established between China and the Kingdom of Afghanistan. 600 Uigur Turks, benefiting from the migration treaty signed between the two countries, have migrated to Afghanistan in 1959, 1960 and 1961 by convoys.

"I left Yarkent on 19.06.1961 with the second convoy. On June 20th, we spent the night in Kashgar at Çinibağ Guest House which used to be the English embassy. The next afternoon, we set off for Taşkorgan district which is loca-



ted on the Pamir Mountain by trucks. The single-lane road was passing through high cliffs and foot of high mountains where heavy Koram rocks were hanging. Only one rock could have closed the road. The rocks looked as if they were going to fall on us. I remember myself being afraid and crying because of the bad shape of the road and the environment. We passed the chord bridge at Defter location on our way from Taşkurgan to Amu Derya. Then, under the supervision of the Tadjik officers, we were travelling at night. In the daylight we were in a cavity so that we could not see the environment. After 5 days, we passed through the Afghanistan – Eastern Turkistan border which was not marked yet and we were left to Afghanistan. A delegation from the convoy set off to find the Kyrgyz Turks living in Pamir and ask for help. The others went down the hill to a water course and camped there. Assistant of Rahman Kul Khan, leader of the Kyrgyz Turks, took us to Pamir and we had a rest for about a week. Then we took the Vahan Corridor passing through Tokkuz Davan, Serhat, Pencim, Barek and Cirim. After a hard travel of two months on foot, we reached the city of Feyizabat, the capital of Bedehsan Province, Afghanistan.”¹¹

These Turks from Eastern Turkistan, by the help of their leaders Seyit Abdulveli Efendigil, Mehmet Cantürk, Mansur Can Halife and Hasan Can, applied to the Turkish embassy in Kabul for migration. They consulted to İsa Yusuf Alptekin and Mehmet Emin Buğra, the leaders of the Eastern Turkistan Turks living in Turkey. They were accepted to Turkey thanks to the extraordinary efforts of Alptekin and Buğra. 308 people were accepted to Turkey as immigrants. 234 of them came to Turkey in 1965 by three convoys and 74 of them arrived in 1967. These Uigur Turks were settled in Kayseri. The district known as Turkistan houses in Kayseri is almost a small model of Eastern Turkistan.

The houses had not been built yet, so the Uigur Turks who came to Kayseri in October 1965 have been settled in Meydan, Sivas and Sakarya hotels in the centrum and they have stayed there until spring. All demands of the immigrants have been provided by the government, a detailed health check has been performed and the sick have been cured. Turkish lectures have been given and the immigrants have learned to read and write in Turkish. The children have been sent to school. Several courses have been provided for the social adaptation and employment of the immigrants. Supplies have been provided for a period and capital has been given for them to set up a business.

People of Kayseri have seen the immigrants as their guests and made great efforts to help them. Osman Gümrükçüoğlu, Assistant Governor of Kayseri, Abdullah Satoğlu, Mufti, Cemil Nakipler, Manager of Land and Population have established an organization named Support for the Immigrants with the aim of helping these people. The organization has raised funds and purchased the household goods for them. I am thankful for all

their support. God’s mercy be on those who passed away.

200 of the Eastern Turkistan Turks who did not come to Turkey in 1953 and went to Kashmir afterwards have come to Turkey as immigrants in 1969 and 1977.

Following the government revision in China in 1980, the regime the political pressures has have decreased for a while. The limitations on travelling abroad has been partially abolished. This has been a new hope for Eastern Turkistan Turks who have not been able to get in touch with their relatives in Turkey, even by letters.

“Beginning with 1980’s, a total of 3,500 immigrants have come to Turkey by various methods like migrating and refuge taking.”¹²

Turkey has also been a first stop for the Eastern Turkistan Turks who have been to USA, Canada, EU Countries, Australia, Saudi Arabia etc. to visit their relatives.

After the independence of the Turkish Republics, the Republic of Turkey has applied a comprehensive project for bringing students from these countries for education in 1992. A quota for the Uigur Turks within this project has been provided and the number of students from Eastern Turkistan who have come to Turkey for education is approximately 500.

The Eastern Turkistan Turks who have migrated to Anatolia have reminded the world that Eastern Turkistan exists. They have been the evidence that Uigur, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek and Tatar Turks live in this region.

The following statement of an officer is a strong evidence for our view; “I used to think that the Uigur Turks disappeared from the history in 840 after the fall of Uigur State. After seeing a documentary named “The Silk Road”, prepared by the Japanese Television and televised by TRT, I understood that the Uigur Turks exist. Meeting you is a great happiness for me.”¹³

Uigur Turks provide a communication between Turkey and Eastern Turkistan. Hundreds of people go to Eastern Turkistan over Baku every year. They act as intermediary for providing and enhancing social, cultural and economical relations with our brothers who live in Eastern Turkistan. A clothing that is popular in Turkey is being supplied to the market in Ürümqi and Kashgar as Turkey fashion trend. Turkish artists like Barış Manço and İbrahim Tatlıses, the movie “Kuruluş” televised on TRT and movies of Kemal Sunal are quite popular.

Uigur and Kazakh Turks living in Turkey have adopted the society very fast and they have not faced any problems. No cultural conflicts or marginalization has been practiced. Quite the



contrary, there has been a friendly approach by the government and the people.

Turkey has always been a destination to be reached by the Turkish immigrants. İsa Yusuf Alptekin, the leader of the Eastern Turkistan Turks living in Turkey, has once said "Turkey has been the only hold for the Turks. The Eastern Turkistan Turks have believed that "The light is to come from Turkey".¹⁴ Atatürk has said "The immigrants have been the memories of the lost lands".

In Turkey, approximately 5,000 Eastern Turkistan Turks and nearly 20,000 Kazhak Turks live. 4,000 of these are in Istanbul. The Eastern Turkistan Turks are all perfect citizens of the Republic of Turkey. On the other hand, they stick to their social and cultural characteristics and make great efforts to inform the world about the dramatic conditions of their brothers who live in their homeland.

EXPECTATIONS OF THE EASTERN TURKISTAN TURKS⁽¹⁵⁾

1. During the visits to China Eastern Turkistan should be included in the program and the authorities should be very care-

ful about their declarations and they should increase the morale of the Eastern Turkistan Turks.

2. A representative office of Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA) should be present in Ürümqi, the capital city of Eastern Turkistan.

3. Scientific and cultural relations should be established with Eastern Turkistan Autonomous Region. The cultural interaction should be increased. Turkish media should be encouraged to visit the region.

4. The visa procedures for Eastern Turkistan Turks, who have been away from their relatives for many years and see Turkey as the holy fatherland, are very difficult. On the other hand it can be seen that we can see that a lot of Chinese citizens are in the streets of Istanbul. The Chinese do not have brothers or relatives in Turkey. This issue should be considered and the visa procedures should be made easier for the Eastern Turkistan Turks with Chinese citizenship.

I'd like to end with a saying by Atatürk. "HAPPY THE ONE WHO SAYS HE IS A TURK"

1. Muzaffer Özdağ, *Turkish World and the Geopolitics of Eastern Turkistan* P.23 Eastern Turkistan Fund, Istanbul 2000
2. Mehmet Emin Buğra, *Eastern Turkistan and Freedom Fights* P.1 Ankara - 1963
3. Prof.Dr. Mehmet Saray, *History of Eastern Turkistan* c.1 P.24 Eastern Turkistan Fund Magazine İstanbul -1998
4. Mehmet Emin Buğra, *Eastern Turkistan and Freedom Fights* P.11 -17 Ankara 1963
5. Abdulhamit Aşar, *Turkistan Turks in the Independence War* Documentary episode 2 TRT -1 Tv 31.10.2005
6. I talked to Hacı Muhammed Yenisar in 1976 in Konya. I found his relatives in Yenihisar. He was very happy.(H.G.)
7. Hamit Göktürk, *Communiques on the Symposium for the Turkish Intellectuals Who Have Served in the Establishment of Turkey*, 217 Erciyes Ün. TÜDAM Magazine Nr 2 Kayseri -1996

8. G.Lias *The Big Kazakh Migration* Boğaziçi Yayınları İstanbul - 1977
9. Mehmet Emin Buğra *History, Geography and the Present of Eastern Turkistan* p.70 Güven Basımevi - 1952 Ankara
10. *Turkish World (Magazine) Year 2 Issue 7 Magazine by Federation of Turkish Immigrant and Refugee Organizations - 1967 - İstanbul*
11. I have personally participated in the migration.
12. This number is taken from a survey by Eastern Turkistan Fund.
13. İsmi bizde saklı olan yetkilimiz, Ocak/2002'de bir dostumuzla birlikte kendisini ziyaretimizde bunu bize ifade etmiştir.(H.G.)
14. M.Rıza Bekin, *Report on Eastern Turkistan*, Eastern Turkistan Fund Magazine p.32 İstanbul - 2004
15. From the note by Eastern Turkistan Fund Presidency.



Hizirbek GAYRETULLAH

Vice Prime Minister of Eastern Turkistan Government in Exile

Born in 1944 in Eastern Turkistan. Immigrated to Turkey in 1952 when the Communist China occupied the Eastern Turkistan in 1947. Started his business for the first time by joining Vatan Newspaper in 1961. Being a member to the Intelligentsia Society, Turkish Writers Association, Kazakhstan Writers Association, Eurasian Turkish Associations Federation, Eastern Turkistan Refugees Association. Has got four published books.

A Migration Story: Migration Memories from Eastern Turkistan

I was a child with a bald head and bare foot in the dust and mud when starting the first migration. Everywhere was covered in white clothes of snow; end of October, winter was at its peak.

It was three months since we had migrated from high plateaus to the wintering resorts. Every family worried about the supply of needs for the coming winter and how to last that winter in health and comfort...

Tasbulak, by which we used to play and have good time, was no more unleashing torrents as if it had resented the whole universe and been frozen. For us, the kids, it never mattered whether it was frozen or not as the fun we got from the frozen was something irreplaceable; we skied on the ice, slide sledges and coasting down and up the pieces torn with difficulties from old oak timbers, laughed and forgot what winter and cold was.

Sun penetrated through the hills of oaks creating full circles of purple – pink and yellow – red, and it smiled at us so sweetly. It was time to go home when the sun reaches the hill.

We still had some time to return home, we skied on the stream. The team of strong men were coasting down the steep slopes. We only heard their noises, got courage, and kept on playing in secure.

The tall boys whose faces were worn out by the severe wind of the Middle Asia, with their slanting eyes and wide shoulders went hunting deer, moose, wolves, and foxes, on their horses fed in winter, eagles in their hands, and the hounds following them. They return home in a victorious manner racing with the birds going back to their nests in the evening. While they were returning, the only thing the kids did was just make the way.

Here he came on his grey horse from hunting, galloping right towards us. Supposing his eagle or hound were chasing after a prey, we scanned everywhere as much as our eyes could. Some of us shouted, "There he goes! Look at the eagle! Look at that running fox!" not realizing that we were lying.

All of a sudden, the man on the grey horse was there beside us. The horse was ramping and constantly breathing, scattering foams from its mouth. The man of honour and courage, who



leaned back the saddle, supported by the stirrup, cried in feared voice, "Kids, kids!" We all gathered around him. "Kids, kids! Go back to your homes! Quickly!" told the man. At first, we didn't like this patronizing tone of voice, but we got the message as soon as we glanced at him thoroughly. We ran towards houses with all our strength. We wondered what happened. It didn't take too long to learn Chinese troopers had attacked to exterminate the Turks but 20-30 Kazak Turks they encountered had pushed and stopped them, with belief in god at their hearts.

It did not matter what happened as they were armoured and well trained soldiers with all their deadly weapons. It was necessary to abandon the homeland and escape from communism, red hell, iron curtain, and brutality of China. The clothes we had worn when we skied some minutes ago were still wet. That day, in the evening, we said goodbye to our homeland, where we were born.

The migrations of the Huns, the Oguz, and the Gokturks restarted in the 20th century, from Eastern Turkistan towards Asia and Anatolia.

On the plain at the skirts of Tian Shan Mountains was a very clean stream which flows, making his way through the roots of oaks and grasses. It was named "Taşbulak, Taşdere or Taşçay", meaning "Stonestream", after its water being cold and clean. That water, gift of God, was the first I drank and it also the first eater that my mother washed me up. I had the best times of my childhood by that stream.

In summer, we went to the high plateaus and settle sight beside the spring of Taşbulak. The smell of oaks, voices of ship, neighing of steeds, and bird songs faded away hitting the trees reaching up to sky and the slopes. We, the kids, were joyful creatures among those things.

On the slope, we call Downside Slope, some Chinese families lived. They came to us to drink kumis. Thanks to this, we became friends with their children. We mostly had difficulty in pronouncing their names, but never succeeded in uttering them correctly.

Our neighbour's son, Erbek, who was known for defining the voices of horses, was older than me. One day, our horses were drinking water in Taşbulak when we heard neighing of a horse from the oaks in the opposite slope. "Erbek, what horse is it, tell me?" I told. "Of course, a Chinese" said Erbek. I objected and he got angry frowning. "Come and see!" he told. We rode on the horses and went towards the voices. A few yards away was standing a horse which was tied by its neck. "You see it is

a Chinese." He told. "How do you know?" I asked. "How? The Kazaks ties the horse by its right foot and never leave anything on its neck. Look at that. It is absolutely a Chinese horse." He said.

Since that day, I have always noticed that the way the Kazaks tie their horses is just the same as Erbek told. There was a madrasah where Erbek was attending, and I was at the school age. When my father told me that he would send me to madrasah, I thought about Erbek, and I agreed on the condition that that would be the madrasah where Erbek went. In the end, I got what I wanted, and I started to be educated starting with "Elif-be", first letter in Arabic alphabet, in the wooden classroom near the madrasah. Dad told the hodja that he was free to do anything to educate me. I was afraid of my teacher. I was sitting in cross-legged. I sometimes tried to look at him, but I could only see his scarf. On my right side was sitting Erbek, who was considered the secondary authority after the teacher. I asked anything when the teacher was absent.

Erbek was telling me he was able to interpret the Koran and now studying on its pronunciation. I don't know how long it took, but I was on Amme (public) section. One day I heard that Erbek was, by force, taken by Chinese soldiers. When I went to his house to see him for the last time, he had already gone. My GOD! He wouldn't be back in the madrasah again. They took him to educate him according to Chinese pedagogy to make a Chinese, by force. Whenever his mother saw me, she started to cry as I reminded her of Erbek. Who knows? Where on the red hell was he living with the torment of being trained an enemy to his own language, religion, and race?

We passed over the Himalayas, the roof of the Earth, on horseback for six months with several difficulties, and we got the Indian Border fighting with Chinese.

That was a beautiful day. It was September, if not mistaken. The lake in the middle of the barren hills, with blowing of autumn winds, was clearly reflecting the sun behind the hill. Its water was sweet. There were some wild geese that were diving and coming out of the water of somewhat wavy lake. They flew away when we arrived, making a circle over the lake first, then, they soared up to the mount as though they had anticipated something and disappeared. I think it was a month since we had arrived at the lake. I had seen several lakes in Tibet by then, but the impact of that one was unforgettable for me. The reason of this was because of the fact that we were sometimes attacked by the communist army when we are around this lake and I do remember those attacks. Those days, herbing camels, horses, and other animals was an inevitable



task for the kids at our ages since any man who could use gun was fighting with the enemy. And that day, we were about to, at the lake, to let a herd of camel drink water, then take them to rest and to the place where the convoy was. One of my friends told me about a camel of us left behind in the valley, and it didn't come back. He told me to go and bring it. I was afraid of going alone as it was about evening. I couldn't pursue him to come with me although I wanted help from him. Finally I climbed up to the valley for the camel. It was getting darker, and I hardly find my way from the bushes. In the end, I found the camel tied up to a bush. As soon as I was about to untie and ride on it, I heard some people running by me, and the voices of the horses scared of camel. (Chinese horses were always afraid of camels as Chinese soldiers did not have camels.) When I managed to ride on the camel, I saw the soldiers on ramparts and their horses around them. With the help of Allah, I got rid of the fear. I was riding between the soldiers lying with up turned faces. They could not catch me, if they did, ours would come to look for me and fight with them, which meant they would miss the chance to catch us all.

When I arrived at the camp yard, it was about 10:00pm, and I told father about what I had seen. But he didn't believe claiming that I was afraid of bushes. I went to bed without changing the clothes. It was the dawn when Hamit Hodja's voice was echoing in the valley as he was reading the Morning Prayer as usual. Then, suddenly, a canon explosion interrupted his voice. I got out of the bed with a gun*** I picked up. I climbed up to the hill behind the convoy with all my strength. I faced with the rising sun on the horizon when I got the top. When I turned back, the scene I saw was dreadful. Tents were thrown into the air, children were looking for a shelter, the valley was

filled with cries, and the machine guns of the enemy were spreading death. As a result of those things, I was trembling due to both fear and anxiety at the same time. As I had taken a look around, I shouted, doing my best, to the people down the valley, "This way, this way!", which Allah told me to do. They made their way into my direction. They did escape from the firing range of the enemy, and then we passed the Indian border, which saved our lives. Once, canons were falling on to my whereabouts, and that was something terrible. As they hit the ground, the ground was shaking like an earthquake did.

Afterwards, it turned out that the enemy troops were fighting to occupy the hill just behind where I was waiting. If I had been late just for five minutes, that hill would have been taken by the enemy and all of us would be death now. But when they saw me on the hill, they thought that the hill was controlled by the Kazak Turks. After that miraculous event, we got rid of the reds and never met them again.

NOTES:

* Hızırбек Gayretullah is telling his childhood memories of the migration from Manas-Savan region of Turkmenistan, homeland, led by Ali Bek Hakim, in 1947, to Turkey, passing Taklamakan Dessert, passing over the Himalayas, and getting Anatolia in the December of 1952.

** The event took place in the border of India-Tibet. Indian authorities held us for three months as they hadn't given the permit to enter the country. Because we didn't have passports, our passports were the courage in our heart and the belief in Allah.

***When we were child, we were told to save the armory and the guns on any attack at the old, the young, and children. I did not use any gun but I took the gun as ordered me.

Hamit Hodja: The eldest son of the Minister of Finance of Eastern Turkistan and elder brother of Delilhan Canaltay.

On that skirmish, the hodja of Çarşan-Çaklık, Turdi Kari, a warrior called Sakan, and a woman were killed. A woman and a child were also injured. Kerim Bey who survived the event as an injury still lives in Istanbul.



Ali CAGRI

Afghanistan Turkmens Association of Social Aid and Solidarity

Born on 09.06.1976 in Afghanistan. Arrived to Turkey at the age of six. Married, with four children. Currently an entrepreneur in the private sector. Resides in Zeytinburnu, Istanbul. A graduate of high school. Speaks Turkish, Russian, Turkmen and Uzbek languages. Serving as the President of the Association of Turkmens of Afghanistan since November 2004.

A Journey from Afghanistan to Zeytinburnu

The southern part of Horasan which has been the historical homeland of Turks is in today's Afghanistan territory. The existence of Turks in Afghanistan starts with the Iskits in the 50s B.C. Later, the Akhuns who have dominated the region, continued to live as Halac Turks. Gaznelis during the end of the 10th century, Seljukians after 1041, Harzemsahs in the 12 century had the sovereignty of the region and established civilizations, the traces of which will never be erased. As a historical of heritage of the near and far past; Turkmen, Ozbek, Kazakh, and Kyrgyz Turks still live in Afghanistan. One third on Afghanistan population, estimated to be 27 million, is formed by Afghanistan Turks; and they in the north as the second biggest ethnical group in the country. For centuries, although they were exposed to every kind of pressure and assimilation by other ethnical groups in the region, the Afghanistan Turks is a community of Turkish people who successfully preserved their own language and culture till today. The civil war which has started between the communist government and the opposing guerillas back in the year 1978

acquired a different dimension after the Soviets sent soldiers to Afghanistan; and it turned out to be a Russian-Afghan war. The Russians, thinking that the civilians were helping and harboring the mujahids fighting against the existing communist regime and them, directed their pressure and tyranny towards the civilians and thousands of people were massacred. The negative life conditions springing from the war is like dynamite made ready to blow up the civilization. Millions of people were obliged to emigrate because the most basic right of human -the right of living- was not secured. Millions of desperate people, who were in a situation to pay the price of something they were not responsible for, rushed to borders in spite of all the adversities; leaving their beloved ones and the young people combating at the fronts.

After that, the journey of Afghanistan Turks from Afghanistan to Zeytinburnu has started.

Of course, it was not easy for us to leave the lands which were the homelands of our ancestors. But emigration turned out to be a compulsory action due to the danger of being deprived of



many basic rights; the right of living being at the first place. Within that context; 1.5 million Afghan Turks sought asylum at the refugee camps in neighboring countries like; Pakistan and Iran in order to preserve their physical and psychological integrity. The friendly hand was given by the Republic of Turkey which we have been waiting and longing for after two years of severe life conditions in the refugees camps.

During the visit of our 7th President Mr. Kenan Evren to the camps in Pakistan, the state of Republic of Turkey decides to receive 5000 Afghanistan Turkish originated refugees at the first stage upon the attempts of the Police Chief of northern part of Afghanistan; namely Mr. Abdulkarim Mahdum. As the delegation from Turkey receives the list of people at the camps who are willing to migrate; an excitement of migration rises. Afghanistan Turks get really very happy about going to Turkey. Of course, it plays a great role that they would be going to a country which is of their own culture, own essence. From that day on, a curious waiting starts at the camps about when and how they will be going to Turkey. This waiting does not last long. People from various camps reach to the airports after traveling by train. The plane of Turkish Airlines, landed on the airport in Pakistan, is ready to take us to the Turkish territory; to Anatolia, the place where Turks have acquired as their second homeland after Central Asia. In the summer of 1982, as the planes we got in full of excitement are landed on the airport in Adana, excitement gives its place to happiness and joy. We double our happiness by the embraces of the Republic of Turkey and Turkish people. The warm attitudes of Turkish people in the locations we have been populated are unforgettable. I would like to note that; we, coming to country which we are not strange to the culture, language, values of, have not experienced any difficulties at all in adapting to the social life. Of course, the attitude of people we share the same race with, and the state being so supportive and helpful have facilitated that adaptation.

Hence; 5.000 Afghanistan Turks in 1982 and 1.200 in 1983 were populated in the cities of Tokat, Hatay, Sanliurfa, Sivas, Kirsehir, and Van.

Afghanistan Turks, making a living by processing leathers they have brought from Istanbul and Izmir, later migrated to

bigger cities with the idea of having better economical conditions.

Zeytinburnu district of Istanbul has to be separated from the others within his perspective; because Zeytinburnu, as known, in like a center for production of leather. After migrations that have taken place in time, Zeytinburnu, in a sense, have become the center for Afghanistan Turks. We, having the chance of developing in the economical aspect, have become important for the leather sector in Zeytinburnu and the formation of carpet trade in the historical place of Istanbul; the Grand Bazaar.

Dear guests! We have been watching our relatives we have left behind and the incidents taking place there very closely during the period of over 24 years. Within this framework; we have been carrying out some activities for the people we share the same race with.

As the Afghanistan Turkmens'Ø Association of Social Aid and Solidarity, we aim to support education in Afghanistan by the building schools campaign "You Too Light a Bulb" that was started upon the approval of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, dated 21.04.2004. We are in the process of building two schools in the northern region of Afghanistan; an elementary education school in Karkin and a high school in Hamiyap. During that campaign; we have been highly supported by the Ministry of National Education, Department of Religious Affairs, and the most values Turkish society. I would like to take this opportunity to thank them once more on behalf of our association and our people there for their interest and support to the campaign.

Another institutions of ours; World Turkmens'Ø Education Foundation, provides scholarships for university students to have them get their education in various universities in Turkey; and show interest in their requirements during their education. In the years to come, these students who will become important people in Afghanistan, present a great importance both for us and our country.

We are indebted to the state of Turkey who supported us during our most difficult days and people we share the same race with. We are more than honored to be Turkish and to be in Turkey.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fethi GUNGOR

The Founding Chairman of Caucasian Foundation / Professor at Department of Sociology, Sakarya University

Born in 1964, obtained his B.A. Degree from the Faculty of Theology of Marmara University and M.A. Degree and PhD Degree from the Sociology Department of Marmara University. Worked at the Ottoman Archives Office of Prime Ministry until 1994. Currently working as a Doctor Research Officer at Sakarya University.

Endless Genocide and Exile at Caucasia

HISTORY OF A MANKIND FULL OF GENOCIDES

The declaration of our Prime Minister at the 3rd European Council that took place in Warsaw with the participation of the head of state and ministries of 46 countries on 14th, May, 2005 where he announced that they would make a research on the genocide of the 15 country that made decisions accusing Turkey and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey would take genocide decision for these countries as well is an admirable fact.

In the United Nations General Assembly's "Agreement Regarding Prevention and Punishment of Genocide" that was approved in 1948 and became effective in 1951, genocide is described as "destruction of human beings systematically for reasons of difference in religion and ethnicity".

In the list of the last century's genocide published on 7th, March, 2005 by the "Conscience Committee" of the Genocide Memorial Museum in the United States, even hardly recognized of the Caucasian people is not read. The Conscience Committee that states in the list of 21st century massacres that 7 million people were killed in Ukraine by the Russian leader Joseph Stalin between 1932-33, 300 thousand Chinese during the Nanjing massacre of the Japanese in 1937, 6 million Jews between 1938-1945 in Nazi Germany, 2 million people under

the rule of Pol Pot in Cambodia between 1975-79, 200 thousand people in Bosnia between 1992-1995, 800 thousand people in Raunda in 1994; however it does not mention at all the Caucasian public massacred during communist period and especially in 1994 during the Siberian exile and 250 thousand civilians who have been the victims of genocide that continues in Chechnya since 1994. However this list, with the effect of the powerful lobby activities of the Armenian society in the United States, can claim that Turkey has massacred 1.5 million Armenian between 1915-1918.

DISTORTED TERMINOLOGY

The fact that the genocides that have been taking place at Caucasia since the second half of 18th century are mentioned with partial and intentional definitions like "Caucasian Wars", the exiles as "immigration", and the Caucasian people as mountaineer and as result of a manifestation of unitarising the federative structure policy, Caucasia being named today as "South Russia" can not be accepted.

CAUCASIA

It is the mainland corridor starting from Caspian Sea in the East and stretching towards Azak Sea and Black Sea on the



west where the North part constitutes of Russian steppes and the South constitutes of Caucasian mountain range and Black Sea. Caucasasia that is constituted from east to west by Dagestan, Chechnya, Ingushetia, Ossetia, Kabardei-Balkar, Karachai-Carassia, Abkhazia, Adigey Republics is between the 41-45 north latitude and 38-48 longitude at the Southeast of European continent. The total area of the region today is nearly 140 thousand km² and the Muslim population is about 5 million.

GENOCIDE AND EXILE IN CAUCASIA

In the work of historian 5th Kabuzan named "Naseleniye Severnogo Kavkaza" (Population of North Caucasasia), according to the Russian archive documents, 200 years ago the population of other Adigeys excluding Kabardians and Besleneys was nearly 600 thousand. The population of Adigeys living in Adigey Republic which is desired to be removed by being added to Krasnodar state today is only 108 thousand people according to 2002 census of population.

THE GREAT CIRCASSIAN EXILE: IMMIGRATION OR EXILE?

In the obligatory immigrations, the decision of immigration does not take into consideration the will of the immigrant. Immigrations that emerge due to obligatory housing policies or a war or a natural disease are obligatory immigrations. There is also the tendency not to count the immigrations as immigration on the general sense when they are not based on the will of the immigrant. The reason for this tendency is to draw attention to the fact that the concept of "exile" shall be examined with a different criterion than immigration (Uysal 1996:141). As can be understood obviously from the definitions above, the Circassians' coming to Anatolia from Caucasasia is an exile and it is not correct to name this mass population movement as immigration.

THE REASON FOR EXILING THE CIRCASSIANS

Besides the economical, religious, political and cultural reasons, the most usual reason for immigration is wars. The most important reason for the population movement from Caucasasia to Anatolia is the defeat to the disadvantage of the Circassians of the Russian war that had continued for two centuries.

The brother of the Tsar, Granduk Misel, whom he appointed as the regent of Carcasia had conveyed the following edict to the residents of Western Caucasasia in the August of 1864: "Unless

Caucasia is left within a month, all the population will be exiled to various regions of Russia as war prisons." (Berkok, 526).

For this reason, the Circassians who considers slavery as the biggest dishonor were obliged to leave their beautiful motherland. Lermontof expresses this truth in a poem as follows: "Why do these people leave their country and the cemeteries of their fathers? With the force of the enemy? No! With the fear of slavery chains that comes with the enemy forces!" (Berkok, 524).

THE ROUTE OF EXILE

On sea route, the Carcassians who were exiled from their countries between 1859-1864 in Caucasasia were put into ships at the ports of Taman, Tuapse, Anapa, Tsemez, Sochi, Adler, Suhumi, Poti, Batumi etc. and brought to the ports of Trabzon, Samsun, Sinop, Istanbul, Varna, Burgaz and Kostanza of Ottoman Empire. The 1865-1866 Exile and the 1978 Exile after the Ottoman-Russian war was carried out by the land route. From the East route, generally the emigrants of Chechnya, Dagestan, Ossetia and Kabardei were migrated. Later migrations were also made through the land route (Berzecz, 1986:114).

THE SUFFERING ON THE EXILE ROUTE

The tragic condition of the ones who perished on the road is told in the report that the Russian Consul in Trabzon wrote to the General Katracef who was in charge of deportation as follows: "As of now 19.000 people have died among the 24.700 people who arrived in Trabzon. Now, every day 180-250 people are dying from the 63.900 people there. Everyday an average of 200 people dies among the 110.000 people around Samsun. I have also been informed that 40-60 people die per day from the 4650 people who had been taken to Trabzon, Varna and İstanbul."

Mustafa Kunduk Pasha writes in his Memoirs:

"The station clerk who saw that I was viewing the wretchedness of the people with astonishment ran up to me and said: "Your Excellency, is there any human on this world who would see this tragic scene and not regret? One should fear God. These lands are their places. How do we find the right to drive them to the unknown? When I ask them where they are going, they reply to the Ottoman State. But how and when? What awaits them is not certain. They don't have any information on these matters." (Kundukov, 62-63)

During the exile, they partially had the tendency to return. The Exile and housing policy of the Ottoman State is a separate



issue on its own and let's suffice it to say that dense housings were made in Balkans, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and especially Anatolia.

Since the 17th century when the Ottoman State first made contacts with Caucasia, individual immigrations had started. Before the big immigration, there were hundreds of officers in the Ottoman army and there were about 300 pashas some of whom had been visiers. The Carcassians had not only given daughters to the palace but they took as well. The son-in-laws of Sultan, 4 Carcassian pashas had served greatly to the Ottoman State.

THE INTERVENTION OF RUSSIA TO THE HOUSING

Russia who did not leave the millions of people in peace whom it exiled from their country with tyranny and blood, and intervened where they would be settled. In the agreement that Russia had signed with the Ottoman State on 2nd, March, 1878, it was asserted that the Circassians who were housed near the Russian border shall be taken to interior lands. (Berzec, 126). As a matter of fact, that was what had been done and 150.000 Circassians were sent this time to Anatolia and Damascus vicinity from Rumelia.

THE NUMBER OF THE CIRCASSIANS EXILED

Regarding the great exile between 1859-1864, there are numbers that change from 700 thousand to 2 million in the Russian, British, French and Ottoman records. Obisni Irolitimo who examined the population movements in the Ottomans declares that the number of migrants reached to a million in 1866.

Prof. Kemal Karpat states that the number of the exiled Caucasians between 1859-1879, most of whom were Circassian, was around 2.000.000 and the number who reached the Ottoman state safely was about 1.500.000. K. Karpat, Ottoman Population 1830-1914, Wisconsin, 1995, p.69.

Even though the certificates regarding that period are deficient because sufficient record were (could) not (be) made; as a result of my research for 15 years, my opinion regarding the number of the Caucasians who were exiled from their country is as follows: When we include the inner exiles within Caucasia, the ones who were exiled to Siberia and Middle Asia in 1944, the ones who were exiled from the Balkans to Anatolia, to the Southeast from Bandirma, the ones who were exiled from Kunaytira upon the siege of Colan region at Syria during the Jewish-Arabic war; the number of the literally exiled Circassians exceeds 3 million. Half of this large mass lost their

lives before even reaching the regions they would be housed in and in large groups at the first housing regions.

CIRCASSIAN DIASPORA

Among the places where the Circassians live intensely apart from Caucasia consists of many different countries like Turkey first of all and Syria, Jordan, Palestine, Egypt, Yugoslavia, some European countries and United States.

THE DEEP INJURIES THAT THE EXILE CREATED

"The exile operation is the most important issue of the thousands of years of history of Caucasia. This event created deep injuries in the social structure, economy, politics, culture and language of the Caucasians." (Berzec, 129).

One of the results of the Great Circassian exile that influenced the social structure of the Adige society is that many Adige people were sold as slave or concubine and reflections of this fact can obviously be seen in the works of Ahmet Midhat, Abdulhak Hamit, Sami Pasazade Sezai, Mizanci Murad whom themselves are or whose mother are Circassian. (See Parlatur, 1987:31 etc.)

THE BRITISH CONTRIBUTION TO THE GENOCIDE: DRAU DISASTER

The 1944 suffering of the Caucasians was not limited to Caucasia and it gained a different dimension with the tragedy of thousands of people who somehow escaped from Russia or who were brought to Europe as the war captives of Germany or with the Germans who were retreating from the region. Drau disaster is the other face of 1944. United Kingdom and United States have been recorded in history as the concoctors of this disaster.

The surrender of the Caucasian refugee has been turned into a memorial in the Irschen village as a result of the works of European Muslim Society in 1960. On the memorial, the following sentence is written in German: "Here, on 28th May of 1945, 7000 North Caucasian was surrendered to the Soviet authorities and they were victims of the Caucasian future ideal with their loyalty to Islam."

SUGGESTION

It shall be provided that all the genocides and exiles that has been carried out with the human history shall be put forward after a through research by a special international organization



that is formed with the participation of the representatives of people who have been exposed to these humanity crimes, these governments who have committed these humanity crimes apologize from the whole humanity starting with the people they have oppressed and exiled, and also the dignity and the historical rights of the genocided and exiled people shall be returned with the biggest generosity.

There is a definition in the Western philosophy that "a human is the worm of the other human". No, a human is the fellow man of another human. The Great God divided mankind to tribes not to attack each other but to learn each other and live humanly guarding each other's rights and laws. The sources of the earth are sufficient for all human kind to live a healthy, peaceful and civilized life. Providing that humanity carries his responsibility, stays away from cruelty and accepts to share the sources fairly.

LOOKING AT THE EXILE FROM THE DEPTHS OF HISTORY

The archives are collections of the memory of nations. Each archive document lightens an event that occurred in the history of a nation from chronological, economical, political, sociological etc. point of view.

The Ottoman Archives are among the most primary archives in the world for both the historical depth, protection system and the number of documents. The Ottoman Archives that is related to thirty countries directly and tens of other countries indirectly, with the richest document range, still waits to be discovered for many nations, especially the Caucasians.

The largest of the Ottoman Archive that includes thousands of documents regarding vital issues like people who were genocided, exile, housing and adaptation is the Ottoman Archives at the Prime Ministry. Besides Topkapı Palace Museum Archive, Ser'iyye Sicilleri Archives, Land Register archives and local archives, there are also Ottoman Archives that are left outside the borders of Turkey.

Here, as an example let's suffice it with a few summaries of documents chosen from thousands of archive certificates that explains the settlement of Caucasian migrants and the Circassians who died in large groups during the housing:

BOA, İ.MVL, Document no: 20949, 23 Şa'bân 1278

The report presented to the Sadaret (Prime Ministry) that includes the preparation work of the Migrant's Housing Commission's clerk, regarding the settlement of nearly a thousand Circassian migrant that consists of Kabardei, Hatukai and Circassians to Uzunyayla. (1861).

BOA, A.MKT.UM 403 86 02.L.1276

Because some people from the Circassian nation were to go to Sivas to research whether Uzunyayla could be housed or not, they shall be assisted and prevention of any damage that could be given to them by the Avsar tribe.

BOA, A.MKT.NZD 319 1 04.M.1277

The fact that nine hundred twenty populations were housed at the tents at Haydarpasa from the Circassian migrants and Kabarthai Tribe.

SOME SECTIONS OF THE RUSSIAN SIEGE THAT HAS BEEN CONTINUING AT CAUCASIA

General N. A. Patapov who was appointed at Dagestan, in his report dated 2nd, December, 1768, had proposed the following wild precautions in order to break the will of struggle of the Caucasian people: "They shall be left hungry, their animals shall be taken elsewhere, and their crops shall be burned completely in spring. Therefore when they become poor on plants, equipments and food, they would not be able to fight."

CHECHEN REFUGEE ISSUE IN TURKEY

Even though during the Russian-Chechen war between 1994-1996 some refugee crowds were directed at our country, their duration of stay was short and upon the peace agreement on 31st, August 1996 between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic of Ickheria, nearly all the refugees of this first movement returned to their country.

After refiring of the war in the summer of 1999 the Chechen refugee movement towards Turkey is about 1200 with the ones who have come and left until today.

A total number of 1200 Chechen refugee most of whom are children, elderly and woman is living in our country; 500 of them live collectively in Kadikoy (TCDD Fenerbahce Kampi), Umraniye (Atakent, below Halilurrahman Mosque) and Beykoz (Tokatkoy St., No: 147), Pendik, 400 of them scattered around regions in Istanbul like 500Evler, Kucukkoy, Aksaray, 300 in the provinces starting with cities like Kocaeli, Sakarya and Kayseri.

Many needs, primarily feeding and housing, of these people who have arrived in different times since 1999 are met with some NGO'S and individual helps of the people, primarily the Caucasia-Chechnia Support Committee.

The demand of the Caucasia-Chechnia Support Committee to extend the work permit that ended on January 2001 has not been replied positively or negatively and for this reason it could not collect help anymore and was about to dissolve in the course of time. The helps were insufficient except for holy days and nights and the danger of hunger was felt "from the first hand" in the camps and some houses.



Before this sour scene, with the support of a group of patriotic people, who can not accept the fact that they can not shelter a thousand refugees in a city of history and civilization whose population is more than many countries in the world, the help committee is revived again and the alert situation was over.

However, the members of this committee who had to serve voluntarily to these refugees in times they can spare which are hardly left from their own work have also become tired and they dissolved.

THE ISSUES

We can categorize the difficulties that the Chechen refugees living in Istanbul go through as follows:

1. Housing; Places with insufficient understructure that don't have water and electricity
2. Health; Lack of necessary and continuous health facility
3. Feeding; Not receiving necessary and stable food, not having any hot food,
4. Education; The discomfort of passing all the time empty and not receiving any proper formal or mass education
5. Social service; The discomfort of the necessity to spend all the time in nonsuitable narrow places and lacking any sportive, cultural, touristic etc. activities,
6. Psychological service; Besides the pain of living the war conditions and leaving their country, the psychological illnesses due to not knowing the life and outcomes of their relatives of first degree that stayed in the country and the long duration of war,
7. Bureaucracy; Meeting impediments regarding issues like visa, residence, work permit and not getting away from "the status of "illicit".
8. The fact that there is no legal institution to deal with the problems of refugees.

SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLUTIONS

1. As is stated in the related international texts, gaining the legal "refugee status" to the people who come from Chechnya and providing national and international effective help,
2. Showing the necessary attention by the Governor of Istanbul and Istanbul City Municipality to the people who "someway live" in this city
3. In order to handle the housing problem which is the source of most of the problems that they have at the moment, finding a place for the refugees to settle down that would house 1000 (250 family) people together and receive collective services,
4. The food brought ready and given steadily,
5. Founding a system that would present regular health serv-

ice (The Health Commission can be revived and supported),

6. Giving all the refugees a residence certificate that is valid for at least one year,
7. Enabling them to travel free of charge in the collective travel vehicles that belong to Istanbul Transportation
8. Enabling the kids at the age of primary school to be registered to the nearest school
9. Supporting the Caucasias-Chechen Support Association and NGO'S that take of Chechen refugees like Caucasias Foundation, IHH that are founded in order to provide service to the Chechen refugees.

NOTES:

Some of the food and cleaning utensils that are needed urgently at the camps are as follows: Meat, milk, egg, cheese, potato, onion, vegetables, fruits, oil, dry grapes, garlic, lemon, tea, sugar, flour; toothbrush, toothpaste, soap, shampoo, washing detergent, dishwasher detergent, nappies... Besides these, the bottle gas that is used for heating and lighting and prepaid minutes for the phone as well as transportation costs to return are among the demands that are met most frequently.

From the observations about the Chechnian refugees of the journalist Nur Dolay who visited the camps in Ingushia and Istanbul:

"...For a moment we had thought that the shame and barbarian age of humanity was closing and that bloody century was coming to an end. However the 21st century started as worse than the previous century. The death camps are just before our nose. A nation is being destroyed before our eyes. There is no town as Grozny. There will not be a country named Chechnya soon. And at this age, we can not use the excuse of the ones who were partners of the crimes by their silence during Hitler period. Can we say "We did not know, we did not see, we were not informed"? We do know that Grozny is straightened by the Russian bombs and rockets.

We do know that in the concentration camps that have been formed again at the beginning of the 21st century, even children aged 12 are tortured, man and woman are raped and that they are tied from their feet to the back of the trucks and dragged alive to the death holes. We do know that the 330 people who survived from these death fields and came to shelter in our country with their children were not allowed even to enter for the reason of "not having a passport". It is as if the ones who were asked for passport are a group of tourists who come to gamble in our casinos!

We do know that even the injured who hide in the basements of Grozny who could not escape are "finished" just there. We do know that the 100 thousand Chechens, small babies or elder people whose arms and legs are scattered under the bombs can not be "Islamist terrorists". We do know and we keep silent...

Today, there is no town as Grozny. Maybe tomorrow there will not be nation named Chechen. And when that time comes, we as the intellectuals of Turkey will say "we knew but we kept silent because the Islamists were interested in that issue"?

The Chechen slaughter not only aims to erase Chechnya from the map. This bloody colony war that is extended into 21st century is the first step of Putin and the army behind him to settle again the KGB regime in the Russian Federation. Caucasias will be the first area of the oppression, fear and closed regime that will be revived again. It is already happening. The ones who are still not aware of the situation are advised to have a little trip to Ingushetia..."

I would like to add to this advice of Nur Dolay, the games planned at the Beslan School on 1st, September, 2004 and at Nalcik on 13th October, 2005. All these games can be considered as an argument of the policy to turn the Russian Federation into a uniter state and making Putin the neo-tsar to this violence country.

Note: For references of this paper, please check Turkish section.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hakan KIRIMLI

Bilkent University

Born in 1958 in Balıkesir. Started his doctoral work in Munich and completed them at University of Wisconsin in Madison obtaining his doctorate degree on history. Currently working as a lecturer at the International Relations Department of Bilkent University. Appointed as a member to the Turkish History association in 1995.

The Crimean Tatar Immigration from Crimea to Turkey

The mass immigrations from Crimea to Turkey actually took place following the Russian Empire's removal of the Crimean Khanate and annexing Crimea in 1783. Nonetheless, before 1783 as well, even though it is little known, there have been significant amount of immigrations from Crimea to the Ottoman land. On the land of Turkish Republic today there are data that have been protected regarding the people who have come from Crimea in pretty old times. For example, we know that in the last quarter of the 16th century, thousands of Kipchaks were settled at the Kars and Igdir region (which were not under Ottoman rule at that time) by Golden Horde Khan Toktamis Khan. Today, Hatunogullari family who is very reputable in Igdir and Erzurum come from the descendance of these people who were settled at this region before the Crimean Khanate was founded. Hatunogullari remembers this past with knowledge and respect.

Following the alliance of the Crimean Khanate which was the heir of the Golden Horde and the Ottoman Empire in the last quarter of 15th century, there were many who came from Crimea individually to the Ottoman land both from the mili-

tary class and scholar class. Among these, there were many people who distinguished themselves in the civilian, scientific, military, economic and social Ottoman life. Also, individual Crimean Tatar groups came and settled to Ottoman Rumelia, Ottoman Anatolia and Ottoman Syria. For example, İlber Ortaylı records that he met a society who had come from Crimea in the 15th century and settled at Tekfurdagi (Tekirdagi). Likewise, even today it is still possible to trace the Crimean Tatars who settled at the shores of Black Sea for various reasons in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. There is no doubt that such individuals or groups of Crimean origin can be met at the regions that one would not assume of the wide Ottoman geography. However, these "early" immigrations are merely population movements that can not be called critical and that are due to personal or cyclical reasons.

The social fact that had extremely dramatic results and which we call the real mass immigration from Crimea to the Ottoman Empire is a process starting around the times of the Crimean Khanate downfall. In the 1768-1774 Ottoman-Russian War that marked the faith of Crimea, the Russian army managed to



enter Crimea in 1771. With the 1774 Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca even though the Russian Empire acknowledged the so-called independency of the Crimean Khanate, because its aim was to annex Crimea when the conditions ripened, it continued every possible intervention to the management of the khanate. As a result, within the ten years until 1783, Crimea entered a pretty bloody civil war that is dependent directly due to the interventions of Russia.

At this period, many senior Crimean administrators as well as that many soldiers and people of the public had to take refuge in the Ottoman country. These refugees who had hoped to return back to their country in short time were actually the first part of a huge population stream that would continue for more than two hundred years.

Eventually in 1783, the Russian Empire officially declared that it annexed Crimea. Following the annex, the first job of the Russian conquerors was to send away the elements that were obviously not going to adopt the rule of the Tsar, especially the political elite of the former khanate. As a matter of fact, the dynasty of the Crimean khanate Geraylar, the princes, mirzas, other military and religious leaders who had fought at the front against Russia and their relatives were sent away from Crimea to the Ottoman country. However, these exiles were just the first and urgent precautions. The Russian administrations were uncomfortable with not only these former khanate administrators, but also the existence of the Crimean Tatar people in Crimea. The prominent people of Russia expressed openly that the country they had annexed had to be cleared from the "harmful elements" that reside there. Crimea did not only have beautiful and charming natural qualities that can not be compared to any other place in the Russian Empire, but also it had a very big strategic importance. First of all, it constituted an indispensable step stone for the Russian expansion aims that targeted Istanbul and the Mediterranean. What's more is the Crimean Tatar's being the heir of Golden Horde Empire that kept Russia under the rule for two centuries caused this people to be looked at with deeply rooted feelings of revenge from the past. From this point of view, the Russian politics towards Crimea that is declared clearly and openly since the beginning was to clear this area of the local Turkish-Muslim inhabitants, that is the Crimean Tatars and to replace them with Russians and if that would not be possible, with other Christian elements.

The Russian state authorities have always expressed both at the end of the 18th century and during the 19th century that the departure of the Crimean Tatars from Crimea would be an

extraordinarily beneficial event for Russia. As a matter of fact, there are many documents that are written by the senior administrators of the Russian Empire where it is emphasized that the Crimean Tatars' immigration to Turkey shall not be prevented and it shall even be encouraged. Nonetheless it is also obvious that the conjuncture does not render it possible to apply the same politics all the time. Even though it was desired that the Crimean Tatars leave Crimea, the immigrations had to occur in scales that are controlled and endured by the economy because immediate and mass evacuation had serious harms for both Crimea and Russian economy.

Moreover, because there was bondage in Russia until the period in 1861, it was not easy to house as many people as desired at the places they wished. For this reason, all Christian elements from the Balkans to Italy and Germany, were invited to Crimea. There was even a proposal from Gregory Potemkin who was the most important statesman of the period and the husband of Caterina II the Great to house in Crimea the criminals that will be brought from England. That is, all the convicts and ex-convicts in England would be happily settled down in Crimea because they were Christian elements (like the way Australia would do afterwards) and take part in the "detatarisation" of this Green Island!

The Crimean Tatar immigration from Crimea to the Ottoman land starting from 1770's has continued until 1920 without a break for one year and even continued with some interruptions until today. While these immigrations turn into large waves in some years and change the demographics of the Ottoman Anatolia and Rumelia where the immigrations were directed to, in other years they have been carried out relatively individually but still in significant amounts. According to an assumption, the number of the Crimean Tatars that immigrated to the Ottoman countries between 1783-1922 was at least 1.800.000. Considering that for various reasons, both the Russian and the Ottoman records do not reflect every immigration stream with sufficient correctness, there could even be a higher number. In any case, it is certain that the number of the Crimean Tatars that left their countries in 19th century is much more than the ones who remained.

The main reason of the immigrations is certainly political. The immigrating element, that is Crimean Tatars, thought they had to leave their motherland because they felt that their life, properties or identities were under the direct threat of the Russian administration. On the other hand, Russia also thought it beneficial that they leave Crimea. In that case the social, economical, cultural and psychological factors that emerge as the con-



jectural reasons within the immigration process that extends to two hundred years are actually not independent or primal elements but basically, the results that the political factor brought. One of the premier immigration reasons during the 19th century was the lack of land for the Crimean Tatar farmer and the collapse of the Crimean Tatar society generally in the economical field. However, this economical and social crisis was nothing more than another version of the Russian State's politics to intentionally sack the Crimean land and to appoint the ones who were not of the Crimean Tatars to rule the Crimean daily life. Starting from the end of 18th century, the lands in the hands of the Crimean Tatars (especially the lands of the khanate and the charitable funds) have been turned into government lands by the Russian government or distributed to the Christian people.

The religious pressures that are very important in the emergence of the immigrations are eventually a part of this politics. In an environment where the idea of nationality did not exist yet in an Islamic world the thought of going to the Country of Islam from The Country of War (With a reference also to the position of the emigration concept in Islam) was really seen as proper by many Muslim society leaders. The immigration of a society certainly influenced the other societies around. Besides the continuous and conjectural problems that constitute each new immigration stream, the decreasing of the Crimean Tatar population in Crimea (compared to other elements) made it more difficult for those who remained and made them consider immigration after a while. The residents of Crimean Tatars in Crimea were regarded as potential immigrants not only by the Russians and other people but also by themselves. However, these socio-cultural and psychological concepts that seem to belong to the inner dynamics of the Crimean Tatar society also emerged eventually depending on the ruling state's attitude and politics.

The first stream that had a mass immigration quality after 1783 took place between 1792-1793. Streams in 1802-1803, 1812-1813 and 1830's followed this. Excluding the 1802-1803 stream, it is noteworthy that these immigration streams take place right after Ottoman-Russia wars. This was not by coincidence. Indeed in every Ottoman-Russia war, the Russian government saw Crimean Tatars as the fifth branch of the Ottoman's in Crimea. Truly, the sympathy the Crimean Tatars had towards the Ottomans was a very clear case that was known by everyone. Nonetheless, during the period until 19th century, there is no example of the Crimean Tatar's having any attempt of sabotage or similar counter movement against the Russians in

Crimea or of any attitude towards the Russian folk there during the Ottoman-Russian wars. Despite this, because every war increased the Russian pressure on the public, it brought the immigration streams.

The largest immigration stream took place again due to the factors we have mentioned above, within the ten years following the 1853-1856 Crimean War. For the first time in this war, the ally armies and the Ottoman armed forces landed on Kezlev shore in Crimea in the September of 1854. They really were met with sympathy by the Crimean Tatars there. Even though, the fights in the Crimean front were so important to cause the name of "Crimea War" to be given to this war in history, the area that the ally armies sieged was restricted to a very minor part of the peninsula. The Crimean cities that were sieged by the Ally during the war consisted of only Akyar (Sevastopol), Kezlev and Kerç. Other places were under the Russian rule during the war and the Crimean Tatars living here were exposed to great pressure of the Russian authorities. The Russian Armed Forces Supreme Commander Great Knyaz General Aleksandr Menşikov living in Crimea even ordered a few times that the Crimean Tatars living in Yalıboyu shall be exiled to the inner parts of Russia. This order was not carried out only due to the lack of the means to do so. All the same, all the folks of some villages were exiled to Guberniya of Kursk. Such an idea was also expressed half a century ago, in 1803 and again was not implemented again due to lack of means. The technical means were to be obtained much later in 1944 during Stalin period and the mass exile was to be implemented with dreadful certainty.

About ten thousand of the Crimean Tatars who live in regions sieged by the Ally in 1856 left their motherland when the Ally armies were retreating from Crimea and they were evacuated and housed in the Ottoman lands. However, these first convoys were only the heralds of the great waves of a few years later. The years just after the Crimean War were a period when active and psychological pressures towards the Crimean Tatars increased. In this seriously uncomfortable environment, words that the Tatars would be exiled to inner parts of Russia were spreading. The first ones to be influenced by this were the Nogays who lived at the Dest-e Kipchak (Kipchak steppes) in the north who were among the most important elements of the previous Crimean Khanate people and whom we can define as a part of the Crimean Tatar people. The Nogays started a great immigration movement towards the Ottoman Empire in 1859 and the Kipchak Steppes were totally emptied with this immigration. So much so that the great and glorious Nogay society



of the past were erased from the Kipchak Steppes whom they had been the primary element of, as a result of this great stream and a few more smaller streams until the end of the 19th century. Those who look at a small part of this people who could only stay at the plains in the north of Dagestan assume that Nogays are a North Caucasus society and ignore their actual historical spreading territory.

The immigration of Nogays over Crimea caused a great panic among Crimean Tatars and triggered a public movement. The rumors spread saying that "If going to the land of the caliph is not done today, there won't be such an opportunity tomorrow and the rest will be made Christian". Even though these rumors were not correct, they were very influential over the Crimean Tatar farmers who had been left without land and who were already hopeless economically. Eventually, in 1860 and the few years afterwards (decreasing in time) at least 200.000 Crimean Tatars left Crimea in order to go to Turkey under miserable conditions. This was the greatest immigration movement until then.

This great stream was one of the most devastating events in the faith of the Crimean Tatar people. The Crimean Tatars who immigrated were miserable both financially and morally and as a result, they broke down as a population and the Crimean Tatars who were left behind fell to the status of relative minority in their country for the first time. The economy of the peninsula came to the point of collapse. So much so that, the Russian state who were at first pleased to see the Crimean Tatars leave tried to stop or at least slow down the immigration due to the damage that the peninsula was exposed to.

After the immigration stream after 1860-1861, new immigration streams occurred in 1890 and 1902 but their numbers were expressed not with hundreds of thousands but with ten thousands. The 1874 immigration was triggered by imposing army duty to the Crimean Tatars who were excluded of this service until that time. At the national awakening period of the Crimean Tatar people in the last quarter of the 19th century with the emergence of Ismail Bey Gaspirali on the stage, the new nationalist intellectuals put great efforts in preventing the immigrations and they tried to inform their people about this issue.

Apart from the immigration from Crimea towards Turkey there is also a second immigration of Crimean Tatars that is not much noticed. The Crimean Tatar emigrants who came with the immigrations until the middle of 19th century and especially during 1860's were housed in various regions of the Ottoman land and to the Ottoman Rumelia in the meantime.

Most of the Crimean Tatars who were housed in Rumelia lived through the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War which is the "93 War" and found themselves under the Christian rule at their housing places which became Bulgaria or Romania before even 20 years passed. Therefore most of these people started a second immigration that is immigration from Rumelia to Anatolia.

Saying it differently, within the great immigrations that we call Rumelian immigrations after 1878, there were Crimean Tatars as well. During the period that is over a hundred years after this date, among the immigrants coming from Bulgaria, Romania, Greece and Macedonia, there has always been Crimean Tatars and there still is. For this reason, that is because a group of Crimean Tatars came to Anatolia over for example Romania, there are some who think that they are a different category named as "Romanian Tatars".

One should especially note that all the immigrations from Crimea, North Caucasia, Rumelia and other places towards the Ottoman country in the 19th and 20th century were all full of disasters. This was the case for all unlucky people who were exposed to immigration. Those who were perished with the ships or primitive transportation vehicles' sinking or other disasters during the journeys under miserable conditions, those who were left out in the open and hungry suffering from indescribable deprivations where they wait for housing and finally those who struggle with extremely unsuitable natural conditions and illnesses and therefore of which ten thousands die was the characteristic parts of the immigrations at that period. It has been told even today that at some immigrant villages there were not even anyone to bury the dead.

The Crimean Tatars who immigrated during the Ottoman period were settled to Rumelia, Anatolia, Syria and various provinces of the Ottoman geography. These immigrants who evacuated their homeland with their immigrations caused serious changes in the demographical balances of the Ottoman Empire to the advantage of Turkish and Muslim elements. Today in nearly all parts of Turkey, there are people who are the descendants of the Crimean immigrants and places that are founded by them. Similarly, in Bulgaria, Romania and even the West Thrace of Greece, ten thousands of people live who are the grandchildren of the Crimean Tatar immigrants. Many settlements that have turned into a big center today have been founded by the immigrants of the Crimean Tatars. Medgidia which is an important city of Debrecen region of Romania was built upon the order of Sultan Abdulmecid (and named after him) for the Crimean Tatar immigrants who came after the



Crimean War. Ceyhan in Cukurova was also founded as a village named Yarsuvat by the Nogay immigrants who arrived between 1859-1860 and it improved with the Crimean immigrations that came afterwards and turned into today's version in time. Again the Manyas district in Balikesir and Ayranci in Karaman are among the settlement areas that were settled as villages by the Crimean Tatar immigrants and turned into district centers at a later time.

The immigrations from Crimea to the Ottoman Empire continued though individually until the First World War. Following the Russian Revolution, the Crimean Tatars declared the first Crimean Democratic Republic foundation by collecting the first Muslim and Turkish democratical parliament (convention) in history on December 1917. However these steps were not permanent. During the following three years, Crimea changed hands between Crimean Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik (White) Russian forces. Some Crimean Tatars who managed to find a way during this bloody uproar immigrated to Turkey again.

In November 1920, Crimea entered precisely Bolshevik that is Soviet rule. The real great disasters started after this. As a direct result of Soviet politics, a famine that was never before seen in Soviet Russia took place in 1921-1922. During this famine, about five million people died in all of Soviet Russia. The Crimean peninsula was among the places where the famine took place with the most tragic scenes. As a matter of fact, despite all the preventions of the Soviet regime, about nearly ten thousand Crimean Tatars who came to the point of destroy due to hunger took refuge in Turkey with the sea vehicles that they could find. Just as those days, Turkey was going through the Turkish War of Independence. Despite this, not only were these refugees accepted and housed by Turkey, but just on the days of the Great Victory, even help for famine went to Crimea.

With the foundation of Soviet rule in Crimea, the connection with the outer world actually broke. At the beginning of the 1930's Stalin deported the ones who carried Turkish passport in Crimea. These were the Crimean Tatars who took Ottoman passport by going to Turkey somehow in the past and returned to Crimea or their descendants. The number of those who were deported and came to Turkey shall be about 5-10 thousand.

During the Second World War, in 1941 after the German army came to Crimea, some of the Crimean Tatars were taken to Germany by force with the name of Ostarbeiter (East Workers). Besides these, there were those who joined the German army following imprisonment to Germans while

working for the Red Army. A few thousand of Crimean Tatars who miraculously were saved from being surrendered to the Soviet forces after the war came to Turkey from the refugee camps in Middle Europe at the end of 1940's.

In 1944, the Crimean Tatars were exiled to Middle East and the Urals altogether from Crimea. It certainly was not possible for any immigration to occur from Crimea to Turkey since there was not even one Crimean Tatar in Crimea. Nonetheless, even though they were indirect, the Crimean Tatar immigrations to Turkey continued after 1944. This was carried out by the Crimean Tatars in Romania and Bulgaria to arrive in Turkey sometimes collectively and sometimes individually as immigrants during the second half of the 20th century.

It was only possible for Crimean Tatars to return (though partially) back to Crimea and to revive the relationship with Turkey when the Soviet Union disappeared. From the beginning of 1990's until today, there have been many Crimean Tatars who have come back and forth from Crimea to Turkey. The arrivals are no longer due to political reasons but totally with social, economical and cultural incentives and for temporary periods. Besides, among those who come this way, though a few, there are ones who pass to Turkish citizenship for individual reasons.

The contemporary statistical data regarding the people and the immigration streams that continued more than two centuries from Crimea to Ottoman Empire and Turkey are not reached, put forward, published and processed today. It could even be accepted that many information regarding these issues have somewhat not been reflected to documents and some of them have disappeared forever. From this point of view, the data which is subject to a lot of polemics about the number of people who have migrated from Crimea to Turkey and how many of their descendants live in Turkey are not easy to be proposed.

However what we can say today that is obvious to the naked eye is that this fact includes millions and played a very important role in the fate of both Crimea and Turkey. From this point of view, the Crimean Tatars who emigrated from Crimea to Turkey have a significant place in the ethnic composition of modern Turkey.

The immigrants' adaptation to Turkey who have come with the Crimean Tatar immigrations which is among the most important population movements towards Turkey in the last two centuries, have been relatively fast despite all the trouble they had been through during this process. There is no known serious conflict between the local people in Turkey and the Crimean immigrants. Here, the fact that the Crimean Tatars



are the closest society to the Turkish Turks in the world regarding language, culture and history has played a primary role. The Crimean Tatars who have settled in Turkey have taken duties in every step of the government and the country and have been representing Turkey in every field. It is an interesting revelation of history that the last war veteran of the Turkish War of Independence who is still alive is Yakup Satar who was born in the Mamak village that is connected to Akmesit in Crimea.

All the same, despite the time that passed after the immigrations, most of the Crimean Tatar immigrants and their descendants have not lost their psychological and cultural ties with Crimea. Especially in the settlement areas where the Crimean immigrants live collectively, the main elements of the Crimean Tatar language and culture have been preserved until today. The general Russian and Soviet rule when the Crimean Tatar culture and history were largely damaged and the periods fol-

lowing the 1944 mass exile individually many cultural and linguistic values that disappeared among the Crimean Tatars could live in Diaspora.

The immigrations that are one of the biggest disasters in the two hundred years of history of the Crimean Tatars are not actually just a fact that remains in the distant history. As of results, the Crimean Tatars still live today the problems that arise from those immigrations. The Crimean Tatars like the Adyges in North Caucasia and a few other folks are among the people whose population in Diaspora is much more than its population in its mother country. From this point of view, the relationships with Diaspora have a vital place in the destiny of the Crimean Tatars in Crimea who try to rebuild their existence in their country. All the same, the Crimean Tatars in Turkey constitute a very important bridge between Turkey and Crimea and a living tool for Turkey to take care of Crimea.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Timur KOCAOGLU
Koc University, Head of Strategic Researches Center

Undelivered Paper

Immigrations from Central Asia to Turkey (1918-2006)

When I was in primary school, our history books in 1950's wrote as follows: "We, Turks have come from Central Asia. When there was great drought in Central Asia, the Turks have been spread all over the world and we are among the Turks who came to Anatolia." This information in our history books did not seem much correct to me when I was 9-10 years old. Because I knew that my father and my mother came from Turkistan (Central Asia) in 1920's and we had other relatives there. That is, not all the Turks in the Middle East immigrated to other places, but some stayed there. Due to this knowledge and interest that is inherent in me from my family, I slowly learned in later years that the relationships between Central Asia and Turkey were actually much deeper and complex than what is written in school books. Turks have not arrived with one great immigration to Anatolia in the 11th century as is assumed, but the immigrations and relationships between

Middle East and Turkey continued for hundreds of years until today.

For example, the fact that many scholars, writers and philosophers have come to Anatolia from Central Asia and Mehmet Akif's, the poet of the Turkish National Anthem, saying in one of his poems that his mother was from Bukhara has not surprised me at all but strengthened my opinion about how the relationships between Central Asia and Anatolia has continued perpetually.

There is a saying among Central Asia Turks that means "If you have not seen Istanbul, you have not been born yet!", the Uzbek version of it is as follows: İstanbulu körmegen, âlemge kelmegen! (That is: Has not seen Istanbul, has not been in this world!). The pilgrims of Central Asia first visited Istanbul by changing their route while going to Mecca for Hadj and then went to Mecca. Especially the newspapers, magazines and



books that were printed in Istanbul from the middle of the 19th century until 1920's reached Azerbaijan, Crimea, Kazan and the big cities of Middle East like Tashkent, Bukhara and Samarkand and were read by the scholars. The publications in Turkish in the Middle East and other places reached Istanbul. Especially "Tercuman" newspaper by Ismail bey of Gaspira was read with great interest by the scholars of Istanbul.

The economic and cultural relationships between Central Asia and Turkey suddenly ended after the Soviet regime strictly ruled the Middle East and other Turkish regions in 1925. Especially after USSR closed its doors to the outside world and changed the Turks' in Soviet Russia cultural life completely beginning from their alphabet, the information the ones living in Turkey had regarding the Turks in the Soviet Russia started to disappear. Apart from very little information, the Turkish people could not take care of Central Asia.

The emigration history in twentieth century from Central Asia to outside starts from 1918. After the autonomous governments of Turkistan in the Horde of Alash and Kokand are dispersed by the Bolshevik Red Army, Mustafa Cokayoglu, among the important leaders of these governments became the first political immigrant who went outside from Turkistan in 1918. In the "Young Bukharans" movement and the revolution movement with the help of the Russian army in the Emirate of Bukhara, Alim Khan, and the Emirate of Bukhara had to escape to Afghanistan. Some of the students who were sent from the Emirates of Bukhara and Turkistan ASSR between 1920-1922 to Europe and Anatolia do not return to the Soviet Middle East due to political reasons and they also join the side of political immigrants. At the end of 1922, when Osman Hodja, the president of the Republic of Bukhara was in Afghanistan, he can not return to his country and comes to Turkey in 1923 and settles there. During the Basmachi (Basmachestvo) movement that continued with passionately against the Soviet in Middle East between 1918 and 1934, many people had to immigrate to Afghanistan and other countries from Central Asia and Turkey as well.

The second important immigration stream from Central Asia to Turkey is constituted by the immigrants who went out of West Turkistan between 1918-1934. Some of them moved to various Asia and Europe countries but a large part of them settled to Turkey and activated political actions regarding their mother land Turkistan. For example, those from Turkistan in Istanbul published a political magazine named New Turkistan under the chiefness of Osman Hodja. Mustafa Cokayoglu who settled in Paris started a political magazine named Yas

Turkestan starting from 1929 with the help of the students sent from Turkistan and Bukhara Republic in 1920's. These two magazines were not only influential among the Turkestani in the world but also harsh criticisms took place in the Soviet press regarding these two magazines and those who publish them.

The third period of the political immigration from the Middle East to outside occurs after 1944 from the Chinese Middle East. This stream still continues today. The Uyghur Turks and Kazaks from East Turkistan continue their political activities in various countries. The Uzbek, Turkoman and Kirghiz who were brought to Turkey as immigrants from Afghanistan after 1980 constitute the fourth immigration stream. These are settled in Tokat, Gaziantep, Hatay and Van. The fifth important political immigration stream had been from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan from the independent Middle East republics after 1990's and still continues today.

The collective history of the political activities of the immigrants from Turkistan in various countries of the world and Turkey is not written yet. Let us examine the social, cultural, scientific and political activities that we have divided into five of the immigrants from Turkistan, primarily in Turkey during the immigration periods starting from the 20th century until today:

According to the data we have, the first political activities outside Turkistan starts between 1909-1912 in Istanbul. A few scholars of Turkistan go secretly to Istanbul without the permission of Bukhara Emirates: Abdurrauf Fitrat, Osman Hoca (Kocaoglu), Sadik Asuroglu, Gulcali Abdülaziz and others. They officially open the secret association named Terbiye-i Etfal (The Education of Children) which was founded previously in Bukhara: Buhara Ta'mim-i Me'arif Cemiyeti (Bukhara Association of Spreading Education). The regulations of this association are printed in Istanbul. The main aim of the association in Bukhara and Istanbul was to send students to Turkey and Europe from both the Bukhara government and other parts of Turkistan and to provide higher education for them. In 1911-15, and 30 students in 1912 are sent to Istanbul and Germany.

The scholars whose names are given above returned after staying one or two years in Istanbul. Among them, Osman Hodja becomes first the minister of finance (1920) and then the president (1921) after Emirate Alim Han is expelled in the Republic of Bukhara. Osman Hodja, at a period when he came to Afghanistan in order to discuss with the British a purchase of weapons for the Bukhara army at the end of 1922, because Enver Pasha died as a martyr near Bel-civan and the Soviet



Russia's starting to rule Bukhara Republic, he went to the newly founded Turkish Republic in 1923 without being able to return to his country.

When the Horde of Alash autonomy government and the Turkistan autonomy government in Kokand were dissolved by the Red Army, Mustafa Cokayoglu among the leaders of both governments left Turkistan in 1919 and moved to Europe through Caucasia. Zeki Velidi Togan who is a scholar from Baskurt who played effective political roles at first at Idil – Ural and then at Turkistan came to Istanbul in at the beginning of 1925 as well. In the meeting that Zeki Velidi Togan, Mustafa Cokayoglu, Osman Hoca and other ones from Turkistan had in 1925 in Istanbul, they decided to start political struggle for the independency of Turkistan.

As a result of this, two political magazines started to be published, one of them named New Turkistan with Turkish of Turkey in Istanbul in 1927 and the other named Yas Turkistan in Paris in 1929. The Turkistan in Istanbul founded an association in Istanbul in 1927 named Turkistan Youth Union. This union still stands today as the most durable institution in the political affairs of the immigrants from Turkistan however its name changed a few times in the years that have passed. The name of the Turkistan Youth Union became Turkish Culture Union in 1940 and Turkistan Cultural and Social Support Association after 1950.

Even though a part of the students who were sent to Germany and Istanbul by the Republic of Bukhara in 1921 and 1922 returned to the Soviet republics in West Turkistan between 1926 and 1930; most of them were either prisoned by the Soviet government or exiled to Siberia or killed. Another young group of Turkistan decided to stay in Germany or Turkey after finishing the university education and doctorate because they knew about the political situation in the Soviet Union. Many young people like Tahir Cagatay and Ahmetcan Okay in Germany helped Mustafa Cokayoglu between 1929-1939 in preparing the "Yas Turkistan" magazine. However, a group who were uncomfortable with the Nazi period starting in Germany went to Turkey and started to work as tutors in various departments like Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Agriculture and Sociology.

Tahir Cagatay and Dr. Ahmetcan Okay among these young scholars started a book series named "Yas Turkistan Publishments" after 1950's. The most durable two activities of the Turkistani immigrants' publications history is "National Turkistan" that continued between 1941 and 1975 in Germany (Berlin and Dusseldorf) under the heading of Veli Kayum

Khan and the second one is the "Yas Turkistan" publications that were started in 1929 by Mustafa Colakoglu in Paris until 1939 and then in Ankara by Prof. Tahir Cagatay. At the Yas Turkistan publications, 28 works have been published between 1950 and 1988. After the death of Sociology Tahir Cagatay in 1984, his wife Turkolog Prof. Saadet Cagatay (the daughter of the famous Tatar writer Ayaz Ishaki) continued these publications. Before Saadet Cagatay died in 1989, she founded the culture association named Ayaz-Tahir Turkistan İdil-Ural Association (1987) which was the biggest desire of her husband before he died.

After the students who were sent to Germany and Istanbul in years 1911 and 1912, 70 more students were sent to Germany with the support of the "Komek" association that is founded in both Tashkent and Bukhara Republic. According to the information given in an article that is written by a young person named, Siraci in the issue of the Red Army newspaper printed in Tashkent, dated 31st, August, 1922, there were 107 Azerbaijani, 40 Kazan Tatars, 10 Bashkurts and 2 students from Crimean Tatars in Germany between 1920-1922. Turar Riskulov, the Public Commissar of Turkistan Autonomy Soviet Socialist Republic, stayed a month in Germany in September 1923 and took close care of the students sent from Turkistan and Bukhara Republic gives the following information in his article that is published on 19th, December, 1923 in the Turkistan newspaper that is published in Tashkent: "Turkistan (ASSR) students are 12, Bukhara (Republic) students are 47. 7 of the Turkistani are Uzbek and 4 of them are Kazak." Again, according to the information given by Turar Riskulov, of the 47 students sent from Bukhara Republic, 35 of them are Uzbek, 8 of them are Tatar, 5 of them are from Turkistan (that is Turkistan Autonomy Republic) and 1 of them is Jewish (Sirali Turdiyev, Ular Germaniyada Oqigan Ediler, Tashkent, 1991, p.11-12).

The Turkistani students in Germany founded a print house named "Azad Sark" (Independent East) in Berlin and printed the play named Indian Revolutioners by Abdurrauf Fitrat that is sent secretly to Germany and Kiz Bala Yaki Halide reading book by Sadriddin Ayni and the magazine named Komek (however, only one issue could be printed). As we have stated above, some of these students came together with the same aim with Mustafa Cokayoglu in Paris and helped him print the Yas Turkistan magazine.

In Turkey, the New Turkistan magazine printing stopped at the end of 1932 after printing 24 issues. After the death of Atatürk, the Soviet government put pressure on Turkey at the



beginning of 1939 and asked the Turkestani activities to end. Ismet Inonu expelled some Turkestani from Turkey and there was Osman Hoca (Kocaoglu) among them. Osman Hodja went first to Polonia and then to Iran. At that time, the Second World War started.

At the beginning of the Second World War many Soviet soldiers were taken as prisons by the Nazi Germany. Among them, there were Azerbaijani, Tatar and Turkestani soldiers. The Nazi government wanted to bring Mustafa Cokayoglu from Paris and wanted to found a Turkestani legion from the Turkestani imprisoned soldiers. Mustafa Cokayoglu had typhus disease and died in 1941. (There are claims that he was killed). This time the duty was given to Veli Kayum Han from the students who were sent to Germany in 1921. Throughout the Second World War, the Turkestani legion fought against the Soviet army in various fronts and there was also the publishing and cultural activities of this legion. Baymirza Hayit also took place in this legion. Between 1941 and 1945, many newspapers, magazines and books were printed in Berlin in the Turkestani Turk dialect: Yengi Turkestan, Milli Turkestan, Milli Edebiyat etc. In the Milli Edebiyat magazine, there were Uzbek, Kazak, Kirghiz, and Turkoman poems, stories, literature reviews and other articles. Besides again in this Turkestani Turkish dialects, there were political and literary works (epic, poem and story books, novels) printed. There were prints in Tacik language as well. However the in the Yengi Turkestan and Milli Turkestan magazines, the common Turkestani Turkish was used. The pioneership of this common language issue was started by Mustafa Cokayoglu in 1929 with the Yas Turkestan magazine.

After the second world war, like the Russians in Germany and other nations, some of the Turkestani were given back to the Soviet Union by the American and the English. Most of them were executed by shooting right after they got off from the trains when they entered the Soviet border. Some Turkestani hid in various villages in Germany or countries like France, Spain and Italy. A group of Turkestani managed to come to Turkey with the assistance of the various embassies of Turkey in Europe. Veli Kayum Han was found innocent in the court and at Nuremberg and started to print the National Turkestan magazine again with the participation of many Turkestani in Dusseldorf after 1950 (This magazine was printed until 1975). However, a group of Turkestani left Veli Kayum Han in 1951 and started to print Turkeli magazine under Keres Kanatbay (It was printed until 1955).

During the Second World War the Turkestani in Turkey gave

a break from their political activities. The Turkestani started a bulletin that is prepared on type machine and spread secretly named Eslek that in 1949 in Adana (19 issues were printed). Between 1956-1957, the Turkestani in Adana printed a magazine named Bulak. Osman Hodja passed from Iran to Turkey after 1945 and after staying in Pakestani for a while, he lived in Istanbul from 1968 until his death. The Turkestani immigrants in India founded two Turkestani associations in 1929. One of them was Encumen-I Saadet-I Buhara and Turkestan in Pisaver city and the other was Encumen-I Ittihadıyyi Muhacirin-I Buhara and Turkestani association. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any information regarding the activities and duration of these two associations. Osman Hodja founded Turkestani Association in the city of Pisevar of Pakestani between 1951-1957. In the Karaci city which was the capital of Pakestan the Tercumen-I Efkâr magazine was printed between 1952-1957.

After the Chinese ended the 1944 government in East Turkestani and especially after the riot of Osman Batur was suppressed in 1949, many Turkestani (Uygur and Kazaks) reached India and Afghanistan between 1945-1950. Some of them died in India and when they were going over the Himalayas and Tibet during this long immigration streams; a part of the Turkestani were brought to Turkey with the decision of the Turkish republic in various groups between 1950 and 1957 and was settled in various cities (like Kayseri, Salihli). The East Turkestani case headed by Mehmet Emin Bugra and than later Yusuf Alptekin still continues until today with various associations, charity foundations, publishings and magazines. Here among the many newspapers, magazines and bulletins, we shall mention the magazines Turkestan (1953) that is published by Mehmet Emin Bugra and the Voice of Turkestan (1956-1957), East Turkestan (1979-1987) that is started by Ismail Cengiz and continued by others, The Voice of East Turkestan that is started by Isa Yusuf Alptekin (1984-continues) and Buyuk Turkeli (1962, 1974) by Hasan Oralay.

Among the newspapers and magazines who come from West and East Turkestan and their children, the following newspapers take place: Liberty Magazine for an Independent Turkestan by Ziyaettin Babakurban who has worked actively for the printing of many Turkestan magazines before (1975-1977), Turkestan newspaper by Ahad Andican (1988-1995), newspaper and magazine named East Turkestan by Ismail Cengiz (1987-1994), Dogu Turkistan'ın Yasları newspaper by Mehmet Kasgarli and Aslan Alptekin (1993-continues), Gokbayrak magazine by the Turkestani in Kayseri (1994-con-



tinues) and Independence newspaper.

The Turkestani who lived in countries like Turkey, Germany and United States have founded many associations here between 1950-1970: Turkestani Cultural Association (Munich) in Germany, American-Turkestani Association (New York) in United States, East Turkestani Support Association in Turkey (Istanbul), Turkestani Support Association (Adana), Turkestan Youth Union (Kayseri), Turkestani Support Association (Salihli) etc. Later on, three associations were founded: East Turkestan Association (the previous Head is Yusuf Alptekin and the current Head Mehmet Rıza Bekin Pasha), Turkish Culture Research Association (Prof. Ahad Andican), Kazak Turks Association (first Head Davut Acikgoz, current Head Omer Yigit). After 1980's, various Kazak associations were founded in Germany (Munich, Koln), France (Paris) and Sweden. The Uygurs who come from East Turkestan were getting higher in number in Germany after 1990's and they had two separate institutions in Munich. The Turkomans coming from Iran also founded cultural associations in Germany, England, Sweden and Canada. These Kazak, Uygur and Turkoman associations published news bulletins from time to time. The most comprehensive of them was the magazine named *Tamci* (1995-continues) which is published in Munich by Abdu Celili from Uygur Turks. The Uygurs in Taiwan published *Han Tengri* magazine (1980-1984) as the official organ of the government for a while.

Erkin Alptekin, the son of Isa Yusuf Alptekin continues his political activities towards the freedom of East Turkestan as the General Secretary of UNPO (Organisation of Nations that are not members of United Nations). After 1995, three East Turkestan and Uygur committees have started the following activities in the United States: East Turkestan National Freedom Center headed by Anwar Yusuf, East Turkestan National Research Center headed by Gulamettin Pahta, International Taklamakan Uighur Human Rights Association headed by Ablajan Barat.

After five republics gained their freedom in 1992, many scholars and politicians from these two republics due to the political pressures on the opposition in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan settled in Turkey and various western countries (Germany, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States) and started to carry out activities for the democratisation of their countries from here. Among these, there is the Agzibirlik movement that is banned in Turkmenistan, Birlik Movement that is banned in Uzbekistan and leaders of Erk Democratic Party and many former deputies, writers, poets and journalists. The

ones attached to Birlik and Erk publish bulletins, newspapers, magazines and books in various countries: Birlik, Hareket, Erk, Forum.

The Turkestani who live separately in various countries of the world (both West and East Turkestan) have started close and fast relationships with each other due to the computer technology and internet facilities since the last year. For example, the Erk Party, The Uighurs of East Turkestan, Kazaks, Turkomens and other Turkish races (Crimean Tatars) have web pages. In order to reach them separately, it would be suitable to connect the Turkestan page that is moderated by Mehmet Tutuncu in the Netherlands:

You may subscribe to the Turkestan-N group where the Turkestan Newsletter is mailed by the Turkistan-I e-mail forum that is moderated by Mehmet Tutuncu, the head of Azerbaijan and Turkestan Research Center that is in Harlem city of the Netherlands or you may send a message to the following e-mail address of Mehmet Tutuncu: sota@euronet.nl

Besides the East Turkestani has an e-mail discussion group named Uygur-I and its address is as follows: uighur-l@taklamakan.org

When we look at the political and cultural activities of Turkestani outside Turkestan both in Turkey and other countries, a few points draw our attention:

a) Even though the usage of the name "Turkestan" has been banned in West Turkestan after 1925 and East Turkestan after 1949, the Turkestani immigrants have been using the Turkestan name most frequently as the names of the associations, foundations, publications name since 1920. When the Turkestan word has started to be reused in the independent republics in West Turkestan, the Chinese government does not let the name "East Turkestan" be used in the "Sinkiang-Uygur Muhtar Region" under their rule.

b) Even though national opinion is dominant among the Turkestani immigrants regarding their mother country Turkestan, the Turkestani have not created yet any "political unity" or a common platform in their activities until today. In my opinion, this point is not due to the fact that they belong to different Turkish races (Kazak, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Turkoman, Uighur) but to personal conflicts and a weakness due to conflicts and self centered attitudes about leadership. Because in the 70 years of activity of the Turkestani immigrants, we witness the inner leadership conflicts among Uzbeks, Kazaks and Uighurs rather than among the races 8Uzbek-Uighur, Uzbek-Kazak, Uighur-Kazak). Unfortunately, while such personal



leadership conflicts continue with all its vigor today, the Turkestani can not unite under a common platform and for this reason the Turkestani case can not be announced to the world strongly and effectively.

To prepare a detailed work regarding the political activities of Turkestani immigrants that we have summarised here basicly is left to the young researchers. As an annex to this article is enclosed a list of the publications that are printed by Turkestani (newspaper, magazine, bulletin). Because the number of books and brochures published by Turkestani is a lot, information about them is not given here.

Since 1950 until today, in various countries of the world and Turkey, the Turkestani (East and West Turkestani) have been continuing their political activities by means of various newspapers, magazines and bulletins.

When we examine the immigration history from Turkestani (Central Asia) to Turkey, we see that the immigration fact is not due to economical reasons but to the political reasons in Central Asia. As a result of the Red Army's bloody suppression of the Alash Hordes Autonomy and Turkestan Autonomy in Kokand and Bashmaci armed independence struggle of the Turkestani Turks in the Bolshevic rule, many people have immigrated to Afghanistan, India, Iran and from there to Turkey between 1928 and 1930's. These political immigrations have increased with every political wave in Central Asia and they still continue today because the conditions became harsher in the new Turkish republics that have emerged when the USSR dissolved at the end of 1991. In the future, according to the changes that are in the Middle East Turkish republics, there

will be increases or decreases in such political immigrations from Central Asia to Turkey.

The Turkestani immigrants who have come to Turkey have printed many magazines, bulletins and newspapers starting from 1927 until today. They are mainly as follows:

1. Magazines:

Yeni Turkistan (New Turkestan), Istanbul (1927 -1932), 32 issues

Turkistan Sesi [The Voice of Turkistan], Ankara (1956 -1957), 20 issues

Buyuk Turkistan, Istanbul (1975), 1 issue

Dogu Turkistan, Istanbul (1980 -1982) 32 issue

Dogu Turkistan'ın Sesi (The Voice of East Turkestan), Istanbul (1984-continues), 114 issue

2. Newspaper:

Hür Türkistan İçin İstiklalci Gazete (Independent Newspaper for the Freedom of Turkestan), Istanbul (1975 -1977), 12 issues

East Turkestan, Istanbul (1987 -1994)*

Doğu Türkistan Yaşları, Istanbul (1993 -1997)*

İstiklal, Kayseri (printed since 2004)

3. Bulletins:

East Turkestan News Bulletin, Istanbul (1960 -1966)*

Turkistan Youth Association General Center Monthly Bulletin, Kayseri (1978 -1979), 8 issues

Note: For references and further readings about this paper, please check Turkish section.



Mehmet CIFTCI

Chairman of Bayir-Bucak Turks Association

Undelivered Paper

Syria / Bayir Bucak (Hills and Subdistricts) Turks

Bayir Bucak Turks is a very small part of the Turks in the world and a section of the Syria Turks. I will try to explain you how those Turks -living in villages and town very close to our borders and having close relationships with Turkey- have been enforced to live outside the boundaries of our country.

The Turkish population in Syria, though it is not an exact number, is estimated to be 300 to 500 thousand people. Amongst them; Bayir Bucak, being a natural extension of Hatay, was a location to witness the immigration and settlement movements of Turkish people after the Dandanakan Victory in 1040 in parallel with the process of the Anatolia Turks.

Those Turks were belonging to Karakecili, Elbeyli, Barak, Isabeyli, and Turkmen tribes and their relatives were the people in Hatay, which was very close to them, and especially Yayladagi.

The painful destiny of Bayir Bucak Turks has started at the end of the First World War which caused the breaking of Turkishness and most of them becoming slaves. Mondros Agreement, signed on 30th of October, 1918 had an attribute of a death warrant for the Ottoman State.

Mustafa Kemal, unwillingly accepting the terms of the agreement which were against the Turkishness, sent a telegraph to Istanbul and he knew that he would intervene in case the English send soldiers to Iskenderun. Mustafa Kemal, being acquainted with the region very well, did not want Turks to be outside the borders. And he states the situation in his telegraph dated 3rd of November, 1918, with the no. 580/20 as follows: The line passing through the north of Lazkiye and the south of Hunseyh forming the border of Syria; and in accordance with the fact that Iskenderun and Antakya Cebelsama, and Kilis regions being fully populated by Turks; and in compliance with the fact the three fourth of the population in Halep are Arabian-speaking Turkish people; this fact needs to be taken into consideration.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in his telegraph, attract people's attention to the Turks in the region and did not want the lands to be out of the boundaries of Turkey which were mostly populated by Turkish people. Since Mustafa Kemal Pasha predicted in 1907 that the Ottoman state would fall while the recession process was in progress. He was telling people during his conversations that it was necessary to form a new defense line by



backing to borders where the majority of the population was Turkish, rather than defending ourselves on greater scales of lands; hence facilitating the defense. He, in those conversations, also stated that our south border should include the cities of Hatay, Halep, and Musul.

As you may see, in compliance with the necessity that the places where are highly populated by Turkish people should be in our borders and also the fact that Hatay was within the National Pact; Bayir Bucak should also be within the boundaries; that was mainly because it was in the National Pact and the majority was Turkish and Sunni people. There are other reasons for Bayir Bucak to be included in Turkey. Bayir Bucak is like a natural extension of Hatay and the Turks living there are relatives of the people in the Yayladagi district of Hatay. And those brothers of ours have helped the Nationalist Forces without worrying about themselves. Mr. Nuri Aydin Korunalp, who was assigned to establish the Nationalist Forces in Hatay and the vicinity, Yayladagi district and surrounding villages, chose Kirpucuk (new name: "Olgunlar") village as headquarters for the soldier and while he was trying to organize the villages, he was in contact with Bayir Bucak. In a telegraph he received from Necip Soyta, a notable person among the Bayir Bucak Turks, it is still recalled that the statement was as follows: "We will help our homeland rescue by establishing a national organization here."

Ankara Agreement was signed with the French on the 20th of October 1921. But a month prior to the signing of the agreement, the French separated Bayir Bucak subdistricts from Antakya. They included Bayir Bucak in Lazkiye province very hastily and agitatedly. That is to say; on the 20th of October, 1921; Bayir Bucak was already included in Lazkiye. Upon the signing of Ankara Agreement, most of our cities in the south were free of occupation; financial and cultural autonomy was attained to Hatay, but was still under the mandate of the French administratively. Bayir Bucak, being included in Lazkiye, was excluded from the privileged administration which was attained to Hatay as a result of Ankara Agreement.

There is interesting information in the memoirs of Mr. Nuri Aydin about the border set in Ankara Agreement. Historian Mr. Ramazanzade Niyazi as the undersecretary and Colonel Mr. Edip as President were present on during the talks on the

limitations of borders. Mr. Nur Aydin tells about his conversation with the president of the Commission of Limitations on Borders as follows:

"Esteemed commander; we, as the mujahids of Antakya and the vicinity, standing up against the French in the north of Syria; in Hamaya, Cebali Zeviyiye, Muarra, Cebali Nuseyri, Cebali Aksa, Cisri Sugur and the vicinity; and in the south fronts, we have turned the whole Syria a cradle full of needles for the French. I asked who would 500.000 Turks be excluded from the national borders even though Bayir Bucak is included. Mr. Edip said, "Oh son, what an expression this is! Antakya and the vicinity have never forgotten about the sacrifices of Turkish people. We now know that the west fronts are a matter of life and death to us. We have to gather all our forces in one single front."

As it may be understood from that speech, Turks who have been out of the boundaries will not left on their own, but will be dealt with afterwards. The case of the Turks here is just postponed. Nevertheless, this issue was not dealt with neither at Lausanne negotiations nor during the joining of Hatay into Turkey.

Upon this, Bayir Bucak Turks were obliged to emigrate gradually starting in 1921, and followed by the years 1936, 1946, 1952, 1960, 1963, 1970 due to not being able to resist the pressures of the Armenians and the French anymore. 60.000 of those Turks live in Turkey. They generally reside in Kirikhan district in Hatay, Yayladagi district in Antakya, and the cities of Iskenderun, Eskisehir, Elazig, and Ankara.

Bayir Bucak Turks are on an area starting from the district boundaries of Yaylidag of Hatay, extending in parallel to the coast of the Mediterranean, to Lazkiye. Kesab is in the boundaries of Bayir Bucak. Therefore Bayir Bucak Turks are under the protection of the United Nations in Kesab, being the committees' center of the Armenians. Bayir Bucak Turks should be taken under the protection of the United Nations. This is the one and only expectation of our association.

I would like to thank to Mr. Ismail Cengiz ho has invited us to this international symposium, and extend my respects to the Mayor of Zeytinburnu Mr. Murat Aydin. I wish you all the success.



VI. SESSION

Migration, Refugee, and Refuge Practices from a Legal Point of View



VI. SESSION

**MIGRATION, REFUGEE, AND REFUGE
PRACTICES FROM A LEGAL POINT OF VIEW**

10 December 2006 Saturday

**Chairman of the Session
Prof. Dr. Kemal KIRISCI**

Bogazici University

Gesche KARRENBROCK

UNHCR Turkey Representative

"Migration and Asylum"

Mehmet TERZIOGLU

Sec. Gen. Dir. President of Department of Foreigners, Borders and Asylum Seekers

"Turkey as a Country of Migrants: Juridical Structure and Practices "

Taner KILIC

Amnesty International Turkey-Refugee Rights Coordinator / Lawyer

"Asylum as a Human Right"

Anne de LOISY

Researcher / Writer

"Expectations on the Road to Europe and Migrations"

Demet GURAL

Foundation of Development of Human Resources

"Victims of Human Trade"

Veysi BULUT

President of Beseri Yezidis Association

"To be a Minority or Native in Turkey: Example of Yezidis"

Prof. Dr. Mehmet AYDIN

State Minister

"Globalism - Our Neighbours and Migrations"



Gesche KARRENBROCK

UNHCR Turkey Representative

Born in 1953. Graduated from the Faculty of International Law in 1974. Serving at various sections of the UN, Karrenbrock has been working as the Office Director of Representation of UNHCR in Turkey.

Migration and Asylum

I wish to express my gratitude to the organisers of this event for their kind invitation and associating UNHCR to this very interesting and timely symposium. Still - how could an UN agency whose mandate relates to refugees contribute to a seminar whose theme is Goc-Migration?

His Excellency, the Minister of Interior, has hinted in the right direction during his opening speech on Thursday. He started by outlining the many instances in history where Turkey has opened its doors to large numbers of what are general known as göçmen – migrants. Many participants here have a personal history of göc. They have a direct experience in leaving and arrival, to be received in country, notwithstanding, how long and difficult their journey may have had been.

Many of you here, and many of the persons and groups Turkey has welcomed in the past, are mülteciler. The reason for departure was due to war, violence or persecution, and the non-respect of minority cultures or religion.

The reason for welcome them in Turkey was in most cases

dual: The first related to the general principle of non-refoulement. According to international humanitarian law this means the principle of not sending a person back to a place where his or her life or freedom in grave danger and is the core norm on which international refugee protection is based. The second reasons related to the some common denominators in origin, culture, and language. Evidently these factors, while not necessarily required, facilitate integration and let the foreigner overcome his/her feeling of abandonment and exile.

As you recall, his Excellency the Minister then turned to security concerns, and the need to control of migration, and mentioned how quickly genuine welcome may turn into abuse that needs to be addressed. Here we are all faced with a situation which might appear to be a dilemma: We may all agree on refugee protection – but how is this humanitarian need to be balanced with migration control and the host country's legitimate security concerns?

The speakers before me have given many examples of the link-



ages between migration and asylum, and I will try to argue how Turkey will be a good example of opportunities for humane management of both migration and asylum. And I will leave you to conclude whether there is indeed a conflict or not.

The pictures that were used in discussions repeated certain patterns: We are talking about doors – which are either open or closed – and about walls – which are often high or with barbed wires. Migrants are often described as a threat who come in waves or floods and can only be stopped by floodgates. Another picture is that of Europe as a fortress.

There is probably no better country than Turkey to show that walls and dams are able to manage the complex movements of migrants and refugees. The country has a difficult Eastern border and a coast line of 5000 kilometres. The geographic position is both an opportunity as well as a challenge – you might recall the Silk Road, and with it its historic tradition of asylum but its struggle with containing the unwarranted cargoes of the new less silky roads from East to West.

I will add some basic but telling figures which over the last year illustrated the complex mix in this country of movements of migrants and asylum seekers: Around 6,000 refugees in Turkey are registered by UNHCR. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Interior the number are around 11,000 persons. But it should be noted that we are informed by Government sources that close to 70,000 persons each year are interdicted as illegal migrants in Turkey.

The Geneva Refugee Convention was adopted in 1951 also in the light and experience of collapsed empires and two devastating wars. Turkey, as one of the initial negotiating and drafting parties, recognized that guarantees for refugees needed to be accommodated. But the country had to strike a balance with its concerns about internal and border security stemming from its geo-political bridge function between East and West. It supported and signed the Convention but maintains, to this day, a geographic limitation to European refugees. “Durable solutions”, it maintains, are difficult to offer to arrivals from non-European countries.

I wish to share with you some reflections whether the position taken is giving adequate answers to challenges in relation to current mix of migration and asylum flows which are a result of the consequences of the increased globalisation of markets and conflicts, as well as increasing pull and push factors of refugees and migrants. Have non-Europeans stopped knocking at Turkey’s doors because of these legal limitations? And had they stopped knocking in a country like Hungary, when they lifted their geographical limitation five years before they

acceded to the EU? And, most importantly, have the successful integration measures of non-European göçmen and mülteciler not shown that generous reception of refugees and measured acceptance of migration as an economic balancing factor are compatible with national interest, security and economic development?

States have a legitimate interest in controlling irregular migration. Unfortunately existing control tools, such as visa requirements and the imposition of carrier sanctions, as well as maritime interception measures, often do not differentiate between genuine asylum seekers and economic migrants. Immigration and airline officials are often not aware of the distinction between refugees, who are entitled to international protection under international legal instruments and other migrants, who are able to rely on their national protection in principle.

A basic principle in customary international law, the principle of non-refoulement – that means the prohibition of sending asylum seekers back to danger of persecution and threat to life and freedom, should be adhered to. But we notice that it is increasingly hollowed out by measures that prevent asylum seekers from even reaching safe territory, and consequently have no access to an authority that will scrutinize their claim to asylum seriously.

As an effect of the increased difficulty to cross borders legally to request for refugee protection, people resort to illegal means of entering. In this sense the wall has not stopped the flow, but driven it underground. In this increasingly criminalized climate, illegal business is growing and leads, in an increasing number of cases to the smuggling and worse, trafficking of human beings. Especially women and children get more vulnerable with each attempt to cross the border with the help of smuggling gangs. State experience thus shows that by trying to stem the flow drastically, it risks to create other security threats.

We have to consider alternatives – well-planned systems which accommodate human rights and international protection principles and state security considerations. The Turkish Government has set out to review its asylum system over the coming years, and this is, in UNHCR’s view a constructive step to humanely help manage flows which, in any case, are difficult to stop. To use the before-mentioned picture: the system needs to build-in a sufficient number of doors.

In UNHCR’s view, the first door is the establishment of a transparent system to enable refugees to access safe territory and protection – refugees are persons whose acceptance is not a discretionary act by Governments, but is required under inter-



national human rights norms and conventions.

Owing to its historical way of handling this sector – the geographical limitation on the one hand and the reception of groups of persons under guest and other non-refugee status alternatives on the other – Turkey's system for the determination of refugee status needs further development. UNHCR is handling non-European cases at present and wishes to contribute to the building of Turkey's new comprehensive system with its experience and expertise.

Providing access to fair and efficient asylum procedures, run by well resourced and well informed officials, will help disentangle the various components of mixed migration flows and protect those who flee from persecution.

It will also help to identify other groups of persons, who for various reasons, use Turkey as a transit route or destination, and will support the creation of structures to manage them. The work includes the analysis of situations in countries of origin, and development of good solutions for these people – many may voluntarily return, or will accept if the readmitting country offers some support to their re-integration. Giving individuals the legal possibility to integrate may make the best use of the persons' energy and productivity.

Ultimately, like in the case of so many of those whose personal histories I have listened to during this conference, the need for protection from persecution will coincide with the political, cultural or geographic interest of the host country. The resulting good integration will create a win-win situation - the country will benefit from the productivity of the refugee, the

refugee will achieve self-sufficiency and readily contribute to the host society.

The emerging system in Turkey will show that there is no contradiction between migration control and refugee protection. Sound administrative and legal instruments include data management, information management, legislative tools with clear definitions, reception infrastructure and sensitive integration solutions that respect the absorption capacity of the host community.

Considering all the challenges ahead it is of paramount importance that the establishment of this system needs the close cooperation of Government – both at central government and municipalities level- , and of non-governmental organisations during the forthcoming years.

Many people link this work to the accession criteria for the European Union. UNHCR believes that this is only partially the reason. Turkey may well be able to demonstrate to the EU that its wealth of experience in the integration of a variety of different groups of göçmen and mülteciler is in the position to design first the doors before building the wall. It may turn out to be the country that looks at the so-called fortress Europe with the view from the South East which is sensitive not to forget the entrance.

The municipality of Zeytinburnu has given us an encouraging example with this event, which we take as inspiration for joint work which is in front of us. We hope our common efforts to increase awareness and knowledge in this sector among officials and in civil society, will succeed. Thank you very much.



Mehmet TERZIOGLU

Sec. Gen. Dir. President of Department of Foreigners, Borders and Asylum Seekers

Born in 1950 in Kırklareli. Graduated from the Police Academy in 1971 and served the Turkish Police Service in various levels between 1973 and 1985, reaching the rank of the Police Director. Between 1985 and 1999 he was promoted to the post of Assistant Head of the Police Academy. Has assumed the post of Director of the Office on Aliens-Borders-Asylum of the Directorate of Police ever since 1999. Hold a Master's Degree on Public Administration. Has served as police attaché abroad. Speaks English.

Turkey as a Country of Migrants: Juridical Structure and Practices

Dear President,

And Guests;

As the president of SGD-Department of Foreigners, Borders and Asylum Seekers, I would like to thank to all the contributors, especially Mayor of Zeytinburnu, and express my pleasure to be here.

Though the title of my presentation is 'Turkey as a Country of Migrants; Juridical Structure and Practices' I will try to provide information regarding any subject related to immigration.

The duty and responsibility domains of my department may be summarized as:

1- To conduct the visa, residence, employment, voyage, scientific research, analysis, excavation, cultural and sportive activities, education and other operations of the foreign subjects who come to and stay in our country,

2- To execute the control of the foreign subjects and follow up their deportation, and to take preventive measures against those prohibited to enter to the country,

3- To issue Passports Reserved for the Service and Foreigners, to carry put the operations related with the sealed passports of private and public nature,

4- To carry out the procedures related with threats,

5- To track the procedures related with Border Disputes and the opening of border gates,

6- To carry out the immigration, seeking refuge, asylum and citizenship procedures.

As is known, our country is on a very delicate geographic location. If we look at the subject and participant of this important symposium, one can clearly recognize that Turkey, along its long history, has been a country of migrants, and that our practices and immigration policies have always been humanitarian.

Turkey has 9474 km of land and sea border line and 113 border gates in total.

Consequently, Turkey is frequently subject to both legal entrances for tourism, scientific research, working, education and trade purposes, and illegal entrances for transition to other countries.



When we look at the legal status of the foreigners in Turkey and the related statistics, we see that;

- In 2004 approximately 24 million, and in 2005 more than 25 million Turks and foreigners have entered-exited through the 113 border gates.

There are 157,562 foreigners in 2004 and 168,118 in 2005, legally residing in Turkey.

77,736 foreign subjects since 2000 have been rejected on the border gates in accordance with the related legislation, Passport code no 5682 and Law no. 5683 regarding the Residence and Traveling of Foreigners in Turkey.

In addition; 38,540 and 25,179 foreigners, in 2004 and 2005 respectively, have been deported due to acts violating the laws and related to a crime.

As you know Turkey accepted the UN Convention dated 1951 on the Protection of Exiles, with a geographic limitation. Accordingly, the foreigners from Asia and Africa asking refugee will be evaluated in 'refugee' status and those from Europe and other continents will be evaluated in 'exile' status. We see that 40,457 foreigners in total (Iraq: 13,914, Iran: 24,774) have placed refugee-exile demand to Turkey since the enforcement in 1995 of the Asylum Regulation of 1994.

- 1732 renounced their demands (Iraq: 687, Iran: 978),
- The procedures continue for 11,473 (Iraq: 4536, Iran: 6382).
- 20,414 demands were accepted (Iraq: 4486, Iran: 15,438),
- 6838 demands were rejected (Iraq: 4205, Iran: 1976).

As I have mentioned at the beginning of my speech our country has been subject to many immigration activities along its history. Below are the numbers of people having same nationality or refugees, who have been put to provisional protection for humanitarian considerations:

- 51,542 Iraqis in 1988 due to Halepce Massacre,
- 467,489 Iraqis in 1990-1991 in the 1st Gulf Crisis.
- 20,000 people from Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992-1999 in Yugoslavia Civil War.
- 17,746 Albanians from Kosovo in 1999 Kosovo Events.
- 10,500 Macedonian in 2001 upon Macedonia Crisis.

(After the Bosnia and Kosovo crisis only 75 people decided to stay in Turkey, and others returned to their country.)

As can be observed in the Table; 441,594 families / 1,650,385 people are accepted to our country as settled or free migrants since 1923.

If we take into account the information I have provided so far

and the delicate geographic situation of Turkey, one important emphasis would be the streams of emigration along the history. Our country has been subject to many streams of emigration since 1492 with the emigration of the Jewish from Spain:

- 300,000 Jewish from Spain in 1492,
- 4 million people from Caucasus, Tatar and Crimea between 1859-1922,
- 384,000 people from Greece between 1922-1938,
- 800,000 people from the Balkans between 1923-1945,
- 800 people from Germany between 1933-1945,
- 51,542 people from Iraq in 1988 upon the Halepce Massacre,
- 369,000 people were accepted from Bulgaria in 1989 and of which 229,548 were granted citizenship,
- 467,489 people from Iraq in 1991 upon the 1st Gulf Crisis (of which 1254 still reside in Turkey)
- 20,000 people from Bosnia between 1992-1998,
- 17,746 people from Kosovo as of the joint resolution of Ministries of Internal/External Affairs dated 21.06.1999,
- 10,500 people from Macedonia in 2001.

As can be seen in the slight, 39,767 Meskhetian Turks were granted residence permits since 1998.

- If we look at the situation of the expatriates from Bulgaria:

- a) 1994-1997: 21.580
- b) In 1998: 13.990
- c) 541 in 1998
- d) 9553 people between 2001 - 2005:

Totally 45,664 people are accepted.

(4615 people denaturalized from Greece citizenship still resides in Turkey.)

- A research carried out in 2005 on Iraqi Turkmen has demonstrated that approximately 20,000 Iraqi Turkmen reside in Turkey.
- Necessary actions were taken in order to legalize the situation of these Turkmen, however, only 2000 of them were accessed. The reason is that they all speak Turkish and their relatives have been already settled in Turkey.

On Chechens;

- The Turkish policy in 1990 was to transport the humanitarian aid to Georgia in cooperation between Turkish Ministry of External Affairs-Turkish Red Crescent and Georgian Authorities under the cognizance of UNHCR. This policy still continues.



- However in 1999, certain Chechens entered to Turkey through Chechen Sarp Border Gate with reference from their relatives in Istanbul and Sakarya-Kocaeli and for tourism purposes. The very same year these people have lost contact with their relatives; some of them voluntarily returned to their country and others failed to comply with the calls for residence permit without fee in 1999, 2000 and 2001. These people still have 6-month residence permits and these permits will be prolonged to the same duration at the end of this time as of administrative decision.

- 628 Chechens still reside in guest houses in Istanbul under the authorized residence.

I would like to give you some information on illegal immigration, smuggling of migrants, trafficking in persons:

I will not try to define these concepts, which are within the scope of crime, due to lack of time.

According to our researches and international reports; the primary resources of illegal immigration are Iran, Iraq, Mexico, Africa Countries, China, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Again, according to our researches and international analysis and reports:

There are many routes on the world where illegal immigration takes place.

- The first of these routes starts from South and Middle Africa and ends in Spain, Portugal and France, passing through North Africa.

- The second route starts from North Africa and ends in Turkey passing through Italy by sea, Greece or Lebanon and Syria.

- The third route starts from the problematic and poor countries of Asia such as Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, India, Afghanistan and Pakistan, passes through Caspian Sea to Russia and from here to Poland and other European countries.

- The fourth route starts from Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka to Iraq and Iran then to our country and to the European countries via the Balkans or Greece.

- The fifth route starts from the problematic Asia countries to Iran, and from here to Ukraine via the Caucasus, and from Ukraine to West European countries through former Eastern Block.

- The seventh route starts from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq to Syria and Lebanon through the south and from Lebanon to South Cyprus, Greece or Italy by sea.

The eighth route starts from Italy to Spain, France, England, Germany, Belgium and Nordic countries. The important point

here is that Italy is a ground bridge used by the illegal migrants to pass through other European countries.

- Another route is from mainly Far East countries – also Turkey, in the past – to Australia by sea.

- Another route determined as a result of Interpol reports used especially between 2001-2003, is through the south of Sri Lanka, India to Red Sea and from here to Greece and Italy via the Suez Canal.

- Another recent route starts from the Middle East to end in Italy passing through Morocco and Libya.

- Again another one starts from the Middle East countries passing through Morocco to Spain.

Since 1995, 565,345 illegal migrants have been caught in Turkey. This includes the persons residing without a permit in Turkey as a result of violation of visa.

Since 1998, a total of 5961 migrant smugglers from 32 different nationalities have been caught as a result of the operations carried out by law enforcement officers and juridical actions have been executed with the awareness that the transnational and organized dimension of the issue is very important.

- 7,021,073 YTL have been spent for the shelter and expulsion processes of the illegal migrants caught in Turkey since 1999.

Many juridical reforms have been put into practice in a determined, efficient and quick manner especially in recent years for solution against the immigration and related transnational issues. In summary these include:

- UN Palermo-convention against transnational organized crimes and annexed protocols (2003)

- t.c.c. art. no. 79-smuggling of migrants (former tcc 201/a) (2005)

T.c.c. art. no. 80-human trafficking (former tcc 201/b) (2005)

- law no 4817 regarding the labor permit of the foreigners (2003)

- amendment no 403 on Turkish citizenship law (2003)

- land route transportation law-application regulation (2004)

- UN International convention on the protection of the rights of all migrant workers and members of their families (effective as of June 2004, Execution start date: 01.01.1-2005)

- Amendment studies on settlement law no. 2510

- In accordance with the refugee-immigration action plan the expedition date of both the law regarding the foreigners (immigration law) and refugee law to the parliament has been decided.



- Our country pursues the policy of signing readmission convention with primarily the source countries and then progressively with transit and target countries, and attends the readmission treaty proposals to various countries in 2001 and 2002 to come to a conclusion.

- In readmission of Turkish citizens our country executes a very practical implementation and in addition, in accordance with the ICAO Agreement the illegal migrants from Turkey are admitted provided that they are expelled by the same or the following flight. Except the treaty with Greece, which is due to the exigencies of being a neighbor country and the relations with the EU, any treaty with EU or other target countries is not functional, so unnecessary.

Our country has signed Readmission Treaties with Greece, Syria, Kyrgyzstan, Romania and Ukraine.

- The negotiations with Russia are accomplished and with Bulgaria it is at the accomplishment stage.

Turkey also has proposed readmission treaty to the following countries:

In 2001: Iran, *Pakistan, India, *Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, China, *Bulgaria,

In 2002: Mongolia, Egypt, Israel, Georgia, Ethiopia, *Belarus, Sudan, Algeria, *Libya, Morocco, *Lebanon, Nigeria and *Kazakhstan.

** the negotiation still continues.*

- Within the frame of the readmission protocol between Turkey-Greece, which entered into force in November 8, 2001, 3279 illegal migrants have been admitted from Greece and 1290 of these could be returned by Greece.

- However, only 19 illegal migrants from Greece could be readmitted to Greece.

- Within the scope of Readmission Treaty between Turkey-Syria in force since September 10, 2001, 1163 illegal migrants have been delivered and 26 illegal migrants have been admitted.

It is obvious that the struggle of a single country will not be sufficient against the issues originating from the immigration, which by its transnational character affects many regions and countries. In other words, this issue should be transformed into an important activity domain of international cooperation. And Turkey actively participates to any international cooperation platforms on this field and is a pioneer in the cooperation initiatives.

• Turkey has signed 64 treaties with 52 countries For Security

Cooperation regarding the fight against the international organized crimes and terrorism.

• All of these treaties and protocols include provisions regarding the fight against the illegal immigration, smuggling of migrants and human trafficking.

Today, one of the most serious transnational crime types is 'human trafficking', which is directly related with human rights and stands as the most modern violation of the human rights. Turkey, again due to its delicate geographic location, is a target country for women coming from the former East-Block countries.

In 2004, 239 human trafficking cases were detected and victim support program, composed of protection, medical/psychological aid and rehabilitation, was provided for these persons.

In 2004, legal transactions were executed for 227 traders, 138 of these were arrested and 43 are released pending trial.

In 2005, 240 victims were saved and included in the support program.

In 2005 the number of traders is 359 and 121 of these are arrested and 127 are released pending trial.

The domestic coordination and cooperation activities in summary:

• National Force of Fight Against Human Trafficking (all related Ministries, entities and organizations under the Coordination of Ministry of External Affairs).

• Fight and Precautions: Conducted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

• EGM (Dept. For. Bord. Asy. See.) – Human Resource Developing Foundation and Woman Solidarity Cooperation Protocols (2003/2005)

• Shelter houses have been established in Istanbul and Ankara, and these still provide services for victims of human trafficking.

Turkish Ministry of External Affairs has proposed cooperation protocols in 2003 to Ukraine, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldavia Russian Federation, Azerbaijan, Belarus and Uzbekistan.

As seen on the slight, Belarus, Georgia and Ukraine have signed the 'Bilateral Cooperation Protocols for the Fight Against the Human Trafficking', the other countries have not communicated an affirmative response.

Along with the above mentioned international actions, Twinning Projects are conducted regarding 'Immigration and Asylum', 'Integrated Border Management' and 'Human Trafficking' throughout the candidature process of Turkey to EU. Thank you very much.



Av. Taner KILIC

Amnesty International Turkey-Refugee Rights Coordinator

Born in 1969 in Uşak. Been to many cities owing to the job of his father. Graduated from the Faculty of Law of Dokuz Eylül University in 1991. Practicing law in Izmir since 1993. One of the founders of the branch of Amnesty International (AI) Organization in Turkey. Currently carrying out voluntary work on refugee rights coordination of AI's Turkey Branch. Married, with two children.

Asylum as a Human Right

Though asylum is generally considered in relation with the political and economic relations between the States and as something which the States decide on by taking into account the equilibriums, it is in fact a very serious and essential human rights subject. It is also a domain on which the traditional law and international law emphasize. As a result of all these reasons and our position as jurist and defender of human rights, the asylum as a subject matter deserves to be discussed as an important domain of human rights and international law in this symposium, where its sociological, historic and cultural consequences are discussed in all aspects.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN THE WORLD AND IN TURKEY

It is known that asylum subsisted from the very early stages of human history. Frequently encountered in the history of religions, the asylum phenomenon stands as an important issue even in the Hittite and Aztec tablets being subject of treaties. Also in Islam, the fact that the first believers take refugee first in Habesistan and then immigrate to Medina due to the oppression they were subjected to constitutes a vital turning

point in the history of Islam. Likewise, the right of asylum granted by Ottoman Empire to the Jews escaping from Spain obviously represents a notable humanity example for the believers of this religion.

While the sacred places were as refugee centers in the ancient times, allowance of the right of asylum began to be considered a part of state authority by the development of monarchies. However, the twenty and first century pushed huge masses to the search of asylum due to the great wars in which many countries were parties, revolutions, wars of independence and thus the migration to the nation states. Upon the First World War at the beginning of the twenty and first century, there had been great population movements, the League of Nations founded at the end of the war handled the subject-matter; however, it was defined as a phenomenon resolvable in bilateral relations between the states. The fascism wave, which has expanded during the Second World War and caused great disasters for the humanity, displaced 1.5 million people only in Poland during the war. Between 1944 and 1951, approximately 20 million people have moved to other places with the hope of living in a more secure place.



"Human rights" concept has evolved in theory in the atmosphere after Second World War; upon Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) on December 10, 1948, United Nations (UN) Conventions have been issued, featuring monitoring, auditing and sanction instruments and mechanisms regarding all the rights within UDHR. In addition to and parallel with these, Regional Human Rights Agreements were issued, and control mechanisms were put into practice including the juridical dimension such as legal tribunals with certain Regional Agreements. In the period after the Second World War, related with the "asylum right" accepted as a human right in article no 14 of UDHR, UN Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees is adopted in 1951 in Geneva. This convention is accepted as the main document and basis, and for certain the Magna Carta, of today's asylum/refugee law.

The massive population movements after the Second World War were out of Europe, in the third-world countries. To list all the population movements in the human history is obviously beyond the scope of this work. However in recent history the Mozambican refugees in Rwanda and Tanzania, approximately 10 million Bengali refugees in India, Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees, the opponents of the regime who have escaped to other countries after the Iran Revolution, 6 million refugees who escaped from the Afghanistan after the occupation attempt in 1979 (some of them still resides in other countries due to the ongoing civil wars), 1.3 million Kurdish refugees in Iran and 460,000 Kurdish refugees in Turkey escaping from Iraq after the Gulf War, the huge population of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo taking shelter in many countries, and finally massive asylum movements as a result of humanitarian crisis in Darfur, Sudan which has displaced one million people last year and four million in the past in south, still a problem in the human memory.

Many collective and individual refugee incidents took place during the Ottoman Empire. The historical mission, strategic location of the Empire and the power of the Islamic laws, which gives a special importance to asylum phenomenon, had played a great role in these incidents. Obviously, the case of the 12th Carl, King of Sweden, who has taken refugee in Ottoman upon defeat in Poltoya War to the Russians, is a curious example. Despite the demands from Russians, Ottoman didn't return this refugee and the Russians entered to the land of Ottoman to capture 12th Carl, now called as "Fixed Carl" as he rested in Ottoman a long time, and the two armies fought near the Pruth River, the return of Sweden King was ensured with a specific article thanks to the Treaty of Pruth in 1711, though it contains

disadvantageous for Ottoman. The Jews escaping from Spain, Hungarian refugees escaping from Austria-Hungary Empire, approximately 4 million Circassian and Tatar refugees escaping from the Caucasus and Crimea between 1859 – 1922 can be considered as massive refugee influxes. The total population taking refuge in Istanbul is estimated as 100,000 with 65,000 Russians in 1920 escaping from the Bolshevik revolution and Greeks and Armenians escaping from various regions. In addition, the population movements to Anatolia have increased due to the loss of land of Ottoman Empire.

"Exchange of Populations" is accepted between Turkey and Greece as a result of 1923 Lausanne upon the establishment of the republic, and 384,000 persons have settled in Turkey. A similar treaty was signed with Bulgaria as "voluntary exchange". Though the population movements to Turkey from the Balkans and Caucasus are seen as the "immigration of the same population", these in fact are subject of asylum issue. By the rise of Nazism between 1933-1945 in Germany, approximately 800 Jews, composed of mainly professors in university, scientists and artists, have taken refuge in Turkey, and contributed to many domains such as the education, architecture and art, in Turkey and especially in universities.

However, in the same period a similar hospitality and humanitarian protection was not provided for the Struma vessel, containing 778 Russians and polish Jews, the right of asylum was not granted and neither the permit for passage through the straits, and the vessel was torpedoed by a Russian submarine upon 70 days of waiting while this event was silently watched. A similar event, which stands as a disgrace in our history related with asylum, is the reciprocal exchange of 150 persons with Turkish origin in Yozgat taking refuge in Turkey after the Second World War and 15 young communists preparing radio programs against Turkey in "Our Radio" from Soviet Union between the Soviet Union and Turkey. As quoted by Alev ALATLI from Atıf ERÇİKAN, one of the army officers executing the "delivery" at Kars Frontier to Soviet Union; "The officers slowed down the train so as to allow them run away, but they refused. The place of delivery is hill. The Russian soldiers take all of them beyond the hill. When they are lost to sight, the roar of the machine guns. The complete tribe is executed by shooting..."

Whereas in the very same years (same months, maybe) 110,000 Caucasian prisoners of war (who have fought at the same side with Germany as the Nazis promised independence) held in Europe after the Postdam Conference, were delivered in accordance with the treaty between USA and Russia, but as 128



Azerbaijanis burned themselves as a protest in a prisoner camp near Vienna, the delivery event found public in the west and civil reaction campaigns led by the Mayor of New York Laguvar, and the delivery process was halted.

Another outstanding population movement is that of the 100,000 political opponents from Turkey to European countries upon the military coup of 1980. This was followed by the asylum search of the Kurdish population to Europe (and partially to Iraq), which has especially increase in 90's due to the issues with Kurds in Turkey. It is estimated that approximately 350,000 persons with citizenship of Turkish Republic have took refuge in Europe for political asylum reasons, between 1980-1995. According to UNHCR data, 579,510 persons between 1980-1999 escaped from Turkey to seek refuge in other countries, and thus became one of the most important refugee populations in the world.

At the same period another group seeking refuge in Europe via Turkey was the regime opponents upon the "Islamic Revolution" in Iran. The asylum of 51,000 Iraqis in 1988, 345,000 Bulgarians with Turkish origin in 1989, 25,000 Bosnians in 1992 and 10,000 Kosovians in 1999 in Turkey are important massive asylum movements. However Turkey did not grant 'refugee' status to these people though required by its regulations (as it would mean to grant other rights as well required by the 1951 Convention) and hosted them with 'guest' status. Though this practice was commented as correct and appropriate to our traditional hospitality, it is not possible to accept this situation with respect to human rights and asylum law. Primarily and especially establishing and recognizing the solid and steady legal infrastructure for the presence of these persons in Turkey, and executing the exigencies of this legal situation is clearly the most vital point. The same argument also used for the Chechens still in our country, and moreover the appraisal of this status in comparison with the other Chechens with asylum status in European countries does not have any meaning though it sounds good; as these persons do not stand on a solid (or none) legal grounds there is always a risk of expulsion.

Apart from these, the most important and unexpected asylum surprise was from Iraq, with the 460,000 Kurdish Iraqis seeking asylum in Turkey after the Gulf War. Though having no legal obligation to recognize these persons as refugees in accordance with the geographic limitation settled in 1951 Convention, Turkey did show a great resistance to grant the provisionary refugee status following the traditional international law to these persons escaping due to a life-threatening

situation. Because of the serious problems with Kurds in the south-east of Turkey at the time, Turkish Authorities thought that this would further harm the stability, would end in a situation similar to the camps in Philistine and damage the ecological equilibrium, and thus closed the Turkey-Iraq border gates and left hundreds of thousands of Kurds in a difficult situation in the mountain passes covered with snow and not easily accessible. Providing shelter for 600,000 Iraqis and 1,4 million Afghans at the time, Iran opened its border for the new 1,3 million Kurds, and became the country sheltering the most refugees in the world. Iran demanded aid from UNHCR.

The international media continued to keep the subject on its agenda leading to the resolution of UN Security Council upon which the Poised Hammer composed of 5,000 soldiers of USA and an area with flight interdiction were established to allow the refugees in North Iraq return, and most of these refugees returned to Iraq under the surveillance of UN forces. After this date, Turkey stated –with good reason– that the western countries do not act in accordance with the "burden sharing" principle, one of the essential requirements of refugee law, and that Turkey had to undertake most of the burden despite the unfavorable economic situation it is in. Certainly the most important point in this refugee crisis was recognizing the fact that there was not even a law or regulation, lay aside a constitutional regulation, in its internal legislation though even though it has accepted UDHR and is a party to 1951 Convention. In accordance with this late requirement Turkey launched the preparations for the Regulation, which would enter in force in 1994.

According to the data from UN, the refugee population has continuously increased every year as of 1951 Convention, and reached to 27,437,000 in 1995, which is ten times than the number in 70's. Though from 1995 to this date the total population in question (asylum seekers, refugees, displaced persons, and those who have returned) has shown signs of decrease, this number is still estimated to be around 22,000,000. According to UNHCR, 50,8% of this number is women, 41% those below 18 and 5% those below 5. According to a research conducted by IOM at the beginning of 2000, illegally circulating number of persons in the world at any time is between 15 million and 30 million. If we take into consideration that the events threatening human life has increased after this date, it would not be improper to state that this number has also increased. According to the report published by Norwegian Refugee Council in March 2005, across the world every day 8 thousand persons are obliged to leave their homelands, in 50 countries 25 million persons continue to live displaced in the same country.



According to the report from the Police Department Foreign Section, 60,000 illegal migrants or illegal population movements were caught in recent years. The authorities state that these persons did not apply for asylum. However, as most of the persons entering Turkey through illegal ways know that they may not stay in Turkey with refugee status or as they had a final destination other than Turkey (European countries) and as they are not aware of the possibility to be expedited to a third country, they do not apply for asylum in Turkey. Moreover, it is known that the objective of the depositions taken were not involved with this aspect but rather the human smugglers, and that the law enforcement officers do not have sufficient number of translators, and personnel who are well-informed and sensitive on the subject, and that there is no database for evaluating the information supplied. Besides, the security precautions for border security purposes constitute a serious problem for the access of the refugee to the official procedure. However, there are approximately 5,000 persons who have officially applied for the refugee procedure in Turkey. The evaluation of these applications is carried out in cooperation with the UNHCR Turkish Office (and in recent years in accordance with the decisions of this office), and refugee status is granted for the 25-30%. These numbers demonstrate that an important population in Turkey experience vital issues. Turkey is both a "target country" for the persons from east European countries and "resource country" for the ones experiencing political difficulties.

THE RELATION OF "REFUGEE" WITH SIMILAR CONCEPTS

In UN Convention relating the Status of Refugees the term 'Refugee' is defined as the person "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" The main components if this definition will be analyzed in detail in the following sections.

'Asylum seeker' is a term used for the person whose application for refugee status is not yet adjudicated. The person who has not yet applied or in wait of a response for his application is also called "asylum seeker". As asylum seeker is the person waiting for the refugee procedure, he should benefit from the

non-refoulement principle, which is the most essential principle of refugee protection, and human treatment standards. However, in case of a decision affirming the status of the person as complying to refugee criteria, this person is accepted as refugee also retrospectively. In other words, the recognition of the refugee status is only the announcement and declaration of this status.

The term 'asylum seeker' in Turkish laws is used for persons in refugee status but not entering within the scope of the 1951 Convention as it is accepted with certain geographic limitations.

The term 'migrant', is the person who emigrates from the country in which he is a citizen to another country not due to political criteria listed in all international law documents above, but in order to live in better life standards. The migrants continue to benefit from the protection of the country in which they are citizen, and choose this movement with their will and desire. The countries may accept or refuse the applications of the migrants, in accordance with their immigration policies. These countries, thus, do not have liabilities with respect to human rights. Many persons, in fact having a migrant status, have tried to present themselves as refugee to the country they would like to emigrate by using incredible methods and tricks, and this situation seriously damaged the international refugee law. So that, as the measures taken on entrances to countries are increased and severed, the persons having the right to benefit from the refugee protection failed to overcome these obstructions.

According to the definition provided by Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement presented to UN Human Rights Commission in April 1998, internally displaced persons are "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border." The term covers the persons who did or could not leave the country yet meeting the political criteria in the definition of refugee. In this perspective their problems are same as those of refugees, but these persons are not covered within the 1951 convention and UNHCR act, as they do not cross the borderline. However, UNHCR can participate to the humanitarian aid operations with its special expertise and experience, upon a demand by UN General Committee and UN General Secretariat or the related State. UNHCR can provide protection and aid services to only 5 million of these peo-



ple, which in total is estimated to be 20-25 million in the world. The Guiding Principles deal with all the stages of displacement and intend to guide the States, other actors, intergovernmental and civil organizations on subjects related with internal displacement. UNHCR Execution Committee (EXCOM) has reexpressed the effectiveness of the Guiding Principles in resolution no 87, dated 1999, and declared that it supports the role of the UNHCR based on the criteria determined by the General Assembly.

Refugees sur place are the persons who are not refugees when they leave their country of origin, but who become refugees, at a later date as a result of the events in the country they reside. These events may be a coup d'état in their home country, and political activities, undertaken in the country of residence or refuge against this country. A point that should be taken into account is how the activities of the application owner are seen by the country. The country should thoroughly review the application file as this method is easy to be abused.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ASYLUM/REFUGEE LAW IN THE INTERNATIONAL LAW

"International Status of the Refugees" dated 1933 and conventions related to "the Status of Refugees from Germany" by the League of Nations, have been signed by few countries and provided only a limited protection.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed in 1948, recognized the asylum right as a fundamental human right in article no 14:

"Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution."

The second paragraph of this article detects the situations not covered by asylum right protection in order to protect the essential of the right and avoid malicious practices:

"This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations."

Though the number of countries that adopt UDHR is ample, as it is not a convention in international law terms, it does not have monitoring, control and sanction mechanisms on the rights defined. Thus raised the necessity to regulate separate and specific conventions for the rights defined in UDHR.

"Convention relating to the Status of Refugees" (mostly known as 1951 convention) adopted by representatives from 26 countries on July 28, 1951 in Geneva, stands as a milestone in refugee law as it provides a refugee definition for the first

time, issues a modern list for the rights and standards, incorporates in the clauses of the convention the "non-refoulement" principle of the traditional law with limits on the return of the refugee, and focuses on "legal integration" despite the "refoulement" tendency of UNRRA and "resettlement" tendency of IRO.

As indicated in the preamble these States issued the convention "considering that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have affirmed the principle that human beings shall enjoy fundamental rights and freedoms without discrimination,... considering that it is desirable to revise and consolidate previous international conventions relating to the status of refugees and to extend the scope of and the protection accorded by such instruments by means of a new convention...", and defined the 'refugee' in article no 1:

The term 'refugee' shall apply to any person who "as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it."

The main points in the 'refugee' definition of 1951 convention are, in short;

1. Reasons constituting oppression and persecution: These reasons are innate particularities such as race and nationality and acquired particularities such as religion, political ideas, which are related to the basic human rights of the person.

1.1. Race: Though it is defined as the groups having the same physiologic and genetic features and having the same ethnical roots, it also covers the membership of a common discordance, which constitutes a minority in a large population, to a certain social group. Any discrimination of race is the most important violation of human rights, condemned by the countries across the world. International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination dated 1969 and International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment Apartheid dated 1973, underlines the importance of this subject and used as a supporting legal argument for the refugee protection.

1.2. Citizenship / nationality: As in normal a State would not persecute its own citizens by reason of citizenship, the main



point here is membership to a certain culture, ethnical group or language group. For this reason it is generally used as a synonym of race. Whether this group is official or not or its grandeur is not important. Adverse behaviors and attitudes towards national minorities are within this category.

1.3. Religion: It indicates the oppression and persecution a person is subjected, who believes in, regardless whether it is Christianity and Islam, any system of belief, or who does not believe in any religion. UDHR and many international conventions recognize the liberty of religion and conscience as a basic human right. Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, dated 1981, includes more detailed regulations on the scope of this liberty and attributes responsibilities to the related States.

1.4. Belonging to a certain social group: In case there exists certain innate factors distinguishing the person from the community in which he is a citizen and that are influential on the constitution of the identity and which are impossible to change the state of belonging of the person to the said social group is evaluated within this concept. Certain forms of violence (sexual persecution, sexual slavery, systematic violation as an ethnical purification method) and homosexuality are under this category. Equally, emerging as discrimination against women, certain repressions and threats, which reach to oppression and persecution level are also under this category.

1.5. Political ideas: Freedom of thought is a basic human right covered by UDHR and many UN conventions. If the exercise of freedom of thought attracts the attention of the related State or has the possibility of attracting the attention and the risk of persecution emerges in the attitudes and behaviors towards this person, this situation is evaluated under this category. The thoughts defined as political opinions should be evaluated together with concrete criteria such as its importance and power in the country in question.

2. Persecution: In fact there is no definition on which behaviors and attitudes are accepted as 'persecution'. However, when article no 14 of UDHR and article 33 of 1951 Convention are assessed together, violation of the right to exist, personal security and freedom, risk of torture, being subjected to inhuman punishments or measures, and in general any application to eliminate the core human rights (by the state or by other organs) are under this category.

3. Well-founded Fear: It means the research of not only the psychological state of the asylum seeker but also the objective reasons, which give rise to the fear of persecution. The Convention does not accept the psychological state of the per-

son sufficient for determining the fear, which is an abstract concept. The related evidences and documents are not expected from the person in question. In case each asylum seeker undergoes the procedure individually, his subjective state should be taken into account. However, if the asylum seekers are a group, the evaluation should be carried out accordingly.

4. Being outside the country of his nationality: In order for a country to decide on the asylum status of a person citizen in another country, the person should have applied to the country in its land. This is the basic factor distinguishing the refugee from other persons displaced.

It is obvious that the refugee protection tried to be established on the adoption date of the convention has "time limitations", in other words it aims the population movements before January 1, 1951 and generally during and after the Second World War. The undecided point is the "geographic province" of the Convention. Whether the convention only aims the refugees in Europe or cover all the refugees in the world is left to the discretion of the signing countries, and the expression in article no 1 paragraph B1 states that "events occurring before I January 1951 shall be understood to mean either 'events occurring in Europe before I January 1951' or 'events occurring in Europe or elsewhere before I January 1951'; and each Contracting State shall make a declaration at the time of signature, ratification or accession, specifying which of these meanings it applies for the purpose of its obligations under this Convention." According to B2 any Contracting State which has adopted the limited alternative (events occurring in Europe) may at any time extend its obligations.

One of the first States to be a party to the convention, Turkey made a declaration on the subject in Validating Status no 359 dated August 29, 1961, and stated that the expression in the beginning is understood and accepted as 'events occurring in Europe'. Thus, Turkey has accepted the 1951 Convention with a serious 'geographic limitation'. (Though 'geographic reservation' term is used, 'geographic limitation' term is accepted to be more appropriate vis-à-vis the international law). Many States decided on this geographic limitation as the Convention's responsibilities were not known and results could not be envisaged at the time. Though the 1967 Protocol, which eliminates the time limitation, prohibits limitation with article no 1/3 provided below, it also allows States already Parties to the 1951 Convention to continue with the limitation. However, I would like to make it clear that the parties which have signed the Convention with geographic limitation like Turkey, are exempt from only granting refugee status to the asylum seekers from non-European countries. These countries



may grant refugee status to the persons if necessary, though there is no international legal liability. This is related to the sovereignty rights of the States, and there is no legal obstruction.

According to the article 1/F of the Convention, "the provisions of this Convention shall not apply to any person with respect to whom there are serious reasons for considering that.

- a) He has committed a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity, as defined in the international instruments drawn up to make provision in respect of such crimes;
- b) He has committed a serious non-political crime outside the country of refuge prior to his admission to that country as a refugee;

He has been guilty of acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations."

This regulation is the adaptation of UDHR article no 14/2 to the Convention.

Article no 1/C of the Convention states that the Convention shall cease to apply to any person falling under the following terms:

1. "He has voluntarily re-availed himself of the protection of the country of his nationality,
2. Having lost his nationality, he has voluntarily reacquired it,
3. He has acquired a new nationality, and enjoys the protection of the country of his new nationality,
4. He has voluntarily re-established himself in the country which he left or outside which he remained owing to fear of persecution,
5. He can no longer, because the circumstances in connection with which he has been recognized as a refugee have ceased to exist, continue to refuse to avail himself of the protection of the country of his nationality (Provided that this paragraph shall not apply to a refugee falling under section A (I) of this article who is able to invoke compelling reasons arising out of previous persecution for refusing to avail himself of the protection of the country of nationality.),
6. Being a person who has no nationality he is, because the circumstances in connection with which he has been recognized as a refugee have ceased to exist, able to return to the country of his former habitual residence (Provided that this paragraph shall not apply to a refugee falling under section A (I) of this article who is able to invoke compelling reasons arising out of previous persecution for refusing to return to the country of his former habitual residence.)"

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE REFUGEE AND THE STATE ACCORDING TO 1951 CONVENTION

According to 1951 Convention the refugee has the following rights without discrimination (article no 3), and exempt of the exceptional measures which may be taken in the State (article no 8); Freedom of religion (article no 4), freedom of enjoying civil rights (article no 12), acquisition of movable and immovable property right (article no 13), artistic and industrial property rights (article no 14), right of association (article no 15), right of access to courts (article no 16), wage-earning employment right (article no 17), right to engage on his own account in agriculture, industry, handicrafts and commerce and to establish commercial and industrial companies (article no 18), right of practicing a liberal profession (article no 19), rationing right (article 20), housing right (article 21), education right (article 22), public relief and assistance right (article 23), right to enjoy labor legislation and social security (article 24).

Along with these, in Chapter 5, under the Administrative Measures title, the following responsibilities are attributed to the states; arranging the assistance when the exercise of a right by a refugee would normally require the assistance of authorities of a foreign country to whom he cannot have recourse (Article no 25); according to refugees lawfully in its territory the right to choose their place of residence and to move freely within its territory subject to any regulations applicable to aliens generally in the same circumstances (Article no 26); issuing identity papers (Article no 27); issuing to refugees travel documents unless compelling reasons of national security or public order otherwise require (Article no 28); not imposing upon refugees duties, charges or taxes, of any description whatsoever, other or higher than those which are or may be levied on their nationals in similar situations (Article no 29); permitting refugees to transfer assets which they have brought into its territory, to another country where they have been admitted for the purposes of resettlement (Article no 30); not imposing penalties, on account of their illegal entry or presence, not applying to the movements of such refugees restrictions other than those which are necessary and allowing such refugees a reasonable period and all the necessary facilities to obtain admission into another country (Article no 31); not expelling a refugee save on grounds of national security or public order (the expulsion of such a refugee shall be only in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with due process of law; the refugee shall be allowed to submit evidence to clear himself, and to appeal to and be represented for the purpose before competent authority or a person or persons specially designated by the competent authority) and allowing



a reasonable period within which to seek legal admission into another country (Article no 32); not expelling or returning a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of the reasons defined in article no 1 (Article no 33); and finally facilitating the assimilation and naturalization of refugees (Article no 34).

Along with these the following responsibilities are accepted as natural; fulfillment "in the same circumstances" of any requirements which the particular individual would have to fulfill for the enjoyment of the right in question, if he were not a refugee (Article no 6); the duties of the refugee to the country in which he finds himself, which require that he conform to its laws and regulations as well as to measures taken for the maintenance of public order (Article no 2). Article no 35 attributes the obligation of co-operation of the national authorities with UNHCR. Article no 42 states that any State, party to the Convention, may make reservations to articles of the Convention, and lists the exceptional articles. Accordingly, the stated may not make reservation to article no 1 regarding the definition of the refugee, article no 3 regarding non-discrimination, article no 4 regulation the freedom of religion, article no 16/1 regarding the right to access the court, article no 33 regarding the principle of non-refoulement, article no 36-46 including certain rules and procedures.

Apart from the rights defined in 1951 Convention, there are many juridical texts signed and adopted by many states related with the basic rights of the refugees as every human being. Some of these are; International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984) and Convention on the Rights of the Children (1989). In recent years in Europe, European Court of Justice began to play an important role in handling the social issues of the refugees in a domain different than that of the European Court of Human Rights.

Along with these conventions and declarations the resolutions of the UNHCR Execution Committee (EXCOM) established in 1958 continues to be a highly important and influential resource with respect to constitution and development of refugee law since the establishment in 1957 of the Subcommittee regarding the International Protection. These resolutions do not have a juridical binding force on the states,

however, determining the principal views on refugee issues the states shall take into account these resolutions in the practice. For the non-governmental organizations and judicial institutions who work on the subject these resolutions are important auxiliary elements in interpreting and developing the refugee law.

1951 Convention has been long time criticized by many theorists and activists who contemplate on the subject. Lack of reporting from the countries, a committee tracking the execution of the Convention and efficient sanction mechanisms, which are present in the later UN Convention, have led to expectations. However, due to the end of cold war, intensifying of the refugee influx to the northern countries and the humanitarian issues and economic burden (it is claimed that annually 50,000 euro is spent for a refugee in Europe) it entails, the countries have begun to raise the walls of the borders. Especially Europe in the last decade and USA after 11 September have showed a less sensitive behavior regarding the protection of refugees on grounds of security and internal reasons. 1% refugee acceptance rate last year in Greece was very striking, and this rate is considered as the manifestation of the intolerance towards the "aliens" in the country.

The meeting of Council of the European Union held in Tampere in October 1999, the determination to respect the asylum right and to precisely apply 1951 Convention was highlighted, and the establishment of a UN Asylum system was decided. In addition, in Tampere a very exciting initiative emerged for the defenders of human rights, which included fair treatment to the third country nationals and fighting against the xenophobia. However, since Tampere in EU, a trend is observed in nearly all resolutions and practices related with the subject-matter limiting and contractionary for the refugee protection. "Secure third country", "secure beginning country" concepts which are recently introduced to the refugee law, limitation over the staying right of the asylum-seekers in the country waiting for the result of their applications, ambiguity on the probation conditions and circumstances for obtaining legal aid continue to attract the reactions of human rights organizations, especially of ECRE, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. The intention of the EU countries to put into force certain practices such as "acceptance on-region" for collecting all the asylum seekers in certain countries and regions before they came to Europe to complete their procedures, is disturbing with respect to future.

Because of these, the re-affirmation and re-declaration of the Convention on its 50th anniversary under "Declaration of the States Parties" by approximately 140 countries parties to 1951



Convention and 1967 Protocol in the meeting held in Geneva on December 12-13, 2001, when refugee protection was in regress, is considered as a great success with respect to refugee protection. This declaration also adopted an action plan including six targets for the future.

NON – REFOULEMENT PRINCIPLE

One of the most important elements of the 1951 Convention is, obviously, the incorporation of non-refoulement principle, which was a basic rule of the traditional/customary international law, in article no 33, and the prohibition of limitation over this article. Though this right has been defined in “International Status of the Refugees” dated 1933 and conventions related to “the Status of Refugees from Germany”, the fact that the former was signed by 8 and the later by 3 states, did not ensure an efficient legal protection. 1951 Convention takes its power from the fact that it is signed by many states.

“No Contracting State shall expel or return (“refouler”) a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.”

The exception to this rule under severe conditions is declared in paragraph no 2 of the same article:

“The benefit of the present provision may not, however, be claimed by a refugee whom there are reasonable grounds for regarding as a danger to the security of the country in which he is, or who, having been convicted by a final judgment of a particularly serious crime, constitutes a danger to the community of that country.”

This principle is considered as violated in the following conditions:

- Rejection on border of the refugees who does not have the right to demand asylum from another country,
- Expulsion of the refugee to a country where there is a risk of life, liberty or physical security for the person,
- Refoulement of the refugee to his country of origin, or to a country which contains a risk of expulsion to his country of origin where he has the well-founded fear of persecution.

The states shall strictly conform to this rule, which is developed during the centuries in the customary/traditional law of human history. As it is a provision of customary law, the country shall act according to this principle even if it is not a party to the 1951 Convention. In case of violation or sign of violation of this principle, UNHCR should intervene. Obviously it is the most vital and critical situation for a refugee.

Human rights organizations working on the refugee issues should act agile and sensitively on this subject. Amnesty International (AI) allocates most of its practices regarding the refugee issue to this most vital part of the procedure, and executes the ‘urgent action’ procedure, which is the fastest and most efficient action type, by mobilizing all its members across the world for the refugees in this situation. Depending on the properties of the case and the situation of the country the person will be expelled, it is possible to apply to other UN mechanisms such as UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, UN Special Rapporteur on Extra-judicial Execution and UN Working Group on Missing Persons.

UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (Article no 3), 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention (Article no 45/4), Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article no 7), Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances (Article no 8), Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions (principle no 5) also prohibit explicitly or depending on the interpretation the refoulement to a country where there is a risk of persecution.

In addition, influential regional human rights conventions such as European Convention on Human Rights (Article no 3), American Convention on Human Rights (Article no 22), and OAU Convention (Article no 2) recognize, though not explicitly, the non-refoulement right as per the content of its regulations. As the administrative courts in Turkey do not react in due time in these urgent situations and adjudicate on the “suspension of execution” demands in delay, it is possible to obtain the cautionary judgment upon application to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). ECHR can respond to the applications, even made through fax, on this subject and transmit the resolution to the related country.

ECHR has largely contributed to the refugee law and human rights with its resolutions guiding on how the non-refoulement principle should be interpreted and applied. For example in the *Soering vs United Kingdom* case dated July 7, 1989, the Court ruled that surrendering or extraditing a fugitive to another State where there are substantial grounds to believe that he would be in danger of being subjected to similar treatment (the case was on a person to be extradited for criminal prosecution to Virginia, USA, where he was in danger of a death sentence. It was claimed that the circumstances of this punishment, which required to wait for the death sentence for six to eight years, were inhuman and degrading as treatment.), would be impossible, and any act contrary would be a breach of Article no 3 (nobody shall be subjected to torture or inhu-



man or degrading treatment or punishment), and as the prohibition in article no 3 is decisive and cannot be limited it is adjudicated that the non-refoulement principle applies not only for refugees but also for the criminals. In *Cruz Varas vs. Sweden* case dated March 20, 1991 and *Vilvarajah vs. United Kingdom* dated October 30, 1991 it is adjudicated that the persons whose asylum demands are rejected are under the protection of article no 3 of the Convention.

In *Conka vs Belgium* judgment related with Jan Conka, Romany extradited from Belgium, there are explanations on the standards of the detention locations of the asylum-seekers. In addition, it is underlined that the legal procedures against the rejection of asylum application and extradition judgments should not only be in theoretical level but also in a 'sufficient' level. This judgment also provides detailed evaluations on the practice standards of the "collective expulsion" prohibition set by protocol no 4.

ECHR has reached an even interesting decision in *D vs. UK* case related with the issue of deportation of a person living with AIDS; the Court held that if the man - who was dying of AIDS-related complications - was deported to the country of his nationality it would amount to "inhuman treatment" and violate Art. 3 ECHR despite the conditions set in 1951 Convention are not present. With this resolution the Court created a new humanitarian category similar to the refugee status, which can not be identified with the "Convention Refugee". Likewise, there is a large group of human beings in Europe with "humanitarian residence" allowance, though they are not covered by the definition of the 1951 Convention. Though these persons are not extradited to the countries of their nationalities, they have a more limited legal status compared with the rights of the refugees. In accordance with the National Action Plan in Turkey related with the subject, which is accepted by the signature of the Prime Minister on 25.03.2005, this status is expected to be accepted in the future by the Turkish Legislation.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REFUGEE LAW AFTER 1951 CONVENTION

All regional regulations on the subject after 1951 Convention, are based on the definition and standards of the 1951 Convention and enhanced these according to the requirements of the region. Similar to the first article of the 1951 Convention the first articles of Convention on Territorial Asylum (Caracas, 1954), signed by the governments of member states of the Organization of American States, grant asylum right to the persons coming "from a State in which they are persecuted for their beliefs, opinions, or political affiliations, or for acts which

may be considered as political offenses." Principles concerning Treatment of Refugees adopted in the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee, Bangkok, 1966, the refugee definition is almost the same as that of the 1951 Convention, and it includes 'color' in addition to the 'race'.

The increase in refugee movements across the world after 1951 Convention has been put into force, and thus the fact that many refugees are not covered within the Convention due to historical and geographic limitations have caused serious problems, and this brought up into the agenda the necessity to allow these persons to enjoy the international protection granted for the refugees according to the Convention without any limitation. Accordingly, United Nations General Assembly has adopted an additional Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees in New York. Signed on January 31, 1967 this Protocol (referred to as 1967 Protocol or New York Protocol) came into force on October 4, 1967. The most important feature of the Protocol is obviously removal of expressions such as "as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951" and "as a result of such events" in article no 1/2 of the Protocol. Turkey adopted the Protocol with the resolution of the Council of Ministers dated July 1, 1968. However, as stated above, Turkey continues to maintain the geographic limitation set in 1951 Convention.

United Nations General Assembly has accepted the Declaration on Territorial Asylum (December 14, 1967), however no Convention was issued. In the beginning of the Declaration, which provides certain principles to the States as only a recommendation as it is, the justification of the Declaration is underlined with expressions such as "recognizing that the grant of asylum by a State to persons entitled to invoke article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a peaceful and humanitarian act and that, as such, it cannot be regarded as unfriendly by any other State." Likewise, the 5th paragraph of the preamble of 1951 Convention it is already stated that, "expressing the wish that all States, recognizing the social and humanitarian nature of the problem of refugees, will do everything within their power to prevent this problem from becoming a cause of tension between States."

According to article no 1/3 of the Declaration, it shall rest with the State granting asylum to evaluate the grounds for the grant of asylum; and according to article 1/1, asylum granted by a State to persons entitled to invoke article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, shall be respected by all other States (and especially the country of origin). Article no 3 of the Declaration, "no person referred to in article 1, paragraph 1, shall be subjected to measures such as rejection at the frontier or, if he has already entered the territory in which he seeks asy-



lum, expulsion or compulsory return to any State where he may be subjected to persecution" refer to the non-refoulement principle of article no 33 of 1951 Convention, however, the exception is set in paragraph no 2; "exception may be made to the foregoing principle only for overriding reasons of national security or in order to safeguard the population, as in the case of a mass influx of persons."

It is considered that this declaration has many references on the discretionary right of the governments. It is clear that the asylum granting authority is directly related with the sovereignty right of the States, however, this discretion option shall not mean arbitrariness and shall be used in line with the international law. Today, the right of asylum in international law seems to be humanitarian responsibility of the States, voluntarily engaged, rather than a fundamental human right defined by UDHR. Many countries do not act in line with the responsibility to meet the requirements of fundamental human rights of the asylum seekers, and see themselves as the absolute authority to grant certain rights. Any issue related with the human rights shall not be qualified as an "internal issue". As a matter of fact, with the affirmation of the overruling character of the international treaties related with human rights on the internal laws, in accordance with the final amendment on article no 90 of the 1982 constitution, it should be accepted that the discretion of the governments may not be based on arbitrary grounds.

Approaches and practices of the States vis-à-vis Declaration on Territorial Asylum are divergent. This divergence of discretion and practice is obviously related with the self-confidence of the government, its position with respect to the international law, political consciousness and the intention it wants to use these powers. It is useful to recall the situation of two Uzbeks (Rustam Mamatkulov and Azkarov Z. Abdurasuloviç) seeking asylum in Turkey. Even though MAZLUMDER attorneys have succeeded to obtain cautionary judgment from ECHR to prevent the refoulement in accordance with article no 3 of the Convention (and this does fall to every asylum-seeker's share) and the declaration of Turkey to abide by the resolution, expulsion of these persons to Uzbekistan taken from the prison at night (in the case it was detected that article no 34 of the Convention had been violated) (though not known publicly this is the second case Turkey has not abided by the resolution of ECHR after Loizidou case), the attitude of Tayyip Erdogan, Prime Minister, defending the attitudes of previous governments with his answer "There are economic and political relations between the States, and these cannot be risked for just a few people" to the questions asked by the journalists on the subject during his visit to the Uzbekistan, is a negative example I have been trying to illustrate. A positive example would

be Imam-Khomeini who was living with refugee status in Paris during the Shah regime, and after the Islamic Revolution the family of the Shah again living in Paris with refugee status.

Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (OAU Convention) adopted on September 10, 1969 in Addis Ababa by Organization for African Unity (OAU) is issued taking into account the specific characters of refugee movements in Africa. Article no 1, paragraph no 1 of this convention is based on 1951 Convention without the geographic and time limitation, and article no 2 extends the definition; "The term 'refugee' shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality."

Declaration on Territorial Asylum of Council of Europe in 1977, refers to the previous conventions on refugees and to European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), and brings out the asylum right to the persons in the countries, party to the Declaration. In the Declaration, stating that asylum right will also be granted to persons seeking asylum for "humanitarian reasons" along with the definition in 1951 Convention, surpasses the dimensions of the Convention and is very important.

A conference was held in Cartagena/Columbia under the initiative of UNHCR between 19-22 November, 1984 regarding the problems of refugees in Central America, Mexico and Panama, and Cartagena Declaration on Refugees was published, enlarging the concept of refugee; "in addition to containing the elements of the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol, includes among refugees persons who have fled their country because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order" in article no 3, with references to OAU Convention and the reports of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

Arab Convention Governing the Status of the Refugees in Arab States adopted in March 27, 1994 by the Council of the League of Arab States, inspired by the religious beliefs and ethical rules of the States, and referring to 1951 Convention, 1967 Protocol and 1992 Cairo Declaration and wishing a peaceful relationship between the States party to the Convention, the preamble is constituted; and article no 1, paragraph no 1 of this Convention accepts the definition of 1951 Convention regarding the refugee with an addition of "ethnic origin", and this



definition is expanded in paragraph no 2; "The term 'refugee' shall also apply to every person who, owing to war, occupation, foreign domination or natural disasters or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality."

The definition of refugee is continuously developed and enriched by all these United Nations and regional conventions and declarations. As a rule, the related State engages the judicial responsibility to meet the requirements of the convention it is a party to, with respect to the international law. However, as it is encouraged in the declarations, the related States may choose to deploy a more comprehensive (in favor of human rights and asylum seeker) definition and practice than it is responsible for.

DEVELOPMENT OF REFUGEE ORGANIZATIONS

First efforts to help people that were expelled due to wars have been started in "international level" between 1919 and 1939 by moving people over millions. In this period, Fridtjof Nansen, who assigned by United Nations and worked as the first Refugees Head Officer between in this period, played an important role in having numerous refugees to return back to their countries. The document of traveling and identification that was known as "Nansen Passport" provided legal protection for many people.

Since there were so much movement within the population in Europe during the World War II, müttefik devletler including Soviet Union, saw before the end of the war that they were going to face a big trouble after Europe is saved and they founded Birleşmiş Milletler Yardım ve Rehabilitasyon Kuruluşu (UNRRA) in November 1943 (Before United Nations in 1945'de resmen kurulmasından önce). This kuruluş was not just an organization for refugees, but they also maintained their efforts for the ones that were expelled due to war, and helped almost 7 million people to return back to their countries although the organization was not allowed to carry out their activities in Soviet soil. However, these returns were started to be criticized by the Western block as some of them were not "voluntary returns" (especially the ones returns back to Soviet Union, and they led to public protests.

International Refugee Organizayion (IRO) was founded temporarily as a United Nations organization in July 1947 for 3-year program. The organization focused its works on moving the refugees to another third country, rather than sending

them their home countries. Within the period of these program, near 73.000 people were returned to their countries; however, more than 1 million people were sent to a third country. Nevertheless, problems of more than 400.000 dislodged people could not be solved, and necessity of establishing an organization that is more specialized in this matter by UN arose.

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) was established in 1948 in order to help the Palestinians, which were dislodged after Israel was founded and forced to take refuge in Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt and which were in Palestinian soil under Israeli. Today, near three millions of Palestinian refugees are registered to UNRWA. Due to presence of this UN organization engaged in this specialized field, other UN organizations (especially UNHCR) do not engage in activities regarding this matter. Besides, Palestinian refugees that are outside the region, where UNRWA has been carrying its activities, can take advantage of the agreement and other UN mechanisms as the other refugees. The authority to protect the registered refugees is not given to UNRWA, and this authority is assumed by the countries that accepted the refugees. Among the countries that have accepted the Palestinian refugees, only Jordan have bestowed the right of citizenship to numerous refugees despite the long period that have passed and the growing new generations. The statuses and future of the remaining ones are still indefinite, and most of them have been living under unbearable conditions.

After a short while, in January 1st 1951, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR/BMMYK), which had been considered to stay active for three years and the office period of which had been extended by the United Nations as it was seen that the problem is increasing throughout the world was established and this organization is still the most important and most specialized UN mechanism. With its regulation, which was accepted by December 1950, the organization was given the objective and authorization to provide international protection for refugees and to seek permanent solutions for the problems of the refugees. 2nd article of the UNHCR Regulation defines the authorizations of the High Commissioner as it shall be "related to refugee groups and categories humanly and socially, and completely out of politics", and the distinction between politic and humanly concerns is important. As the complexity of the dislodgment problem grew, UNHCR, seeking to find answers to these problems, also grew. Commissioner, which had budget problems when founded, developed to a big organization with 6235 employ-



ees, 85% of which has been working in far and risky places, the budget of 1.16 billion dollars and 251 offices in 115 countries as of June 2003. Until now, the organization has provided shelter and support to more than 50 million people and awarded with Nobel Peace Prize twice due to these efforts.

UNHCR has been promoting international refugee agreements and monitoring the activities of the states in relation with the compliance with the refugee laws. The organization have been trying to find long-term solutions for the refugees by helping them to return to countries their final destination if the conditions are good, or by helping them to associate with the sheltering countries or settle in another country if the conditions are bad. Within the years passed, UN General Assembly has assigned the task of protecting various groups that did not included in the Refugee Agreement and Protocol to UNHCR and increased the level of responsibilities of the organization. Some of this people are defined as the refugees "acknowledged by UNHCR", returned, without countries and "expelled from their places in their countries".

UNHCR fulfills the responsibilities of inspecting and deciding on whether the refugees who take refuge in the countries, which are either accepted the 1951 Agreement with a geographical limitation like Turkey or not a party of the 1951 Agreement or 1967 Protocol, but are out of the geographical limitation due to the countries of which they are citizens. Of course, this position was not gained by UNHCR deliberately, but a result of the international law. As the persons, whose refugee statuses are accepted, are placed in a third country rather than the country they take refuge in, this mission is somehow obligatory for the international community. However, this situation is also criticized rightfully as it causes UNHCR decisions to be excluded from the judicial inspection. Although UNHCR has allowed the right to object the negative verdicts for acknowledging the refugee status once or twice, and although they have allowed NGO observers and private lawyers to observe their interviews and activities, evaluation of the objections in question by other person(s) "within the same organization" can not be considered satisfactory in terms of judicial inspection. At this point, it can be only a matter of executive inspection of the decisions, rather than judicial inspection. In fact, in countries such as Turkey and similar ones, there are not any legally authorized office that the refugees can apply for regarding the procedures that are followed on behalf of its legal entity (as it a UN mechanism) except for the decisions about the refugees the organization have made.

Therefore, although there are few cases on the subject of refuge in Turkish jurisdiction (As per the report General Directorate of Security Foreign Nationals' Department authorities, as of May 2004, there were 28 cases brought to court by refugees from all countries, and also 5 cases that are brought to ECHM), they are mostly about "foreigners that are to be deported as the obligatory application time is missed or for other reasons although they are given refugee status by UNHCR". In fact, Turkish Executive Legislation is far from defining the protective field of refugee laws and is criticized heavily by ECHM with Jabari/Turkey verdict (especially, it is considered that there is a contradiction with the 13th article). However, there is almost no chance of claiming before the court that the UNHCR has unduly rejected the applications of asylum seeking or winning these cases in Turkey. Even if there were chance of winning these cases theoretically, it is still uncertain which structure shall allocate the person that have gained the refugee status upon this verdict to which sheltering country due to geographical limitations of Turkey and UNHCR's rejection of the refugee status.

Just like in the law-enforcement officers working on this subject, Administrative Judgment to make resolution on the subject lack the equipment and data base in the refugee law field, which needs special information, sensibility and specialization along with the information on the country of origin which is a sub-section.

This is also confessed in the National Development Plan enforced on 25.03.2005. Therefore, the implementation of the institute foreseen in this NDP is very promising for the future of Refugee Law and Application in Turkey.

REGULATIONS ABOUT REFUGEES IN TURKISH LEGISLATION

In the Republic of Turkey, first general regulatory document that is related to refugees and asylum seekers is the Settlement Code no 2510 of June 14th, 1934. Essentially, the code is related to the obligatory social and political settlement, which consists of asylum seeking and migration movements to Turkey, and settlements that is within the country and especially on social and political settlement based on the policy of forming a nation.

Law for Changing of Foreigners' Residence (Code no: 5683; Official Gazette, 24.07.1950 – 7564) is also closely related to the refugees as they are foreigners. Particularly, 19th, 20th, 21st and 22nd articles of the code are concerned about the refugees



as these articles define the deportation of foreigners that are in contrast with the “political – executive requirements”, and verdicts that are in relation with these articles can be reached frequently.

Also, Passport Law concerns refugees as it includes subjects such as the provisions on the foreigners that shall enter Turkey and deportation of the foreigners for public security and similar reasons.

“Regulation Concerning Principals and Procedures to be Executed for Foreigners Taking Refuge in Turkey or Applying for Residential Permission in Turkey in Order to Take Refuge in Another Country and the Foreigners Coming to Our Borders for Collective Refugee and Possible Population Movements” which is published in the official gazette in 30/11/1994 with the decision of the Council of Ministers due to the rise in the personal and collective refugee cases and known as 1994 legislation as well, is made to fulfill the space in the legislation and to create administrative and legal solutions. The legislation which was made law in 1994 arranges what to do in times of personal refuge and commonly encountered collective refuge. The 1994 legislation has a feature to be the first (and the only up to now) general arranging document on condition of refuge.

The most important international document on taking refuge is the Agreement on Refugees Legal Condition, which is signed in Geneva on 28.07.1951 and accepted by the United Nations, though signed by Turkey immediately, it took a long time to be approved and it came into force in 1961. In the beginning of the agreement, it is defined that the agreements providing the protection of the refugees and asylum seekers are supervised by the United Nations Refugees High Commission (UNRHC), and solution of the problem is between the countries and the UNRHC, with an emphasis on the fact that the benefiting of people from the fundamental rights and freedoms along with problems related to the refugees and asylum seekers are real burdens for nations. Time and place limitation in 1967 Protocol and 1951 Agreement are abolished. However, it gave the opportunity to the party countries –like Turkey-, which signed the agreement with geographical limitation, to continue that. As a result of the regulation in the Article No. 90 in the constitution, it will be of vital importance for legal protection to use this in the related cases by the lawyers, and to constitute interpretations in parallelism since there are no obstacles for Turkey to apply the 1951 Agreement as a norm of the domestic law.

ENFORCEMENT OF 1994 REGULATION AND COURT DECISIONS

The main problem in the execution of practices in the context of 1994 Regulation is about the people who, despite having the appropriate “asylum seeker/refugee” characteristics, entered illegally, violated domestic law, and especially didn’t fulfill the provision of applying to authorities within the prescribed time.

The 1994 Regulation, owing to the probability of refugees’ illegal entrance and the illegal residing of those who entered legally, states in its Article 4 that those entered the country legally shall apply within 10 days to local governorate where they residing and those entered illegally shall apply within 10 days to the governorate of the province where they entered the country. This period was 5 days in the original text, but due to the adversities in the execution and criticisms, it has been extended to 10 days in 1999 (Official Gazette, 13.01.1999 – 23582).

Due to the conditions causing refuge, refugees may have entered a country without observing the laws of such country. Above all, claiming that refugees have to know the laws of the country they take refuge has nothing to do with good will and such expectation is against the natural course of life. Thus, Article 31 of 1951 Agreement stipulates that refugees, who have illegally entered or residing in the country shall not be punished.

In two different cases in 1997, a letter was sent to the Ministry of the Interior in order to complete the legal procedures of Iranian asylum seekers, who were accepted as refugees by UNHCR and were about to settle in a third country, the Ministry did not give permission and also took deportation decision in accordance with 1994 Regulation. However, Administrative Courts annulled the deportation proceedings for both cases.

The striking fact in the said decisions is that “refugee” status was granted by UNHCR in both situations. For the decisions relating to the refugees, who are subject to 1951 Agreement but do not have refugee status, ‘stay of execution’ may be granted. (Ankara 9th Administrative Court, 2004/2860 E.)

Also decisions relating to the refugees, who have not obtained refugee status but whose applications for refuge are still under examination, are cancelled by the Administrative Courts. (Ankara 9th Administrative Court, 03.11.1997, E. 1996/1356, K. 1997/1321). In fact, the common feature of all these decisions is the enforcement of non-refoulement principle, one of the basic principles of asylum law.

According to the State Council’s decision (no. 1998/1481 e.



2000/131 k.) of 20.01.2000, Administrative Court's decision, which cancels the deportation decision taken due to the plaintiff's failure in application within the period specified in Article 4 of the 1994 Regulation, although s/he is recognized as a refugee by UNHCR Office in Turkey, is ratified – by a majority of votes – considering that the period specified in the Regulation cannot be used for eliminating the rights prescribed by 1951 Agreement and on the basis of appropriate reasons. Similar case-law is ratified - unanimously – through the case-law of the State Council (No. 1999/154 e. 2000/2756 k.) of 25.05.2000.

Upon the said decision and similar decisions as well as ECHR's Jabari/Turkey decision, the persons, who have failed to file an application in Turkey in accordance with the aforementioned rules of procedure specified in the said Regulation but who have been granted protection under 1951 Agreement by UNHCR, are granted facilities and the opportunity of being included in the procedure. Also, the use of application period of 10 days as a "strict time limit", which constitutes an important problem, is gradually ceased in practice.

Jabari / Turkey decision is a pilot decision, which has thrown light on the practice in Turkey on the said matter. Although the right of asylum is not recognized and protected by ECHR and its protocols, the serious protection mechanism it has developed for the article 3 can make the deportation proceedings unenforceable even for the persons whose right of asylum request has been rejected in the country. In Jabari decision, the Court, which has shown the same sensitivity to the decision referred above, has criticized Turkish Administrative Jurisdiction as well as the legislation and enforcement of asylum as to the article 3, and found that the execution is insufficient and articles 3 and 13 of the Agreement are violated. Also the Court has stated that rejection of the application by Police and Administrative Court only for the reason of failure in applying for refuge within the period stipulated, although it is known that refugee status is granted to the applicant by the UNHCR via this decision, is unacceptable and in such context, there is no efficient method of application.

In addition to this case, in Mamatkulov & Abdurrasulovic / Turkey decision mentioned above, ECHR rejected the application made on the basis of the article 3 as the concerned persons could not prove that they experienced torture and ill treatment in Uzbekistan; and the application made on the basis of the article 6 by referring to the aforementioned appraisal relating to the article 3 and by emphasizing that deportation decision does not constitute an accusation in civil rights and obligations as well as criminal law; and decided that the said articles are not violated. However, ECHR considered the return of the applicants to Uzbekistan despite the measure of non-deporta-

tion taken previously as a violation of the article 34 – even though such return is subject to several commitments –. But we must accept that Turkey's continuous follow-up of the applicants through Turkish Embassy in Uzbekistan provided a serious protection for the applicants against torture or ill treatment.

A VERY IMPORTANT MILESTONE IN TURKEY'S ASYLUM LAW ENFORCEMENT: NATIONAL ACTION PLAN ON ASYLUM AND IMMIGRATION

Regarding the 'NATIONAL PROGRAM on *acquis communautaire* published in the Official Gazette no.25178 dd. 24th July 2003 by the Republic of Turkey, Turkey has previously undertaken to enact a special ASYLUM LAW on this matter until 2005 and to specify, at least, matters and regulations to be included in such law.

In 2003 National Program, after repeating that Turkey is a party of 1951 Agreement as well as 1967 Protocol and supported geographical restriction in the Agreement and non-refoulement principle is observed "carefully" for all asylum-seekers regardless of their subjection to the restriction, it is stated "Geographical restriction will be considered thoroughly during negotiations on the said participation and removed without encouraging refugees from east to rush into our country during the participation stage, by taking the realization of required changes in legislation and infrastructure as well as the sensitivity to be shown by EU countries in burden-sharing into consideration".

The national program continued with submission of institutional structuring calendar for providing compliance and enforcement of the legislation and then works to be performed from 2003 until the end of 2005 are specified. These works include improving public awareness, meeting requirements of the staff to be employed and completing their trainings and accordingly, organizing seminars relating to asylum law, creating a specialized institution under the Ministry of the Interior and grant the same the sole authority to decide on this matter, enlarging the operational capacity of this institution, establishing accommodation facilities, refugee hosting centers and asylum-seeker acceptance centers, strengthening country of origin database, improving social services (education, health, work and translation services) for the asylum-seekers, and expert personnel for providing psycho-social support.

Then, Turkey began to enforce Asylum-Immigration Twinning Project on 8th March 2004 in cooperation with Denmark and England Consortium in order to conduct studies on providing compliance of asylum and immigration procedures with the *acquis communautaire*.



In order to convert the recommendations obtained as a result of the studies under this project into an action plan, an "Task Force for the Action Plan on Asylum-Immigration" formed by the officers of relating Institutions and Bodies under the Ministry and this structure completed its studies at the end of December 2004 and prepared "National Action Plan on Asylum and Immigration".

Although provisions of cooperation with national and international agencies as well as NGOs during the preparation of relating legislation (4.5) may be found favorable, it is not sufficient in our opinion. Therefore, we find it essential that the action plan covering the next 7 years should be negotiated by civil society from now on for a healthy process. A brief evaluation of the matters handled in the national action plan may be useful.

According to this plan;

- Notice of the Ministry of the Interior (3.1.6.2), which we have seen for the first time in the National Action Plan and which is planned to take effect after the amendments to 1994 Regulation, will act as intermediary between the current regulation and Asylum Law to be enacted, and then the problems and findings will be taken into consideration when enacting the new law. 1994 Regulation mentions about the amendment to be made in the near future and the notice and "accelerated procedure", which is offered for inclusion in the law and which has not defined in our laws yet but applied in European countries. However, the problems relating to scope and execution have already begun to disturb human rights protectors like us.
- The plan relating to Asylum Law, which is planned to be enacted in 2012, and establishing and improving the specialized unit, which is planned to work as the competent authority on this matter, and beginning to employ and train the personnel in 2005, should have certainly take effect for a long time before. Accordingly, the plans relating to establishment of country of origin and asylum databases is a confession of Turkey's lack of an infrastructure sufficient for such matters. This vital insufficiency is planned to be eliminated in 2006 – 2008 through Twinning Project.
- Asylum-seekers Acceptance Centers, Refugee Hosting Centers and Accommodation Facilities, which are planned to be established between 2006 and 2010 in 7 different provinces in Turkey beginning from the eastern regions and to have a capacity of 750 people for each (these numbers show that Turkey prescribes a population of approximately 5.250 people), will disturb the human rights organizations protecting refugee rights since they may be used as internment centers due to their scope and problems in execution. Asylum Unit building, which is planned to be constructed within the same years, will be definitely necessary in order to gather the organization under the same roof.
- In order to provide continuous trainings with the personnel currently employed or to be employed in the asylum and immigration area, Training Academy (institute) to be opened in accordance with the medium-term EU Twinning Project is definitely a very useful plan.
- Although the operating methods of "Returning Centers", which will be used for accommodation until the transactions of the people to be returned are concluded and established within the medium period, are not determined yet, the problems relating to their scope and execution that may arise will disturb human rights organizations.
- Regarding reaching the asylum procedure, the reference to "reasonable" period rather than a certain period and the provision of access to the procedure for the people without ID are appropriate regulations.
- Although many detailed and concrete criteria have already been prescribed for translators, the execution bears the vital importance in this matter. Translators should be competent in a language as well as its various dialects and should not be a national of the relating country due to the independency and neutrality principles.
- Providing information about applying to Administrative Jurisdiction against negative decisions and the new roles of administrative boards to consist of judges, who are planned to work on such matters and who have completed their education on this matter requiring specialization, will definitely be of a vital importance as its mechanism will be subject to judicial review. As this matter requires a serious specialization, establishing courts specialized on this matter will be essential.
- Although it is stated that "the sensitivity shown for the execution of non-refoulement principle "will become spread", we have not seen any sign of sensitivity in the execution of this principle until now. This principle, which is also an important provision of international traditional law, has become a norm of domestic law and the practices of a country on this matter reflect the sensitivity of the country in the protection of refugee rights.
- The concepts of "residence permits based on secondary protection, tolerated foreigners and humanitarian considerations", which are not defined in our laws and seen in this action plan for the first time despite having a wide field of application in European countries and which are planned to put into force in medium terms, will definitely start a new era as to the Turkish asylum law and enforcement of such law. Human rights organizations hope such concepts are put into practice without their scope too narrow and enforced according to their purposes.
- Again in medium terms; the provisions about integration, educational programs and health problems of refugees as well as access to public relief, working rights and social and cultural rights are definitely hopeful. All these rights must be executed in accordance with 1951 Agreement. Furthermore, the aim of providing public awareness about refugee rights through the support of non-governmental organizations is another striking fact. However, the practice is expected not to be limited to the NGOs, which are considered as examples.
- Although the idea of providing the people subject to refugee status or secondary protection with "free residence" opportunity through an amendment to the 1994 Regulation in 2006 in order to integrate such people into Turkish society seems paradoxical to us, we are of the opinion that this plan certainly deserves support.
- Regarding burden-sharing; sharing refugees, asylum-seekers, foreigners



under temporary protection and foreigners with completely illegal status with EU countries as well as the economical burdens are prescribed. Not only European Commission but also international financing sources such as UNHCR and IOM have been taken into consideration for burden-sharing, and creating an independent budget within the budget of the Ministry of the Interior has been planned.

Due to the reasons such as its economy trying to leave the crisis period behind and recover, millions of unemployed citizens, a serious population that can hardly find a minimum-waged job, major part of employers working without social securities, Turkey may seem to be right to be anxious about the crowd, which may rush into the country through the removal of geographical restriction. However, when this problem is considered only from the point of economical indicators, the perspective of human rights and the facts that fundamental right of a human is tried to be protected and this person is escaping from a cruelty that includes a vital risk are lost. Of course, this matter brings a serious economic burden and not only EU countries but also all countries in the world are responsible for "burden-sharing" of protecting refugees. As in all similar countries, Turkey's borders or neighbors, which are seriously in violation of human rights, does not require Turkey to endure such violations entirely on its own. However, it must be remembered that economical reasons or potential disagreements and problems in burden-sharing cannot be considered as a negative reason for the access of people to refugee procedures.

Turkey should eliminate geographical restriction after receiving guarantees on "burden-sharing" from EU and, if necessary, from UN countries. As a matter of fact, Johannes van der Klaauw, UNHCR representative in Brussels, stated that Turkey, which is the only country maintaining geographical restriction among the member countries by not granting refugee right to the people out of Europe, should immediately fulfill its responsibilities and said "In event that Turkey makes necessary amendments to its laws, some of the asylum-seekers applied for refugee status can be sent to some European Countries". Klaauw emphasized that some precautions that may prevent overburden of Ankara government can be taken in this way.

REMOVING GEOGRAPHICAL RESTRICTION

The amendments to asylum law should not be considered only for Turkey's compliance with *Acquis Communautaire*, but a humanitarian point of view based on protecting the rights of asylum-seekers and in accordance with the historical mission of the country should be also taken into account for such amendment. Accordingly, discussions on the evaluations relat-

ing to "geographical restriction" will continue. Undoubtedly, the results of the attitude towards this matter will concern a huge population.

Among the requests pursuant to EU legislation, removal of this restriction is clearly requested from Turkey. However, Turkey's response in its national program "Geographical restriction will be...removed without encouraging refugees from east to rush into our country during the participation stage, by taking... the sensitivity to be shown by EU countries in sharing the burdens into consideration" is vague and also intended to protect the interests and security concerns.

The emphasis in the response in the National Program and the most importantly, emphasis in the "National Action Plan on Asylum and Immigration", which took effect on 25.03.2005, is evaluation of the matter in close relation with EU membership negotiations. Evidently, Turkey does not want to remove this restriction – due to causes fair for it – unless definite EU membership is granted. Upon obtaining definite EU membership, Turkey will remove this restriction providing that "burden-sharing" arises as a result of *Acquis Communautaire*, in other words, the economical burdens and population of refugees are distributed among EU countries, and that EU countries show sensitivity as well as "commitments" in the burden-sharing.

In connection with foregoing facts, a research on determining the possible burden for Turkey, which may arise from the enforcement of *Acquis Communautaire* and removal of geographical restriction at the end of the national plan, and a "task force" among Turkish and EU officials in order to conduct studies on burden-sharing have been requested. Then, it is clear that "After the projects and conditions are completed, a proposal for removing the geographical restriction shall be submitted to GNAT possibly after 2012 in parallel with completion of negotiations for membership of Turkey in European Union" has been prescribed and now there is a legal and political process of at least seven years.

It is a clear fact that existing Turkish asylum laws and protection are insufficient in comparison with EU countries. It is another fact that the scope of refugee protection in EU countries is tried to be restricted gradually in recent years. Regarding the criteria and practices of universal human rights, Turkey's developments and improvements as to right to life, torture, fair judgment, freedoms of speech and organization realized during EU membership process bear a potential to show a jump in refugee rights in the short run. However, reaching the refugee rights in Turkey, which will determine the outer borderline of EU, tend to get difficult in medium and long terms (as in EU countries) and this has already caused anxiety among the protectors of human rights like us.



Anne de LOISY

Researcher / Writer

Anne de Loisy has worked for 10 years as a freelance journalist in France and abroad. She has spent six months as an undercover journalist in the holding centre of the Roissy Charles-de-Gaulle airport in Paris and exposed her experience in a book entitled « Bienvenue en France !, six mois d'enquête clandestine dans la zone d'attente de Roissy (Welcome to France ! Six months undercover at the Roissy holding centre) » that was released in France on January 2005.

Expectations on the Road to Europe and Migrations

Immigration is one of the French government priorities. "The national target is to rapidly double the number of people escorted back to the border" stated Nicolas Sarkozy, the French Minister of the Interior in September 2003. In 2005, the Minister of the Interior declared that the number of persons deported should reach 23,000.

In 2002 and 2003, two detainees died during deportation, an Argentinean and an Ethiopian, and in 2005 a Turkish died at the hospital in Paris after having being beaten by policemen during deportation attempt. To describe the situation of foreigners maintained at the border, I spent six months undercover at ZAPI 3, the holding centre of Roissy-Charles-de-Gaulle airport in Paris. It was the only solution for me to be able to report, because as a journalist, it is quasi impossible to be authorised to work inside the holding centre and if by any chance you manage to get an authorisation, you are constantly escorted by two policemen and it is totally forbidden to talk to foreigners.

Three categories of person are held in holding centres: asylum seekers, persons without visa or passport and persons who don't have the transit visa needed to travel via a French airport (VTA).

There are 122 holding centres in France, but ZAPI 3 is where 98 percent of asylum claims are made on the French border and from where many rejected asylum seekers are deported. The situation for asylum seekers is getting tougher. In 2004, 2548 persons have asked asylum at the border, but only 7,4% of them have been allowed to enter France to pursue their demand. Whereas in 1995, 60% of the people asking asylum, were authorised to enter France.

The ANAFE, an association who assist foreigners at the border pointed out that "negative notifications for asylum seekers are mainly, either absurd or as accurate as the Russian roulette". According to agents of the OFPRA, the French office for the protection of refugees and stateless persons, who are in charge of interviewing asylum seekers, they are under lots of pressure from their hierarchy. "If I give a negative notification, I know it is going to be respected. But, if I give a positive notification, I know it is going to be difficult if I already gave a positive one during the week. A positive notification per week, it is too much! I am not allowed to give more than one or two positive notifications per month. When I feel that the story of the asylum seeker I interviewed is a difficult case or one out of the ordinary, I know I will have to fight with my hierarchy to give him a positive notification. So, often, an asylum seeker is sacrificed to save another one"



Another agent confirmed the say of the first one. *"We are not really submitted to quotas, but there are some pariah nationalities such as the Chinese, the Pilipino or the Nigerian. It is quasi impossible to give them a positive notification without getting into huge problems with our head-office. Concerning the Pakistani or the Bangladeshi, giving positive notices is getting extremely difficult, because they all have "good stories". In general we accept the Rwandese, because it would be too exaggerated to refuse them. About the Iraqis, their cases are mainly considered as unacceptable, because the situation in Iraq is considered as insecure, so everybody is in danger, so we don't take anybody. There are also persons, who need a VTA, the special transit visa to travel via France, in that case, we don't accept anybody either..."*

It is important to note that since 2003 the OFPRA department came under the authority of the Minister of the Interior. Special transit visa is now needed for nationals from 29 countries, this number increases every year: Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, India, Iraq, Iran, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Nigeria, Pakistan, Congo (RDC), Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sri Lanka, Syria, and Palestinians refugees.

Since the law of the 26 November 2003, rights and protection for asylum seekers have decreased: a translator doesn't have to be physically present any more during the interview, the persons detained in holding centres are not anymore automatically given the 24 hours delay to contact their family, consulate, lawyer or association, they now need to ask for it, of course if they are aware of this specificity. The fine asked to airlines transporting a foreigner without the proper document has increased from 1500_ to 5000_ per person transported. France, as many European countries, has created a network of special officers who are habilitated to work in airport abroad to control a second time the document of passengers after the local control. Agreements have been signed with countries such as China, Algeria or Albania to force countries to readmit passengers whose papers are not in order and who have transited through their countries. The European Commission has planned to release 250 millions euros for technical and financial assistance programs for border controls: training of border policemen, police cooperation, technological and equipment supplies...

The French government has reaffirmed its determination to organise joint charter with England, Spain, Germany, and Italy to deport illegal immigrants.

The European community is also planning to create "immigration counters" in countries bordering the European Union to lock away all together asylum seekers and migrants. This plan who aims to select emigrants according to each European country labour needs, doesn't respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights and the Geneva Convention. Countries where

these refugee camps should be created are Libya, Mauritania, Tunisia, Morocco..., countries which are not especially well known for their respect of these different international conventions and treaties. Most of European associations working with asylum seekers and migrants have loudly rejected this concept of camps outside European borders, and are urging their government to improve access to protection rather than shifting the responsibility for refugee protection on other countries.

To reach the figure of 23,000 deportations fixed by the French government, border policemen are under a lot of pressure. Poorly trained and supervised, some of them are accused of racist insults, beatings up, sexual harassments. The number of detainees (male, female or minor) victims of physical brutality and mental cruelty from the border police is increasing day after day. Cranial traumas, testicles squeezed, strangulation marks... all this violence is attested by medical certificates and witness statements, but the policemen responsible for this violence are rarely sentenced.

Some people are detained even when they have the necessary documents. The reason being that they don't have enough money or that they have too much money to enter France, or that they didn't have pre-booked a hotel room.

After 4 days, they attend court at the nearby town of Bobigny, but because of poor treatment in that centre, they often leave too tired and too hungry to obtain a fair hearing. The judge can choose to liberate them according to the documents presented, but most of the time he allows the border police to keep them in that centre until police officers manage to deport them. The detainees can stay maximum 20 days in these holding centres.

Since the law of the 26 November 2003, court hearings can be held inside ZAPI 3. But for jurists, this delocalisation is inconceivable because it doesn't guarantee independence and impartiality of judges. For them, it is impossible to judge with serenity in a place surrounded by fences and under the control of police. The access of the public to court hearing wouldn't be totally free; which would be contrary to fundamental principle of public nature of debates.

Today, magistrates of Bobigny refuse to judge in the court hall of ZAPI 3, but since June 2005, court hearings are held every day in a retention centre next to Sangatte, nearby the border to England in the North-west of France.

If the detainees refuse many times to be deported, they attend another court where they are normally sentenced to 3 months of prison and 3 years of interdiction to stay on the French territory. When they are released from prison, they are detained in a retention centre where policemen have 32 days to deport them. If they refuse to go, they go back to prison.



Demet GURAL

Foundation of Development of Human Resources

Is an expert on public health and specialized on reproductive health and sexual health. After graduating from the Medical School of the Aegean University, obtained her M.Sc on Public Health from the Boston University in USA. Assumed the presidency and membership of the Executive Committee of the Foundation on the Development of Human Resource (FDHR) between 1998 and 2005. Assumed in February 2005, presidency of Willows Foundation. Currently a member of the Executive Committee of FDHR. Also the founding member of Foundation on the Development of the Cultural Awareness established in 2003.

Victims of Human Trade

Now I am going to tell you are story that is a real-life story, not a fictitious one. Since we are not able to get permission from the original storyteller, I have changed the names, nationalities, dates and places. However, everything in the story is real.

"My name is Svetlana, and I am 22 years old. I came to Turkey 4 months ago with a girlfriend of mine. She had told me the she could find me a job in Istanbul. I know my friend Nina and her family from the town we used to live in. Nina was going to Turkey frequently, but I never knew that she was working as a prostitute.

My parents separated when I was 13. My father is electrician. He supported us after my mother and father separated, but it was not much of a support either. My mother is surgeon. Anyway, she can't find a job for a while due to unemployment in the country. I have also a brother, and he is also a technician.

I have studied law for 4 years, but I quit the school when I married in as I was 19. We married by the way of religious wedding and I am Muslim. My husband had a 4 year old daughter from his first marriage. I had to quit school when I married. I divorced from my husband two years ago. I attended to a computer course after the divorce. During that time, I began to work in supermarkets. I was earning 70-80 dollars a moth and it was tough times. So, when my friend Nina said "We can find a jon in Turkey", I decided to go with her. I bought my passport, visa and plane ticket with my money. When we came to Istanbul, we stayed in a hotel for about two weeks. Then Nina sold me...

One night, we went to a disco. After a couple of house, Nina just disappeared.

I started to worry, and ask the guy we came to the disco together where Nina was. The guy told me that Nina had returned back to the hotel, and he could take to the hotel. We get into car, and he locked the doors and took me to his house. He told me that Nina had sold me to him, and that I would work for him. I refused. He threatened me to kill.

My passport and my stuff were at the hotel. I told him that I wanted them. The guy told me that he wasn't be able to find them. My passport and my stuff were lost.

There are 7 more women at the house we were staying. They were from different countries. They were meeting with the clients in a hotel. I started to go there, but I don't know the name of this hotel, the hotel I had stayed before and the disco. As the names were in Turkish, I can't remember them as I don't know their meanings.

Two months after my arrival, we went to a client in a hotel with a girlfriend of mine. The clients offered to take us to a disco, and made us get in to a car. There was another guy in the car. Those three guys took us to another city. They told that they kidnapped us, and advised us not to panic or try to run. They took us to a house. There were four other women from different countries. The big seller was boyfriend of one of these women. The husband of the woman had sold her to this guy.

20 days after our arrival to this city, we tried to escape with a woman from the house when we went to a client. However, the client of the other woman noticed it, and called our seller. The guy came; he took us back to the house. He stepped on my face, and kicked me. He pulled my hair. That's why my hair



is short now. This guy beat me a lot. He beat me with a bet. He beat me by kicking. I had bruises everywhere. I still have.

We were staying in the house with a security guy. When the seller and the security guy were taking us to the hotel for clients, they were waiting for us. We were always locked in the house. They were staying with us even when we were sleeping.

Three days ago, one the women jumped from the balcony of the second store and went to the police. The police raided the house that evening. They got both the seller and his security, and I got free.

I can't believe what I have gone through. I had very, very horrendous days. Many times, I begged the seller to let me go, although he never cared about it. One day, the security guy told me that this "seller" had killed someone, so I had to be careful.

I don't want my family to know what I have gone through. I don't want to go back, either. I want to forget everything. Anyway, I have very good friends in my country. Maybe someday I will tell them what I have lived through..."

The story of this woman may be more or less severe than any victim of human trafficking, which has impacts on thousands of women. The woman is lucky in way, because she was saved by the police in the fourth month of her grievance, provided with psychological support in a sheltering facility and then she was safely sent back to her country. However, the story of this woman is only one of the thousands of heart shattering stories...

Human trade is most dangerous illegal trade along with the gun and the drug trade, and it victimizes between 600,000 and 800,000 women, men and children in a year. This is another name for the international "slave trade", which victimizes many individuals from various ages and all sexes as in many countries of the world as child workers are forced to work in different industries –mainly in textile–, children and women are forced to be a part of sex trade and housekeepers are forced to work under tough conditions without any insurance (and even their passports are confiscated) although we mostly see women that are forced to work as prostitutes in Turkey, and this trade changes the lives of these people and even cause them to lose their lives in the end.

The broad definition of human trade is an individual's being forced by another individual to work without his or her consent and taking advantage of his or her labor/body. And as you know, there is also human trafficking. Human trafficking is resulted by an individual's intention to migrate to another country illegally and the other individuals that take advantage of this intention. Victims of human trafficking may also become victims of human traders.

However, my speech today is about human trade...

We see that the main reason of human trade throughout the

world is economic; however we consider the people that migrate to other countries in search of somewhere more secure and end up in the hands of human traders as human trade victims. It is also a fact that women are the real victims of this concept. The terms "feminization of poverty" and "feminization of migration" are formed due to these reasons.

Human trade in Turkey has started as women from Soviet Union began to come to Turkey for "bag trade" at first, and then for working in different sectors after Soviet Union has collapsed and economic difficulties became imminent in these countries. After a while, these people became the victims of the human traders. In Turkey, a targeted country, number of the victims of human trade is 265 in 2004. However, we think that this value is lower than the actual number. Although most of the victims in Turkey from Moldova, Ukraine and Russia, there are victims from many countries. For instance, sheltering house of IKGW welcomed victims with nationalities of 14 different countries. Besides, we also know that women of African origin that are victims of human trafficking become the victims of human traders sometimes.

In Turkey, we don't observe this trade as the mafia type in a structured organization. We know that mostly individuals or small gangs sell these women and try to make money from these women in various parts of Turkey. And the price of these sales is mostly around 2000 -2500 dollars. Although this trade was observed mostly in big cities and coastal cities, for the last tow years, human trade cases are spread to almost everywhere, including Inner Anatolia, East and Southeast Anatolia. It somehow illustrates that almost everywhere shows demand.

Turkey has signed all the international agreements on human trade, taken necessary actions within the country and applied many laws, and defined the human trade in the law and taken it into the context of indictable offences.

Human trade encloses many topics like a crime, a period of court decision, the necessity of some international agreements, financial dimension, formulation of work laws, transportation, and etc. However, we should never forget that there is a humane dimension of it, these women are unjustly treated. And there are some women who had big traumas due to what they experienced, being subject to violence, and their consequent off colors. Therefore, the social support programs within the programs of fight against human trade are very significant.

And here are the things done in the non-governmental foot of the problem and struggling program which interest many different sectors:



More than 150 aggrieved have taken a shelter in the first aggrieved house that is run by the Foundation of Development of Human Resources and well supported by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. These women of different nationalities and ages between 16 and 33 were found in the successful operations of the police and gendarmerie departments and brought to the women's shelter. Although the time an aggrieved stays in the house depends on whether she can take a humane visa or not, their stay usually changes between one week and one month. If they do not have return documents, their assurance, buying their tickets, and providing a safe return are all done by IOM. The Foundation, on the other hand, provides any kind of food, accommodation, and clothes as long as they stay in the women's shelter. Along with this, the woman gets into the period of psychological rehabilitation. They start to talk about their problems by the help and support of the psychologist of the Foundation. By the way, good news is that the second women's shelter is opened in Ankara on the 21st of November.

157 Emergency Phone Line having operated by International Organization for Migration (IOM) since May 2005 is of vital importance to find where the aggrieved are. 664 people called between May 23rd and December 6th (for about six months) and 264 of them are about redemption. 271 of these calls are either made by the customer or friends, and 93 have been made by the aggrieved herself. 54 aggrieved have been rescued as a result of these phone calls.

The education of law-enforcement officers and law officers

constitutes a part of the plan of Non-governmental organizations struggle with human trade. In the educations which have been going on for three years, HRDF has given seminars to 151 police officers and 63 judges and attorney generals on international agreements, new legislations, and applications of struggle against the human trade in other countries. These educations are run by the collaboration of HRDF, UNHCR and IOM.

Along with these, while close collaboration studies are going on under the leadership of Ministry of Foreign Relations, Internal Affairs, and Justice, the work on a good communication web between the NGOs in our country and in these other countries.

It is beneficial that these studies are going on with an increase in Turkey and more NGOs take more part in the field of social support. It is very significant to prepare common programs just like the program protocol on the struggle against human trade between the public and state and among the NGOs. Moreover, some activities to help people understand the human trade and the struggle for it better. It is of vital importance that the phone line 157 must be known commonly, and anyone who realizes an aggrieved to call the line and denounce it and the most important of all is to know that these women are far more than a single word as "Natasha" and they are more like slaves.

I believe that we will be much more successful in the fight against the human trade by the help of people who are indisposed of this situation and sensitive.

Thank you all for listening to me.



Veysi BULUT

President of Beseri Yezidis Association

He was born in Batman on January 1, 1953. Bulut graduated from METU (Middle East Technical University) in Ankara and Darmstad Technical University in Germany. He speaks German.

To be a Minority or Native in Turkey: Example of Yezidis

We established "Yezidis Social Solidarity and Culture Association" as members of "Yezidi" belief group in Batman city. Changes in Associations law enabled us this facility. Yezidis mainly live in Şanlıurfa's 20-25, Mardin's 15-16, Batman's 17-18, Diyarbakır's 1 and Şırnak's 3-4 village in Turkey. In these villages, where Yezidi community holds almost whole ownership, live population of 2-3 thousand people. 20-30 times larger populations migrated to Western Europe. Today, there's no Yezidi family resides in major cities in Turkey.

Who are Yezidis? What is Yezidism? To be short and to the point, Yezidis believe in one God. His name, in today's Yezidi is HUDA, in old language EZDA or YEZDAN. In time Ottoman and Arabic influences affected EZDA and YEZDAN and formed the word YEZDI. Yezidis have no association with Yezid bin Muaviye in genetic or religious grounds, who conflicted with Hz. Hüseyin in Kerbela. In actual fact, every Yezidi describe himself as EZDI or EZDAI.

In Yezidi belief system, the communication between God and human is performed by Angels. The most important angel is Melek-i TAVUS. Melek-i TAVUS intervenes everything in life

and universe in the name of Almighty HUDA-YEZDAN with his order assent and informs human of his orders and verses. In Islam, Christianity and Judaism, which are called Sacred Religions, this is prophets' liability, and this is the main difference of Yezidism, a Middle-East Religion, with these religions. Yezidis glorify the ANGEL concept as verse bearer and religious guide. Although Judaism, Christianity and Islam consider a human as a religious guide.

Yezidism consider itself as old as human creation. Paramount Angel and spiritual guide Melek-i TAVUS is depicted as a Simurg Bird in Iranian Mythology, drawn as a vulture in the temple of Çatalhöyük, one of the oldest archaic cities in Turkey, in a cave near river Zapsuyu of Northern Iraq it's drawn as a TOY bird and in Yezidi mythology it is portrayed as a peacock. Winged Bird Shamanism turns into winged half God human figures in Sumerian, Acadian and other Mesopotamian cultures in the phase of history. In Hanok, one of Jews' sacred books, watchers are described as Angels whose wings touch the sky with gleaming faces. Israeli culture internalized this Angel Shamanism during their three hundred years exile in Persian and Med land and took it to Palestine.



Consequently, according to Yezidis, their own faith system and old mythological symbol Angel cult is taken the shape of a mythological bird who guide the humanity in the oldest civilizations in countries such as Mesopotamia, Anatolian, Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Iran and Azerbaijan. Archeological excavations have been supporting this argument.

As heirs of this Angel cult which has its origin in the Neolithic age, Yezidis faced countless waves of migration. First of them was the end of the ice age 10,000 years ago the as known as Noah's flood. Even this culture's main domicile was lower slopes of Zargos Mountain and Van Lake's contour, you can find its traces in Kapadokya's underground cities and chimney rocks.

Today's 1-2 millions of Yezidis descended from Noah, who survived from the flood with his ark. Yezidis see themselves as the first tribe, which knew and worship the God in the first instance. The one who taught God to worship and taught the human race its religion and became its guide-teacher-master in life was The Peacock Angel. These disciplines of Yezidis pass on from generation to generation via poems, chants and verses. The angel decided that the inscription, the book could be destroyed, changed, manipulated and transmitted divine and secular disciplines to Yezidis through KAWL.

In today's world Yezidis live in scattered manner in Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Iran, Khorasan and Turkmenistan and in Georgia, Armenia, Karabagh, Ukraine and in consequence of the economical and forced conditions that formed in the last 30-40 years they also migrated to Germany and other Western European countries.

YEZIDISM, as a religious sect, has been able to survive and to preserve its' value system for

tens of thousands of years in the East, in Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Persia and the Caucasus

However, in Europe, during the past 20-30 years, the Sect members have been subjected to assimilation and the Sect itself has suffered setbacks (erosion). About 80.000 Yezidis who had migrated (to Europe) from Turkey faced formidable family

related, cultural and psychological problems. Although regarded as a great sin, suicide cases are widespread among Yezidis living in Europe and dead bodies are brought home to villages for burial.

European capitalist system which is based on encouraging consumption for maximizing profits has caused big social, cultural and psychological shocks and traumas among the humble Yezidi individuals and family bonds and community bonds among Yezidis, with firm historical and religious foundations have broken-down.

Yezidi individuals, whose moral and religious values were cleft asunder and whose rich humanitarian and philosophical heritage were disintegrating, experienced severe depressions and many young Yezidis, misinterpreting the notion of freedom, turned to life-styles that are totally alien to Yezidi traditions and culture. This resulted in marriages and living-together arrangements not sanctioned by Yezidi culture.

Republic of Turkey and western European countries have a humanitarian obligation and historical/cultural duty to help preserve this very old culture which is facing extinction.

Yezidis have a proverb: *Every plant grows from its roots*. Protection and preservation of religious, cultural and moral values of Yezidis who have been uprooted from their traditional home-lands is also required by International human rights convention, European convention on human rights, national constitutions and European Union constitution. This symposium calls on European countries to fulfill their obligations.

We have founded this Yezidi Association for saving and preserving our culture with deep roots in history. The problems we face are both formidable and diverse.

On behalf of the Association, the very first in this country and using this symposium to voice our concerns to the public, I extend my respects and gratitude to the Mayor of Zeytinburnu, Mr. Murat Aydın and his colleagues who have given us this historical meeting opportunity.



Prof. Dr. Mehmet AYDIN

State Minister

Born in 1943 in Osman/Gülüş. After graduating from the Faculty of Theology of Ankara University, obtained his Doctoral Degree on the Branch of Philosophy from the Faculty of Literature of the Edinburgh University, Scotland. Speaks English, French and Arabic. Having served as the Lecturer and Dean of the Faculty of Theology of Dokuz Eylül University, Aydın is currently the Minister of State in the Cabinet.

Globalism - Our Neighbours and Migrations

Respectful chairman of the session, Mayor, participants...

I salute you all with respect.

Mister Chairman, I am not going to make a proper presentation. As we have already concluded our session, it can't be proper for me to use enough time to make a presentation.

I thank our mayor. I listened to four of our dear friends just this morning. The things that were told are enough to see how important the subject is for all of us and humanity.

The event we call as migration, the humanistic subject as ancient as the history, includes thousands of sad stories and dramatic happenings and thousands of success stories. In a way, I have been working on this matter from its beginning; however, officially it has been three years. I am not sure where talking about immigrants within Turkey leads us to as after a while, immigrant groups start to become not the immigrants anymore. Their roots go so much deeper; I don't hear much people in Turkey saying that they are immigrants. If you ask too much, maybe couple of times, they say they are from

some place based on three or four generations past. However, this also demonstrates Turkey has very successful historical background in relation with this subject of migration.

Today, it is not easy to talk about an integration issue arising from immigrant origins that cause a real problem. For instance, today, Istanbul is a big immigrant city to a certain extent. But if you ask me the problem, maybe we should think of considering the subject of migration related to Anatolia and of a different nature, rather than the problems of the immigrant population from the various places of Balkans, Caucasus, Middle East and North Africa. In fact, it is not a problem of integration. It is a problem of unemployment, poverty, homelessness. It includes many social problems within itself. It is not a problem of, for example a Muslim or Turkish group living in any country, or for example, any population living in a European country.

Therefore, if everybody in Istanbul had a good job and a beautiful wife, there wouldn't have been a problem of integration. He is going to marry, have children, and send his children to



school... So, this is not a problem of integration. We have to consider this in a different way. But will we face integration problem? If we don't be careful; yes, we will. If we don't be careful, it reflects to lifestyles and it may become a problem that causes many grievances.

What I am officially interested is our fellow people living abroad as I am responsible for populations that are relatives. Those relative populations have extensions here. Caucasus and Balkans become parts of the matter in this fashion. If we think about Ahiska Turks, they continue to migrate. If we think of these types of migration and settlements, main masses are abroad in more than one countries. We have populations that exist in seven, eight or ten countries, and a big number of them live in Turkey. In this context, this is where I become engaged. All of these people have problems of their own. Just as we sat down, representative of Ahiska Turks came and told me that the documents of their friends are stamped stating they can't work. Just as you sit, you feel that you are facing a problem. I said that I was going to deal with that problem as soon as I arrived back in Ankara. Because, I knew that problem.

It is not easy to define how the migration problem will be in the future. Because, globalization mixes everything, but sometimes it mixes bad. In a way, with globalization, you spread some specialties of your country to the world. In fact, globalization is a group of processes, in which goods, capital, money and effort is properly distributed without boundaries as our guest in France told us.

It is very interesting that people, the source of effort and power, are not just mechanism that works with body and expertise, but also have culture, values and civilization. They travel with these. They settle in anywhere with these. In general, nobody rejects this sentence. However, there is an invisible side of this. At the same time, those people become detached from that rich environment of culture. For a while, they can't find the chance to share these values in society. Then, some beliefs and cases that can't feed from that vast source of civilization emerge. You become globalized very well, but sometime you become globalized by forcing the bonds of civilization and culture.

Sometime some religious beliefs emerge that when a set of religious beliefs move away feeding from a resource of civilization may become independent from the culture as it can't find its feeding source. It can't root in the culture that lives in, it can't be fed from the mainstream culture and it causes a severe problem. It causes to situation with new beliefs and situations that can't be fed from the mainstream culture sources in not

just one country, but in fifty or hundred countries. This becomes a situation that bothers all countries globally, and of course, it must be that way. These types of problems are not the problems of just one country, but the problems of humanity. Of course, the countries that are the address of this situation have more responsibilities regarding this problem.

So, there are many serious works being carried out by different organizations in different regions. We have listened to some of them here. Of course some of them hurt us, but these are the facts of life. The important thing is, being in the course that leads to the settlement of the problem. Hence, O would like to say that I am very content thanks to hear positive remarks on Turkey made this morning.

My dear brother Mr. Veysi (Veysi BULUT, President of Besiri Yezidis Association) mentioned the historical facts. It is needed to learn from the historical facts, however don't worry about those kinds of religious doctrines. In fact, they are strange exceptions of history. It is a fact that people have suffered. We have to take the necessary lesson from this. Actually, the matter you have told me is a situation Ottoman vision would have cursed. Because after the conquest of Istanbul; there is a long section in the first chapter of the book called Jews of Islam by Bernard LEWIS, it is a sultan's firman, which Muslim and Christian people living in Balkans today refer to sometimes. They say just the opposite of what you have said. It is also just the opposite what you have experienced. I am not going to discuss the verity of the things you have told. Unfortunately, there are numerous mistreatments like this. However, that firman states that the lives, beliefs and honor of these people should be protected not just by the state, but all Muslim individuals, and it also states that this is not just a political task, it is also moral and social task.

I know that caution should be taken when talking about the huge victories as well. The problem is that. First, nobody should make them a part of daily politics neither in Turkey nor in the world. But aren't they the part of daily politics? Unfortunately, yes, and in a great amount. For example, I am not going to talk about just Turkey, there isn't an immigrant population in Turkey as in Europe. All of them have migrated to Turkey and settled here as groups with their roots. Second or third generations of people in Istanbul, who have migrated from Balkans don't say that they are immigrants. And you don't ask that either. You need to ask the question four or five times, and it's just from sheer curiosity and it is just an historical fact. It doesn't have a sociological or political aspect. Hence, there has been integration and it is completed. Apparently, it is a huge success of the people of this geography.



When I went to a conference in a Far East country, I have someone from those countries with me. He told me about the village he came from. He told about the history of at least two hundred years. Then, we were together with a professor from that country. He said that they had no roots in the geography. I wondered why and asked. He answered that they had been there for just two hundred years. I came to this conclusion. If humans can't root in two hundred years, will it take two thousand years or two million years? Of course, this is wrong. This are not the kinds of thing we can talk about in a rapidly changing times we have settled or migrated very fast.

So, what is needed to be done? As I have just told, it shouldn't be a part of internal politic affairs. Because of my official duties, unfortunately, I have been observing this in western countries very closely for two years. And I have requested many time they shouldn't act in this fashion. For instance, I remember the elections of European Parliament. On the eve of those elections, I have visited almost all EU countries as a part of my task. I have observed in great grief that the immigrant populations have been used for internal politic affairs. These are not just the slogans on the walls. I can't forget what I saw in a capital city. "Are Turks in European Union? They can only pass by treading on my corpse". A sentence with that meaning. It was saying "body" instead of corpse, but the meaning is the same.

Now, something is also very interesting. There were two members of the parliament that were going to be in the same round table meeting with me. They applied for candidate, and they requested me to be with them. Just before two hours to the meeting, they called our embassy there, and said that they weren't be able to participate, stating that their party ask them to question what they can do if it were going to be broadcast in the evening news on television. So, they didn't want to have dinner with us. So I said that if they were going to be elected, we could have dinner before the next elections after a term had passed. But not that time.

The reason why I tell you this is: You ask why you do this in this way when you face it. On the one hand, you talk of integration. Not assimilation, but integration, you say. What is integration? It is to exist with our own cultural identity, which is not stable. Their answer is "Come on, don't take it that serious. These things are said before elections." Should these things be told before elections? We, as the politicians, should question this. You and your friends may know that this is done for the election and to get votes. But what are you going to do with the other people? They believe at least some of the things you say. Will you be able to change this later? After you have

been elected, will you be able to say that "What we told about the Muslim emigrants was just told at that time to win the election"? Or are we in a position to say that "They were not so convincing things"?

A very serious humane state lies beneath it. We should not overlook it. This should not be done in any country for these often leave marks. They leave mark on the people. Some time later, on the streets you start to see the effects of it, which is perceived in this way, so called cultural conflict, civilization conflict, which are the hypothesis I oppose - I do not believe in their being theories.

To be frank, the whole matter of winning an election is not worth of playing both ends against the middle, it should not be. I believe, even winning the election in complete is not worth of preparing a platform to produce troubles, tensions, conflicts whose effects will be able to continue for decades. The process called integration should start to be dealt with at this point.

There are approximately four or four and a half million of Turks in the west. It is also said that the number is five million. Why do not we know the number? Because some of them are the citizens of the countries they live in, they have become citizens, they dropped their citizenship; some countries accept dual citizenship. So, they have become the citizen of that country, but have not informed us. Thus, it is not possible to determine the exact number of the population. But we are aware of a large quantity, around that number. If you multiply it by a few times, you will find the large Muslim population in Europe today. If you add it an important quantity, there is a very important population of Muslims from Australia to Canada. And this Muslim population is in a position that it is one of our most important issues when looked from a global view.

I do not use the word "problem" on purpose. Where does its importance come from? Because, it is necessary to see this as a laboratory. If we can not be successful in integration in this area, we can not be in a position to talk of cultural compromise, intercultural dialogue and alliance. One of the most important issues for us is what are we going to do with the majority existing in Europe, not as Muslim population, there is a great non-Muslim population as well. What are we going to do with the multiplicity? It is of utmost importance. It is clear that there is a majority, which is very meaningful. Maybe for the first time in the history of Europe, the state of facing a majority at this size and largeness exists. Why? Because they are different in terms of culture and belief and as these differences have deepness in terms of history and society, they have become very cultured for the first time. To be honest, positive way has been



taken during the last few years. Unfortunately, a great part of them they have faced a serious problem during the last three four years.

People have to take measures for their security. Survival is the first and the base of other things. If life does not exist, there is no point in democracy, culture or civilization. Life comes first before anything else. Human has to take all the measures to secure life. But one should act wisely about it. If a country has forced all the doors to take democratic actions or a country has chosen the easy way. If it starts to take the actions to be taken with democracy in spite of democracy, actually democracy itself is fragile. It is sensitive governance. If this fragility goes down to the tissues, very serious troubles may occur. Thus, Europe should have the right to take action in spite of democracy without exhausting democratic walk.

I say "in spite of democracy". All the democratic ways are exhausted; let's think of other actions then. But what if we choose the easy way and harm the right of learning one's native tongue, what if we make harm on learning and teaching the languages. Of course, every Turk should speak the language of the country they live in; this is a rule. Our children should learn German, French. Yet, this should not be at the expense of forgetting their tongues. As forgetting the tongue will result in serious identity problems, we should think whether this will be beneficial in the new field in which it is desired to join or not.

As the government, we have got off with a four-step integration plan. We are trying to do this with each governor of the country. I will say just these and end my words. One of them is about the motto "everything starts with the human". Everything, in peace as well, starts in our souls, heads and hearts. So do the emotions of leaving or hating, etc. that is why, if there is not peace in ourselves, we can give nothing to world with peace speeches. That peace should be achieved in ourselves at first. Integration, harmony and integration are necessary. As a creature, we should be joined with ourselves. We can call it self-integration, if you like. It can not be accepted that one who is disputed with himself can give peace to others. How will we do this? We will do this by collecting all of our opportunities, by going to collaboration among countries, by education. We will do it with our course books, stories and museums. Today, in most of the places of the world, museums are used to awake hate about countries and cultures. If you like, I may give you the addresses of the war museums, so that you can go and see. See the children that are invited to the war museums. This is just in the middle of Europe. In a capital city.

Go, see with your own eyes and live what the primary school children are told. We can not talk of peace if we go on like that. We can not leave peace as our heritage to our children.

Turks have migrated in time. Numerous people have migrated to any part of the world. Now, it can't be a bigger failure than trying to build the new circumstances upon these happenings. Therefore, our education, school books, informative movies and documentaries are very important. We have to convey good feelings and thought in minds.

Second. Let's consider the Turks. The Turks in Germany, the Turks in Belgium. At first, we have to ensure the integration within ourselves. We have serious mistakes regarding this matter. We made our people different from each other by almost organizing them as half-independent groups. I am not blaming anybody, or making a confession, but most probably, a population that failed to integrate within itself can't become integrated in the neighboring populations.

In this context, at first, the populations should integrate within themselves by respecting the differences. We call it second phase integration. For this matter, our members of educators and scientist have a big mission. Also, politicians have a big mission. One of the reasons behind the segregation in Turkish groups living abroad is the policies practiced in Turkey. We have already segregated these people numerous times due to various reasons. It should be stopped. Of course, they shall have their eyes on Turkey. This place is their homeland as well. However, they should have keep their both eyes on the country they live in. They should be interested in the problems of that country. Future of that country should be their destiny, so they can find their destination.

Today, there is a problem that can't be denied. We all know what is written about the Muslim population. Therefore, integration within the people from the same source civilization should be considered. I mean, a Moroccan and a Turk are neighbors. NGO's shall work for building a common world. Official authorities of that country shall help these efforts locally and nationally.

We have come to a point where we can't delay this matter.

Recently, a Turk living in one of the European countries have said something interesting. It is broadcast in one of our television network. He said "I never felt the need to say that I was Muslim, and I am not much religious, either. However, for a couple of months, I was saying that I was Muslim when it was asked as I knew that they would ask me the same question again. It was never enough for them when I said I was Turk.



'You are Turk, but what is your religion?'" Somehow, there is an emerging new understanding that all Muslims are a large population. After all, aren't you all Muslims? Maybe the next sentence will be a negative one. However, this understating is being formed in minds. So, we have to convey positive things into this process.

The point where they would say "Yes, they are all Muslims, but they all believe in democratic values, are ready to integration and they are all honest, industrious, honored, and equal citizens working for a better future" should be reached. If you say "that group is there, Surinamese are there, Turks is here", it means there are already a number of problems. They have to discuss things with them officially and make decisions, as there are various organized groups, but they can't make decisions. And everyone voices different opinions. We strive for an order of integration. How many different immigrant populations in which country? In order to work out an immigration plan and project, those immigrant groups shall work together with the country they maintain their bonds with for good of both that country and the country they have been living in.

Of course, this doesn't mean the expansion of the ghetto, but just the opposite, integrating the immigrant-based population with the main population. If it can be done successfully, the integration with the larger population shall be much easier, because there shouldn't be different voices from everyone. Do the children need to be attend the kindergarten, are there reasons for their failure in school, are there unequal opportunities when they applied for a university, do they experience abuses or mistreatments in the professional world after graduation? They can be solved by a mechanism based on representation. Civil social organization is not just that. By taking an active role in politics, these problems shall be solved easier as they can be addressed. In that time, what will happen? There shall be no reason for this big population, who has differences within themselves, but also having the same opinion in basic matters, in Germany to integrate with the German population. As a result, this integration shall provide the main integration in the whole Europe.

It is not possible to reach to this goal immediately. The important thing is stating an ideal model. Vision, and the vision to reach that vision are the most important things. We can't escape due to its difficulty. We have to start with hope that it shall be successful. And there is nor reason that should lead to failure.

Within this frame, we consider the EU experience of Turkey as globally meaningful, because Turkey is a source of various cul-

tures and civilizations, even though we are not aware of a part of its historical experience and geography. Today in Turkey, an understandable language is spoken, and it can be understood in the east, west, north and south of Turkey. It is important for us to enrich this language. It is important that west should help us, and we should help them.

People integrate with each other by preserving their cultural identities by existing, not vanishing from the history. This must be so. Multi-culturalism is not dead and it shouldn't be dead. And humanity shouldn't quit multi-culturalist policies as it wouldn't help any country.

There are lots of works to be done. However, in my opinion, both our starting point and the scope of our action are definite. There are my last sentences. Both democracy and European Union is defined by the values in the end of the day. What is stated in the EU Condtitution? France said "no", another country said "yes" to it, but it is another subject. It says that the Union is founded upon; respect for human dignity, justice, democracy, equitability, transparency, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. This text is written in the Constitution. We should insist that the justice is acknowledgeable principle no matter whether some should interpret justice by their culture or not, take it metaphysically or not, or add religious remarks or not.

If don't have enough information, we discuss man and woman equality. This discussion should be history. You can't ask whether we should equal or not. They must be equal. If not, this is a state being prehistorical we should get rid of.

So, is that all complete if we come to an agreement on these basic values? No, it isn't. We have various differences remaining. What are we going to do with those differences? We can allocate them in two different gropus. First. We have hundreds of cultural assets that don't conflict with these values. These are our richness. They will be there, they will be known, they will be developed. However, there are cases such as murders bades on village rituals, and we can't talk about human rights and justice for this matter. Hence, they should be changed by the ways of democracy and democratic education. Under any circumstances, any ritual or traditional concepts and behaviors that are undermining and incompatible with human rights and values, which the humanity has been sharing should be changed by the way of education. Laws should be clear on this subject. Not only clear, but also rigid...

If we set out within a frame like this, I strongly believe that the integration problem will be resolved successfully in several



INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SYMPOSIUM

ways. I am in good heart. If only we define our mission and vision. What kind of Europe do we want? What kind of a Turkish-European relation are we looking for? What kind of Turkey-Islamic world are we looking for and expecting? This is the vision. And the questions of how and with whom we will meet this vision are very important.

I want to say one more thing about the alliance among the civilizations. We held a profound widely participated meeting in Istanbul about the Project which has just started of which i am a co-chairman as a representative of Turkey. It was actually the reason why i was here. European laboratory is somewhere where we can reach at ease. We all know how the democracy regime in Europe despite the things we sometimes hear about

the democracy and human rights in Europe. The place where the civilizations should ally, the way that they look for new ways and find them is, for me the west, the Europe. If we can take the necessary steps to be successful there, I believe that we will have better days with a global expanding, and it does not mean that we will disregard the rest of the world. Why do people migrate? Not only for nourishing their children or providing education for them, they seek a better and a happier life for freedom, democracy, and humanistic assets.

I have spoken longer than I had expected. If I caused you to be delayed, I apologize. Mister president, and valuable guest, I thank you very much.



VII. SESSION

Migration from Rural Areas to Cities and Urbanization



VII. SESSION

**MIGRATION FROM RURAL AREAS TO CITIES
AND URBANIZATION**

10 December 2006 Saturday

**Chairman of the Session
Prof. Dr. Ali Riza ABAY**

Sakarya University

Cornelia REINAUER

Mayor of Berlin Kreuzberg

*“Contributions of Migrations to Urbanization and Proposals:
Berlin Kreuzberg Example”*

Sefika GURBUZ

Göç-Der Director

“The Causes and Effects of Forced Migration from Rural to Urban Areas”

Assoc. Prof. Mazhar BAGLI

Dicle University

*“Migration and Urbanization in Turkey:
Urbanizational and Spatial Dimensions of Social and Political
Transformation”*

Latife TEKIN

Woman of Letters

“Moods of an Urban Immigrant”

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nazife GUNGOR

Gazi University - Member of the Faculty of Communication

“The Fact of Immigration and Arabesque”

Dr. Yusuf ADIGUZEL

Researcher - Author

*“Contribution of Fellow Townsman Organizations
to the Cultural Capital of Istanbul”*

Yusuf KULCA

Chairman of Umut Çocukları (Children of Hope) Organization

“An Immigration Story: The Story of a Life Starting in Zeytinburnu”



Cornelia REINAUER

Mayor of Berlin Kreuzberg

Born in 1953. Graduated from the university in 1975. Has been the Mayor of Berlin Kreuzberg Province since 2002.

Contributions of Migrations to Urbanization and Proposals: Berlin Kreuzberg Example

Kreuzberg, of which I am the Mayor, is one of the sixteen parts that make up Berlin. At the same time, it is the place where the largest number of migrants from Turkey live ... One-third of people from Turkey are here ... Therefore, I am far from being unfamiliar to the migration phenomenon. On the contrary, I am right in the heart of the migration issue. As the mayor of this gigantic migrant province, we have gone through very difficult times in our efforts for integration.

An intensive effort has been exerted for tackling the difficulties that Germany faces in "accepting" the migrants. The reason is that the migrant workers in Germany were admitted for many years as "guests" and that's why it was thought that their families "did not need to learn the German language". Because, we thought that they would return once their work was finished any way! As we failed to see that they were here for good, we did not prepare the infrastructure for co-existence. This is one aspect of the problem we are facing... In addition, "ethnic

clashes" among the migrants coming from the same country is yet another problem that have to be tackled ...

There have recently been certain changes in the migration policies of Germany. Accepting that it is now a "country of migrants", Germany adopted its "Migrant Law" in 2001. With the adoption of the law, "integration efforts" have speeded up.

Based on my observations, I have to certainly state that "we have to know to live together". There should be a communicating style that would meet the needs of everyone, in order to tackle the fanatical acts. In the past, what was meant by "integration" was "assimilation". It has become clear that this is wrong and that it does not bring any remedies to the problems.

I think that it is time for the putting into effect of the "Migration Law" adopted by Germany. I even believe that we are late to put it into effect. Because, Federal Germany will have gradually accepted under this law that it is a country that receives refugees". Therefore, aliens living in this country shall have



obtained their right to “learning languages” free of charge. This had not been the case so far. Those we then described as “guest workers” came in 70s and they were almost not required at all to learn “German”. Today, they are approached with a prejudice and asked, “Why have you not learned our language?”

I do not think that the adopted “migration law” is not sufficient but I think that it is at least a first step made in the way of being a clear country of migrants.

In my opinion, the “managing diversity” concept would be useful in the solution of the issues of migration phenomenon. As the Mayor, I am trying to implement the “model of managing diversity” in my province and believe that in case this model is adopted, a long-term remedy would have been brought for the problems.

Nowadays, we are holding a really critical debate in our own city. We mention that the integration has not fully materialized and that we are face to face with a “multi-ethnic society”. I can say that this is, in a way, a “retrospective debate”. Therefore, I advocate the idea that “we need a cultural concept”. I think

that “versatility should be surfaced and shaped”. I say that “we have to pay attention to the advantages of different ethnic groups”. In my opinion, rather than underscoring the deficiencies of the migrants among us, it is necessary to emphasize the versatility of these cultures.

Therefore, we have to “increase the process of participation” as the society. We have not succeeded in doing this in the past 20 years. We have failed to add the migrant families to the politics and debate and co-existence in our own society. We have to find new forms for this. At the same time, we have to taken into consideration, the issues that arise pending co-existence. At the moment, there is an acute debate in our area: “compulsory marriage” and “honor killings”... Indeed, “Unions” and “Associations” of the Turkish community in our country have found it hard to perceive these phenomena as a “problem”. They have spend a lot of time but they also have gradually begun to speak about these subjects.

As a politician, I have always been opposed to anti-terror laws. I am certain that “migration phenomenon” and “right to asylum” were important for the Federal Germany. I am for its extension rather than restriction of these.



Şefika GURBUZ

Göç-Der Director

Born in 1960 in Bitlis. Worked for two years as a lab officer on a program for the eradication of malaria. Then settled in Istanbul. President of Göç-Der for six years.

The Causes and Effects of Forced Migration from Rural to Urban Areas

The concept of migration is defined as the relocation of a population leaving the places where they are residing as an individual, family or a group, due to natural or unnatural factors. Migration is an individual or a mass movement realized by leaving an allocation, whose borders are politically marked unit for another.

In Turkey, the most widespread form of migration is the internal migration from rural to urban residential areas. This migration movement has been analyzed within the framework of the "push"- "pull" model. "Push" can be defined as the factors of rural residential areas, which cause migration. For instance, lack of land, low income, difficulties in earning a living, increase in population, pressure of customs and traditions, religious pressure, socio-cultural factors etc., are such factors that push the rural population.

In contrast, factors such as workforce requirement, the high rate of income possibilities as to rural areas, the relative ade-

quacy of education, health and social security services as well as a colorful, autonomous and free life are the factors of urban residential areas that pull the rural population.

If the social, economic, cultural or natural environment of a certain area has rendered it impossible for living, then out-migration from such an area should be considered as "unwilling migration". Unwilling migration is a form of migration, which is caused by either the displacement of a population from a residential area or the already existing conditions in the area, and it is realized without the free will of the migrants. This migration movement is defined as "forced migration" or "enforced migration" throughout the studies made on migration or the sociology literature.

When the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic are considered together, migration movement seems to have played an important role in the shaping of the social, economic, cultural and especially the ethnic structure of both societies.



As a result of the transformation of Turkey from an agriculture-oriented structure to industrialization through the 1950's and later on, the facilities of mass media as well as the attempts of political-social development and the decisions taken, the population of Turkey had a tendency to relocate by moving away from the North and East to the South and West.

It is seen that a significant part of this population has gathered in coastal provinces except for the Ankara province. This migration movement, in search of a better and an autonomous life possibility, not only increased the integral migration, from rural to urban areas but also the imbalance among regions. In our country, the major migration movement was experienced from the Black Sea, East and South East regions to big cities as a result of economic and social inequality.

Even though this natural movement has created a model of big cities, where shanty housing developed and problems increased, it also contributed to the development of such cities, which fulfilled their workforce requirements.

Another type of migration experienced in our country; internal migration is also a forced migration and started in the rural areas.

When the residential areas that are abandoned due to forced migration are evaluated according to certain valid allocation criteria (such as the Village Law dated 1924, State Planning Organization and State Institute of Statistics), 86.3% of forced emigration was experienced in rural, 11.8% in urban areas while 1.9% occurred in areas that were undergoing a transformation from rural to urban characteristics.

Accordingly, the results of the researches on forced migration carried out by Göç-Der are as follows;

- 83.5% of the migration realized outwards from the Diyarbakır province has been rural and 16.1% has been urban,
- 86.4% of the migration realized outwards from the Mardin province has been rural and 13.1% has been urban,
- 81% of the migration realized outwards from the Bingöl province has been rural and 13.8% has been urban,
- 80.7% of the migration realized outwards from the Şırnak province has been rural and 19.3% has been urban,
- 88.8% of the migration realized outwards from the Muş province has been rural and 7% has been urban,
- 64.5% of the migration realized outwards from the Şanlıurfa province has been rural and 35.5% has been urban.

As far as this distribution indicates, a significant proportion of the rural Kurdish population has relocated and as for the provinces of Şanlıurfa, Şırnak, Diyarbakır, Mardin and Bingöl,

not only rural but also urban population has relocated, as well. When considered within this aspect, it can be said that the leave of the educated population who relatively possess capital accumulation and commercial riches result in ruralization of the abandoned province and the increase in the impoverishment level.

The forced migration has developed as a result of the evacuation of villages and fields ready for cultivation in the east and southeast regions in the 1990's. According to the research of the migration commission of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey finalized in 1998, it was verified that 3428 rural areas had been evacuated.

Tension and conflicts concerning the Kurdish problem are among the major causes that led to the forced migration. The policies that public administrations put into practice in order to avoid conflicts, such as village guardianship, village evacuation, or upland prohibition triggered this population relocation movement, in other words "forced migration, enforced migration" or "escape".

The forced migration movement, which aroused due to the aforementioned reasons, especially between the years 1989 and 1999, has had negative impacts on millions of people who migrated from rural to urban areas.

This movement has turned the social, economic, cultural and psychological atmosphere of Turkey upside down, resulting in the evacuation of rural residential areas, which left thousand acres of cultivated areas idle. In addition, the migrants who have been pulled away from their own residential areas by force have lost their productive qualifications.

The most striking result concerning the date when forced migration was realized is that 71.6% of the analyzed movement took place within the period between 1990 and 1995.

Another crucial point that has to be analyzed concerning the migration movement is the fact that the date of the migration act has to be considered in relation with the province that experiences the out-migration.

According to this analysis, a significant part of the migration movement that was experienced outwards from the East Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia regions was realized between 1990 and 1995.

For instance, among the provinces that experienced out-migration, 69.2% of the movement was realized between 1992 and 1994 in Diyarbakır, 56.1% was realized between 1990 and 1995 in Mardin. The dates of the out-migration that other provinces in these regions experienced happen to be the same.



THE CAUSES OF MIGRATION

The rate of dense migrations from the rural areas to urban areas has increased within 1990's. 25.7% of these migrations within this period was caused by economic reasons. 24.4% resulted from lack of or limited educational opportunities as well as the inadequacy of educational investments made in East and Southeast regions where such opportunities nearly became ceased to exist as a consequence of the tense atmosphere and conflicts merged with linguistic and cultural differences. Besides, 66.5% of the movement, which is a huge proportional distribution, was realized due to mortal fear. These results include findings on the period of the migration movement as well as its mass realization indicating that it was an unwilling process.

Mortal fear of citizens is a factor that sticks out when such unwilling, forced migrations are considered. The fact that the tension based on the Kurdish problem has turned into a conflict in the Turkish Republic has increased mortal fear.

Another basic factor causing forced-mass migration is the fact that the migrants were forced to leave when they rejected village guardianship. The rate of migration caused by this factor is as high as 53.2%. In addition, 38% of the movement was driven by the upland prohibition when the villagers who earn a living through agriculture and livestock were deprived of these opportunities.

All these data show that the State of Emergency Laws caused the forced migration from rural to urban areas in that period. Besides, the statistics also prove that 98.6% of the migrants have experienced material loss and damage.

PROBLEMS CAUSED BY MIGRATION FROM RURAL TO URBAN AREAS

In the new residential areas, the problems faced by migrants who previously led their lives in these regions through agriculture and livestock happened to be unemployment, destitution and misery. The unemployment rate of these people, which was 1.4% before migration, has increased to 29%. Before migration the need for meat and dairy products was satisfied in these regions. However, after migration, these products could no longer be obtained and were imported from then on. After migration, while the head of the family could not find a job, the children were employed with temporary, periodical jobs, which did not provide any social security or a satisfactory income. It has become impossible for the migrants to integrate into urban life as they have started to work as manual workers, day workers, and unqualified service worker or street peddlers.

According to many researches, the increase in the number of children working in the streets since 1994 is the negative result of forced migration. The children who could not continue their education because of financial problems had to sell water or handkerchiefs in the streets.

Citizens of Kurdish origin who migrated to metropolises had problems in expressing themselves, as they could not speak in Turkish. This situation has prevented them from having a healthy communication with the society, consequently turning them into introverted characters. Especially, 85% of female migrants was left out of the social and public sphere, as they could not speak any Turkish.

Such problems that appeared as a result of forced migration have had a negative psychological influence on people, leading them to commit crimes; prostitution, theft and substance addiction are to name but a few.

The migrations experienced are almost creating isolated ruralish areas within the city landscape with low urban living standards.

The fact of displacement which millions of people suffered from keep their destructive effects in Turkey no matter how many years have passed, affecting the social, political and economic life in the country.

Until the present day, a systematic and realistic approach has not been executed in order to identify and solve the problem. However, any step taken on this issue will provide social peace and make a significant contribution to democratization of Turkey.

Finally, the European Commission's 2004 report on Turkey's progress towards accession has mentioned the steps to be taken on making for the loss of the displaced people who experienced conflict and the inadequacy of the progress made until the present day has been expressed as follows;

"... Turkey began a dialogue with a number of international organizations, including the Commission, on the question of internally displaced persons. A Law on Compensation of Losses Resulting from Terrorist Acts was approved. Although work is underway to define a more systematic approach towards the region, no integrated strategy with a view to reducing regional disparities and addressing the economic, social and cultural needs of the local population has yet been adopted. The return of internally displaced persons in the Southeast has been limited and hampered by the village guard system and by a lack of material support."



After 1999 the conflicts gradually passed off and returns to villages partly started. However, there are still many obstructions for the return process. Primarily, the inability to solve the Kurdish problem with a democratic approach has flared up the previous conflicts. Those who would like to return to their village cannot proceed due to concerns of security. Nonetheless, state officials have not taken this issue seriously and therefore could not develop a permanent policy. What needs to be done is to accept the fact that the forced migration problem and the Kurdish problem are related to each other and develop radical solution policies accordingly.

SOLUTION PROPOSALS

- First, the economic inequality among regions has to be eradicated in order to decrease the rate of migration from rural to urban areas and justice in distribution of income should be achieved. Moreover, economic investments should be focused on the Black Sea and Southeast regions. The village guardianship practice should be ended and mines, war leftovers should be cleaned.
- The loss of Kurdish citizens who were forced to migrate has to be compensated for and their return should be secured as a principle. Otherwise, the movement would remain a human disgrace or a tragedy.
- The constitution should be changed in the way that it could represent a linguistic, religious, ethnic and social pluralism. In addition, the State of Emergency laws with all their consequences should be abolished and social peace projects should be realized with the intention of wrapping the wounds of this issue.
- In order to avoid employment with low wages and consumption, studies should be carried out to make migrants take up professions and develop their productivity in terms of their return as well.
- The decisions of evacuating villages and fields ready for cultivation should be cancelled. Those who have given these decisions should be judged by a commission which should be set up to pursue the reality behind the violated rights of citizens and develop a consciousness of "Civil Rights" and "Property Rights".
- In order to provide a livable atmosphere for the migrants, local administrative bodies should cooperate with projects carried out to solve infrastructural and environmental problems.
- So as to solve the aforementioned urban problems, local administrations should provide private resources to the municipalities of provinces that receive migration.
- Attempts to form a social and cultural dialogue should be made with the purpose of merging the migrants with the already settled residents of provinces and develop a sense of solidarity. Consequently, such an achievement would support social peace.
- Children should be prevented from being involved in random jobs in the streets. In addition, the children of migrant families who have to work under such circumstances because of economic problems should be treated with rehabilitation and re-adaptation projects.
- The cooperation of local administration bodies, public administration and civil organizations should especially focus on the problems of youth by establishing youth centers, youth development cooperation and similar organizations.



Assoc. Prof. Mazhar BAGLI

Dicle University

Born in 1965 in Şanlıurfa. Graduated from the Sociology Department of the Arts and Sciences Faculty of Selçuk University. In 1993, appointed as a research officer for the Sociology Department of Gaziosmanpaşa University and in 1999 appointed as an Assistant Lecturer to the Sociology Department of Dicle University. Attended a course on multi-culture held in Canada.

Migration and Urbanization in Turkey: Urbanizational and Spatial Dimensions of Social and Political Transformation

In this study, the Turkish practice of migration and urban planning from the point of the relationship between human and space will be mentioned. Turkey, who has a modernization trend mostly developed by the means of foreign dynamics, is in a series dilemma in migration and urbanization issues like many other social issues. From one side the traditionalism which social structure and historical texture is depending on and the values nourishing this traditionalism and on the other side the effort for going further away from those values and the effort for building up a new style.

The encouragement for society with its cultural heritage to obtain an identity for itself occurs in tandem with the standardization period. The disharmonization between the physical structures of the cities and the urban attitude in the existential parallelization deepens the existing urban problems. The

rural and the urban, as the classical sociology assumes, are like the poles of a process and the distance between them is becoming more intensive day by day and as a matter of fact in Turkish society this in between distance is disappearing. This is a result of the reason that the urban planning and the values are based on the arguments which find its references from different dimensions.

With the migration process both the spatial perceptions and the urban fictions are totally differentiated from the plans at the same time the housing totally became some sort of a service or a commodity.

In spite the fact that urbanization and migration stands as if they are a change dynamic with its global scale, starting from the fact that each society has/should have a unique structure, the subject should be thought free from the authentic social



formations. Turkey's deepest marks of internal social problems are coming from the urbanization and migration subjects. The process including the partial worldly transformation actually transformed the relationship between the man and the space into a "one dimensional" process by leaning on a dynamic observed in all around the world.

The urbanization is the most concrete situation between the practices of man during the transformation of world. Cities are the reflection areas of civilizations. The histories of the cities are also the histories of the civilizations. It is impossible to think about the cities apart from the commonsense and the way of thinking in their societies. Both in modern times and in traditional times the urbanization became the most dynamic area for social classification and transformation.

Looking for the level of urbanization of any society to read its sociologically shall not be the most valid way but the relationship between the city and the society is the best for concreting the question of which problems are included in basic social subjects. If we accept urban planning with its general lines it will be more obvious what those lines are containing and what they can contain. The basic dynamic in the formation of this civilization is the city's public geography. Thus urbanization occurs in the axis of this civilization. As a result of this it is impossible to think on architecture independently from philosophy and esthetics. As a matter of fact the problems related to modern architecture and urbanization have their origins from those points.

Richard Sennet, in the introduction part of his book "Skin and Stone: The Body and The City in Western Civilization" says that today's cities are facing with that kind of problems in recent days. The reason behind this fact for him is that the Western Civilization faced with difficulties while showing necessary respect for the sensuous body and the diversity of human bodies. To understand this fact it is necessary to point the practices of the relationship between body and urbanization, architecture and city planning (Sennet, 2002:11). He says that this practice causes a monotone and lifeless city formation and at the same time space is jailed to emotional deficiency.

The city, alienated from emotions, than will only become a tool for living functions such as sheltering and protection. In the societies where the fiction related to the city is far away from emotions, urbanization stands for only that kind of sheltering situation (structure). It won't be open for any kind of social and esthetic activity. This condition especially for late modernization societies or for the societies which are in the process of modernization by stimulation can clearly be observed. As an

example Turkey is not only having an authentic social and historical values of civilized traditions but also for last two decades struggling to come up with new social project in front of these values. The exact thing which is the decision mechanism of the direction of this struggle was always the external factors. One of the areas of this "stimulated modernization" project's concrete reflection is urbanization and architecture. The "national architecture" Young Turks had tried to constitute is also stands for an older attitude rather than representing a new style of architecture. The following consequence of this struggle is an obligation of catching up a new style having its resources from external dynamics rather than its own internal dynamics. The more interesting point here is the Republican ideology as a modernization project, had resulted in an integration process of all areas of living into the political transformation as a result of transforming into a total social project by whole founder groups of republic. This exterior modernization struggle had caused contrasted ideologies representing the same standing point in front of history and the society just because of its own production of its so called "contrasting ideology".

The judgment that the social project or the ideology embodied with the space will open a door to its temporary situation and it will give birth to the thought of this social project is also in serious infirmities at the point of non-perpetual attitudes and behavioral decision making. It's so true that the spatial forms of any society are interrelated with its development mechanisms. For understanding cities one can look upon to the mechanisms related with the formation of formation and transformation of spatial forms (Giddens, 2000:510). On the other hand following the same path to understand the society will not provide the expected comprehension.

Actually the relationship between human and space includes "setting up and understanding" (planning), but this situation has changed into "shape", "giving shape" with modernization. The subject, with the realization of the effectiveness of the external conditions defining human, started to take more attention of a variety of disciplines and social engineers. But in the late modernized societies simultaneity between the institutions exist all the time and as a result of this the interferences in this area bring a different kind of definitions and structures. The reason of the transformation with a contrasted direction rather than an expected one will always exist as a problem. First of all the question of who is the determinant body of the relationship between external world and the human and the question of will there be a different kind of structure and social configuration are crucial problematic.



THE RELATIONSHIP OF HUMAN AND SPACE

J. Rykwer, who is studying on the very first idea about the city on human beings mind, starts the subject with the burial ceremony of the dead body after sibling homicide in mythology or in the holy texts in his book "The Idea of a Town". According to him the relation of the structural form following the burial ceremony with death, the holy ones, sacrifice and the age of the holy constitutes an untouchable related to space in our minds. The relation of the structure or the space with the attitudes takes its roots from that point (Rykwert, 1976: 25 -40). To emphasize the subject; in the basis of the space, home or the habitat that we are living in, one can observe symbolism, cosmologic ceremony and partial or total blessing like in the city or temples of traditional ages. But this, eliminated with the enlightenment process of world from all kinds of mythological and legendary narratives. Rationality and embodiment had showed it also in spatial practices like in all other disciplines, and embodied in urban planning and modern architecture. Commodification is a problem of its own perception rather than directly itself. It's not a problem of outer world or its contents. None of the species deserves even a bit of interest more than the others. It's all about internalized "money-market" economy problem. Like in the definition of Simmel, money "conveys the different qualities of things with the question of how much" and includes it in a different form (Simmel, 2000:173 -174). So to speak this new way of perception formed with modernization sees the space and spatial perception as an area constituted with the same type of structuring.

In this context "Modern architecture is a kind of cultural and esthetic pressure force of bureaucrats, architects and planners directed on public" and modern Turkish architecture formed with the marks of authority politics inside (Bozdoğan, 2002: 23). "The first trial of urban planning in Ankara, with the laws for Municipality in 1930s, Umumi Hıfzısıha and "Roads and Buildings; became a must for cities and institutionalized. Indeed with the regulations for architects and engineers professions building construction had tear apart from the traditional and committed to the design understanding of the professionals. Without doubt that it is the result of a positivist way of thinking. "Roads and Buildings" law can be seen more than reconstruction law but a regulation (Tekeli, 2001: 25). Also for some people modern urban design neutralizes the space and removes the mystery the space has on its own. The pacified individual against technology could not build a shelter or a "space" for himself. In the post "spell break down" period of the world, such symbols and holiness are accepted as if they do not exist since they are not serving for a specific purpose.

By looking at the city from the perspective formed after the enlightenment period, it will clearly be seen that the starting and emergence point of secularity is exactly this place. This is because we can see the development process of a new architectural design understanding with taking rationality as a back up. In this process "The master aim of the modern architecture was to create an international style of form following function and a style with an objective character. The audiences of the attitude of rejecting ornamentation and symbolism are located from geometric forms; believed that they can reach their goals by directing themselves towards a plain rationalism. (...) From 1920s to early 1960s, as a result of this concrete rationalism surrounding the whole world of architecture as if it was the only solution, the architecture becomes a fulfillment for the minimal needs" (Özer, 2005: 35). On the other hand it is clear that the urban designs and the architectural understanding of the traditional times co-exist with a mythology. In modern times however, "settlement", implies nothing more than a service or a "commodity" (Robert, 1999). For example if we are making the concept of "commodification" our staring point for thinking on, it can be said that the today's market economy ideas are pricing the intangible values such as 'love', 'friendship', 'decency' by including all cultural dynamics. Thus the globalization of culture of consumption can be characterized as, by attributing to Simmel (1971), 'transforming all kinds of relations that interacts with money into buying', or by attributing to Marx, 'money's power of matching, making all of the values tradable'. In an environment where cultural production are affected by economic factors of the market, the most popular music, the best selling books, top movies in box offices will dominate. The diversity and authentic dynamics of the local cultures will diminish in the competitive strategies of the market economies; the best selling products of the cultural industries formed in a global dimension or their cheap copies will replace them." The domestic image is being shaped in this process and becoming an arena of consumption because of not carrying any value or meaning rather than a commodity produced according to the market conditions. On the other hand, the space or city designs in the traditional periods are blessed partially or totally with cosmogonic rituals. From this point of view when we look at the pre-medieval periods, there were mythological figures protecting cities by standing in front of the entrance gates or buildings. Even the protection of the city walls were assigned to gods (Akarca, 1987:185). The gigantic sphinx next to the pyramids in Egypt was the guardian of the pyramids. There were two sphinx and lion embossed designs next to the gates opening to city walls of Hattusas-the capital



city of Hittites. These are the reflection of a solid understanding of magical protection of the cities (Bağlı, Binici, 2005).

We can understand from the “golden proportion” that there is also a geometric/symmetric relationship in the basement of the relationship of the space and human. The golden proportion is represented by the letter phi also known as in Greek alphabet. The reason behind this representation is: The Parthenon in Athens was built for the goddess Athena in B.C. 5. Century and the internal ornaments, the golden Athena statue are the works of Phidias a famous artist. The representation of the Golden Proportion with the letter is originated from the initial letters of the artist’s name. The Golden Rule is just like gold’s undervaluation value so perfect. “In general, this proportion can be defined as the relationship of two unequal pieces, in this proportion the ratio of the small piece to bigger piece is equal to the ration of the bigger piece to whole. In Euclidian geometry this ratio is represented as follows: the ratio of a to b is equal to the ratio of b to a+b; or $a/b = b/(a+b)$. If it’s written as second degree equation and assigning the value of 1 to a and solve the equation for b the value of b then will become 1,618034. Then the Golden Proportion ratio is 1:1,618’dir” (Roth, 2002:97,677). Actually this operation of proportioning can continue forever and it will never reach an integer. However the excellence is search in eternity continuously. The perfect proportion was also observed in the answer of the question “Find an rectangle that the ratio of the short side to the long side shall be equal when transforming the rectangle into a square” written in the book “Stoiheia” of famous mathematician Euclid out of his other thirteen books (B.C.350). These are all the results of a search for a form for humane rather than search for a humane for a form.

ARCHITECTURE AND HUMAN REL ATIONS

The relationship between the space and the idea is a complex issue concerning many problematic as we mentioned above. This is resulted from the obligatory causation relation between the ideal with the spatialization technique and the external factors. The basic claim of the scientists explaining the migration reasons of birds from one place to another is food and producing; however some believe that the topic also includes some parameters important for some segments of life.

The relationship between architecture and human relations do not anticipate any mythological social fiction although exists in the cities own mythologies. So the history of the city serves as a potential of advantage/opportunity producer for the urbanization conditions of the people of the cities. This is also one of

the most important foundations of providing a transformation and changing process with internal dynamics in a natural axis contributing to the functionality of the new facts. The cities deprived of this could not accomplish the functions for determination of the movements of life since they could not bring in unique identities for people. It is not so different that a city is filling whole positions of identities. Briefly the city can make people to gain an identity of being from the city or acting like a citizen it also does but it won’t be true thinking as if it makes people gain an identity covering all political, historical and social areas.

In the republic period urbanization and the history of architecture can be perceived as a project of interference the forming an identity around this pivot (Bozdoğan, 2002). It is also the reason of a trend aiming to remove the historical structures or using them for different purposes. In other words in most of the urban plans the historical remarks are not taken into consideration. The historical city walls of Diyarbakır, the symbol of the city, is also has its own share of destruction from this kind of thinking. Without the personal effort of the researcher Gabriel maybe today there won’t be any city walls because at that time the city walls were accepted as obstacles for city’s development. As a consequence of this acceptance the walls are destructed on purpose and the art historian Gabriel interested in Diyarbakır had tried to prevent this destruction in spite of the huge risk. But not all places and cities were as lucky as Diyarbakır. During this destruction of historical remarks, the right to live with the past and the documentation of how people were living in the past were taken away from the individuals living in cities. The society loosing it’s architectural and historical heritage then will loose its identity (Güler, 2001: 85). A society without any identity could not have an authentic standing in life. So the transformation of another society will not be so easy for any city without identity. It is possible to see the compliant about the rural obstructing the urban as an excuse of this failure. One should not forget that the cities are also not capable of transforming or affecting lately migrated rural. Of course there isn’t any magical stick for transforming the migrants but both from architectural side and from planning side the cities did not provide any organizational form for rural. Cities are only functioning as areas of economic employment. Shortly the migrants from the rural to the cities do not provide the necessary performance for considering urban attitudes and the folkloric and traditional values are not the sole ones for blame. It is true that the ones accepting themselves as bourgeois have also facing up with structural problematic (in the modernization framework) about being city people.



CITY PLAN, ARCHITECTURE AND SOCIAL VALUES

Architecture is the most solid artistic activity that manifesting the identity of the architect/artist in his piece of work. Maybe the architecture is the endeavor of abstraction of disagreement between the universal architecture and the local architecture from "time" and "location". Behind the fact of being the most concrete area of a society's socio-cultural values, it also includes the abstract inside. The relationship between the architecture and the philosophy is also because of this (Panofsky, 1995). The subject of the relationship between the architecture with world view and philosophy should not be omitted by urban sociology.

A society neglecting the existing relationship between architecture with human relations and the philosophy could not achieve an authentic urban planning and urbanization. Poet Sezai Karakoç says by pointing out the love between architecture and cosmology that; "City, Medine, site or city whatever we call it, the artwork which means an alive and collective exhibition of a civilization, first of all should be an expression of soul. Urbane betrays or express itself in the cities it constitutes and gives birth" (Karakoç, 1987: 56). According to him the city is a civilized work and it is actually related with "cosmology". Since the city is not only a settlement but also a practice of identity acquisition for the environment, definitions of environment and at the same time an area of constituting an identity. Every society, community feels like obligated to attain an ideal "homeland" (Poole, 1993:135) value with it. This is because of a good environmental perception creates the sense of security (Lynch, 1975). The relation between ourselves and the physical environment can provide us conformity and security if constituted in order and harmony. At the same time it is an area of abstracted values that we own. In this context, the national values determine the city and the spatialization occurs in this perspective. Also the stationing and the dimensions of constituting a settlement area occur in the same values context (Michelson, 1970: 147).

Briefly the urban planning is the study and the art of program preparing on the light of scientific researches in the framework of settlement and progress plans related to the cultural and economic developments (Keleş, 1984: 45). Although the period where the urbanization occurs very quickly is the last century, it is also known that it has very old history. Especially the symmetric urban plans spread within renaissance; one can coincide with the city designs designed appropriately to the ideal plans determined by the roads of straight lines opening from one square of magnificence to the other from outside. But the the-

matic of necessity of differentiated city plans from one society to the other was understood by time (Keleş, 1984: 47). City planning is not only a technical issue but also urbanization represents a situation of perception. It can not be claimed that there aren't any physical conditions among the elements constituting this perception.

It is hard to say that the urban planning in Turkey occurs in the framework of esthetics and social standpoint. Turkish social community has a nuclear family typology physically on the other hand large family typology according to the types of relations. So to speak, it is an open discussion topic how much can the city planners without any background of sociological analysis about what kind of neighborhood relationship Turkish socio community wants to have or the dimensions of the residences this community needs, meet the necessities. The residences neglecting the social and traditional values will only serve for the settlement function. In some rural areas where there isn't any space for the animals of villagers in the residences constructed after the earthquake, the people started to look after their animals in their own divisions. But the planning is a whole. It has to be a large scale technical area including all social and historical factors. Urban planning is a study limiting various social and ideological ranges from the material used in the region where urban planning is taking place to the relationship between people and the space. The physical condition that the city embraces us won't just stand as a physical phenomenon; it will bring the transformation and arrangements producing some specific relations with it.

THE URBAN DIMENSION OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IN TURKEY

Modernization in our country, does not contain a development process parallel to the changing dynamics which the basic social institutions owns as result of "stimulated" configuration depending on the traditions from Ottoman Empire. So this situation causes inter-institutional "synchronization" problem. As an example there is a crucial evolutionary difference between the demographic increase and the institutions generating services devoted to population.

In 18th and 19th centuries Western Europe, as the effects of social and technological progress in social structure industrialization, progression and linear continuity of humanity, in other words the ideology that the communities are evaluated from primitive to civilize resulted in an alteration in global dimension. The claim of this alteration that "providing the shortest ways for practical targets" attracted the Western soci-



eties and modernization had accepted as an existential prerequisite for hanging on world rather than a development and progression project. Since the situation is that much enclosure, it shouldn't be seen as only a changing project or a development model.

In this context when we look at Turkey we see that Turkish modernization process do (can) not have the minimum requirements of this change's philosophical background. So the basic claim of the Turkish modernization lack of ideological roots was providing "political" transformation before "socio-economic" transformation. The perception of modernization with this attitude, lacking of socio-economic transformation, has brought a corresponding institutionalization and social structuring. By a different narrative, in the societies with stimulated modernization like us, the logical and activist consequence of this situation/model was then only occurred in political transformation. This means, inevitable and naturally, all kinds of transformations only mean something in political context. Thus in the core of demographic activities, both in Ottoman period and Republic era, the main factor is the political one, the very first crucial migration trends had started with political concerns.

The population is to be counted as an important accumulation or a source of power from quantitative point of view in Turkey both among political groups and in government's side. There is no one who didn't hear the complaints of family doctors trying to cope with the problem and the ones who think there is an evil intention behind. On the other hand from other examples all around the world quality is more important than the quantity. Perceiving the quality as a detail push back the demand for quality devoted to quantity and there won't be any institutional transformations parallel to the demographic changes.

In our country the trends of migration should be discussed related to that problem. In Western industrialized societies the demographic movements are related to demand for work force but in Turkey it is a movement resulting from mechanization related unemployment and high population increases in agricultural regions. Consequently in Turkey like the migration trends, started especially after 1950s (Özbay, 1984: 51) like in all other countries, seized people in a sudden situation both from social and physical conditions side. In contrast with the expectation that the unexpected migrants and the current residents could not adapt to each other and the new comers could not adapt themselves to the urbane so they will turn back; the follower-the new comers occupied the city from many sides.

This unexpected situation had tried to be stopped by anti-democratic ways there could be set a barrier in front of the "sweeping the suburbs-outskirts into the center"

In our country when we take up the urbanization from the "shanty" context it will be clearer to observe the dimensions of planning. The obligation of city planning public works of the municipalities has its roots from 1930s but the actual regulation had been done in 1957. The city planning public works law that became valid in January 1957, obligated the municipalities to make the necessary sewerage, substructure and planning regulations (Keleş, 1993:146). But despite this fact there wasn't any necessary and appropriate planning regulations and shanty like constructions could not be stopped. More of that, from 1953 6-7 public work law were become valid and it had resulted in continuous constructions like above. According to the 1990 data, the ratio of shanty like buildings in Turkey is 40% (Keleş, 1993:383). So to speak it's not true that there is healthy and systematic planning in the city planning public works in Turkey (even in academy, it was 1936 when they took up this issue), as a result of this, cities, as we mention above, are structuring and developing by chance. For any territory becoming a settlement, residential units are first defined rather than completing the necessary substructure. The substructure construction holes in the cities are sometimes mentioned in the comic stories next to its tragic situation.

Another problem related to the urbanization is that the attitudes os the migrants from rural are not changing and they bring it with them when they move to urban areas. The kinship they have in rural is continuing in urban; this is one of the most important ones. This situation prevents urbanization, professional production and lively entrepreneurship. The marginal employment if the migrant rural population is an evidence for that. Another problem is that the expectation from the urban population for the same kinds of attitudes. There cannot be any idea that "Why the people in urban do not treat me like my neighbors in rural?"

As it is discussed in the first part, the people who develops secondary relations, solves his/her own problems, thinks as a member of society and acts according to that can be counted as urban or city people. The people who behave according to the necessary conditions of the urban can be said as "urban people". As a matter of fact the urbanization movements are occurring under economic, technologic, politic and psychological circumstances.

It is also known that between 1950 and 1985 there was a serious migration trend and the country ad faced with the eco-



conomic and social problematic as the consequences of discordance of rural people to the urban. So the migration has to be discussed as a designation of social, economical and political headlines and a social movement related with a wide range of subjects (Durugönül, 1996: 95). Since this movement could not be read appropriately sociologically and from the planning side by public authorities, there weren't any healthy manner towards this situation. So then mafia-like formations can be observed as a result of the lack of public regulations and where the government's inability of determination and its choice to stay outside those issues comes to scene (Bayhan, 1996:188, Gökçe, 1996). Minibus mafia, auto parking mafia, street market mafia there is even a "simitçi" mafia we can see in television.

Another topic is the representation of the part of the country described as "outskirts" or "suburbs" in the political administration very strongly and in high ratios. First of the changing that treats the position of the elitist bureaucrats of administration is not in a desirable condition and it does not adapt itself to the fundamental ideology of the formal standing. One can not of if the suburbs are struggling against the regime or not but it is so obvious that the rural and the urban will sooner or later go into battling according to the economic relations standing on urban formation. The interesting part of this picture is actually the formal ideology owners' (regardless of their position they will call themselves as administrative bodies) any politics they are trying to apply to protect their situations in the institution, it always ends up in favor of the suburbs. So any kind of policies tracked down for the same subject always creates a position again in favor of the suburbs like a recycling process. The wide spread of education which was a debateful topic for a long time, resulted in intellectual accumulation, chance for self expression and most important central allocation of the suburbs. To avoid this situation sometimes antidemocratic procedures are applied.

Although Turkey is counted as late modernized countries, it took shorter for the same transformations as observed in Western European societies, and relatively succeeds in those transformations. On the other hand the fact that the trigger mechanism of those transformations is external sources ends up with problematic situations in some social classes. As a result of this there is always a harmonization and synchronization problem between the institutions. The most important one of those problems is inharmonious relationship between the tools of production and the production based relations with the relations of political formation which determines the economy. Actually the problem is very serious. Because the "friction"

that is expected to create a uniformity and differentiation in social areas is kept closed. Especially the one political party period of CHP was the period of governments' traditionalization and the blessing the proposals for the same activity. Since the demands for any kind of change were assumed as treats for the sustainable existentiality of the government, there couldn't be any institutionalization appropriate for the so called changes and inharmonization problem continued to be perceived as a general problem including the government's existential problems.

It is known that the industrialization has caused a transformation and alteration in global scale. The social values of the social structure are differentiated and end up in new types of relations. The most considerably and concrete areas of this transformation are urbanization, institutionalization and individualization.

Urbanization means an increase in the numbers of cities as a consequence of industrialization and economic developments. As a result of the growth of today's cities, there are many changes in social norms and values, human relations and behaviors unique for those cities. So the urbanization must be seen as a process of demographic accumulation causing division of labor by formal and legal organizations rather than the traditional and informal one (Keleş, 1993: 19). This process resulted in widespread mass production, increase in production and trade and the formation of cities centered metropolitan zones as suppliers for the cheapest labor force (Kerr, Dunlop, 1991: 89).

THE PROBLEMATIC OF RURAL MOVING INTO URBAN AND THE RURALIZATION OF THE URBAN

One of the main problems related to the urbanization and spoken in every kind of platforms is the rural attitudes, behaviors and habits that the rural migrants continue to exhibit in the city. Every social structure forms its authentic and genuine method in its own society. For the city culture to represent a meaning in the individual lives, there have to be meeting points with the urban habits and attitudes. However the later rural migrants could not have such practices for being urban. This is because that there is still connection between their home villages and they do not break up with the rural yet. At least there is a romantic relationship between their home towns.

The same social climate in the tribal and communal societies represents closer relations. In the Ottoman period the states



politics was also based on this. On the other hand in the republican period, the attitude was against this attitude as a must of modernization but it is hard to say that there was lot more progress on the subject. Vassalage and peasantry despite the mythological relationship between the citizenship and membership of urban, the Republican ideology has a paradoxal statement. One side the statement of appreciating the peasantry and on the other side indicating the development and civilization as the furthest target resulted in emergence of an interesting political attitude. But by any means sociological transformations are the fields showing us the direction of the transformation rather than the quality of the transformation. With that definition it is observed that the habits and the traditions that the rural migrants carry with them from the rural started to change the urban in contrary with the expectation of any transformation of the rural migrant population as a consequence of the migration into urban. It is trigger the emergence of an arabesque culture. "Emergence and existence springs and conditions, in an environment related with the industrial dynamic in question in the conditions of backwardness, accepted as the outputs of modernization and urbanization process so called "cultural shanty" as illegal identification or incapability of identification, gaining concreteness in the domains of authentic valuation system, symbolic we, a way of living. "Cultural shantiness", as valid and real interrelated web or systematic, is more important and widespread than the limited definition of "shanty" concept. The spread of this concept as a way of living or way of identification goes far beyond of its reality today and diffuse into the depth of daily life. It influenced and still is influencing the most modern areas of the urban life and urban spaces today" (Genç, 1996:314).

In fact urbanization, although pointing out a problematic process, is a field of making a new kind of production relation and style tangible. Especially resulted in a condition where the major actor of the basic social transformation is the profits of capital and differentiated the role of individual in the society, put the individualization is not the core. Individualization characterizes both social and physical mobility in the society and the producing opportunities for individualism became the center of this mobilization of this process. Here the cities with exactly the definitions we mentioned became the center of this mobilization. In the cities this mobility is experienced differently from the expectations with different proportions and styles.

With various reasons the migrations from rural to urban, expressed itself as one of the most natural demands by creating different and incoming problems in cities in the range of

urbanization. This is a consequence of the demand for shelter primarily by the newcomers. Since there isn't any appropriate and adequate planning and substructure projects, this sheltering problem had started cheap and nasty shanty like construction concept. The first period shanties were aiming to satisfy easy and short term sheltering needs. Those residents were far away from the services of local governments, slovenly built, completed in short times and illegal constructions. They did not have any commercial value since those producers of the shanties did not penetrate in the urban production systematic. With the integration of those producers into the urban in economic terms, there existed commercial relations related with these residents. The most obvious formation in this process was the unearned income generation on the treasury territories. Unfortunately the political structures had continued the supportive policies and regulations for these formations. Everybody determining to generate a source for political unearned income on those residential areas overlooked at these formation by the means of politics.

This problem can only be disappearing by social and economic planning of the urban area. Unfortunately the cities with the highest numbers of migration are the cities with less developed city plans, and the migrants from rural to urban use illegal ways when their needs for health, education and employment do not supplied. When we add up their behavioral attitudes carried from the rural to those problems, there becomes a creation without any city like resemblance.

CONCLUSION AND ASSESMENT

In the context of the relationship between human and the spatial area, the Turkish practice of migration and urban planning do not have a sparkling history. Turkey with a modernization trend stimulated mostly by the external factors is in a dilemma like all other social subjects of urban and migration. On one hand the traditional attitude which social structure and historical texture is relying on and on the other hand an effort to constitute a new trend. This battle resulted in an unconformity between "urban attitudes" and "urban plans" in a physical existence of the cities and an existential provision and also contributing to the deepening discordance by urban related problems. In cities where the migration process is faster than the others, those problems are more obvious.

The historical posture and their past, architecture, esthetics and artistic sides are tired to fictionated in political context rather than their origin. Urbanization problem is accepted as a identity practice and existentiality of a political postulate.



This identity acquisition practice is externalizing as a “social project/ideology” surrounding all fields of life and expressing itself in the physical structure of the city. More than potential fields of opportunities for social and economic mobility, the city, are also seen as a way of representing a specific political ideology. This situation forms the basic references of both the citizens and the political administrative bodies’ exertions about the city. So the main determinant of the urbanization becomes the political concerns. The city is tried to be set up by the local cultures and at the same time tried to be surrounded by the formal ideology. This dual pressure force leads to a situation with two unsatisfied parties.

Before anything else, the city is a project of culture and civilization. The field of realization of the ideals the society has. The architecture and the city planning is the reflection of this civilization. According to Nikita Elisséeff the aim of the city planning is to gain a material expression for abstract (Elisséeff, 1992:121) and spiritual reality and the structures of all cities had to be tied up with its roots.

In Turkey most of the cities are defining themselves as a cradle of thousand years of civilizations but with the aim of identity achievement rather than to form a historical background around this cradle. This is a social problem on the basement and when we track down the reflection of this problem on city it will definitely directs us to interesting social conclusions.

It is also known that the references and the fields of identity acquisitions of the individuals are different from each other and at same time very complex. The parameters constituting the self nourish from different area and this concept of self exists as the sum of all these parameters. We can also talk about a same existentiality for the society. Every society exists by different references and none of them is more important or less important than any others.

Essentially the rural and the urban, as sociology assumes stand for “two poles of this continuity” but today the distance between them is going deeper and deeper and in Turkey it is blurring. Because the rural migrated population in urban are carrying the rural way of thinking and behavioral properties to urban and they are bringing rural understanding totally to the urban. For example the rural migrants are interrelated mostly with their relatives like they do in their home towns.

The rural migrants are exhibiting their tendency towards urbanization mostly in valuation rather than economic and social areas. The process including the partial worldly transfor-

mation actually transformed the relationship between the man and the space into a “one dimensional” process by leaning on a dynamic observed in all around the world. With the migration process both the spatial perceptions and the urban fictions are totally differentiated from the plans at the same time the housing totally became some sort of a service or a commodity. The situation in Turkey is that the cities are tried to become functional as a field of identity acquisition in addition to the existing situation in the world.

Like in the whole world there was a migration trend as a result of industrialization and modernization. But the migrants desire to carry their homes to the urban when they come face to face with the struggling population in the urban. As a necessity of this struggle in the metropolis, the associations formed by the migrant groups lead to a relationship which is preventing urbanization somehow.

Emphasizing briefly, the relationship between the human and the space is two dimensional. The first one is the spatial concept for sensing the “direction” and “region” as concrete parameters for individual perception, the other one is the area of concreting the culture. Every people sense the belonging feeling for some place. This is also a reference point for identity formation. So the relationship between the human being and the space is mystical and romantic. Being a domestic citizen of a region or a space is more than influenced by the geography physically, it also means to form a sensible relationship. This relationship externalized itself with various ways in the native citizen of the region. On the other hand this “love for the homeland” never leads to live the home territory roughly.

Stranger City

In this city through night

Fear inside

Exhaust at feet.

In this city through night

Passenger seems funny,

Love for god's sake!

In this city through night

That I'm lonesome and weepy

Know it for god's sake!

BEHCET NECATIGIL



Latife TEKIN

Woman of Letters

Born in 1957 in Kayseri. Has published books in which she narrates the village life and people in Anatolia in a fairy tale style. Her works have been translated into English, German, French, Italian, Persian, and Dutch.

Moods of an Urban Immigrant

I will not be talking about the moods only. I have got something to say on other conditions as well. I came to Istanbul in the 60s. I grew in the middle of that great migration adventure. I am, being one of them, almost the one and only person who have written on people migrating to big cities. I have always been proud of writing the first novel on shanties. I, at the same time, was raised and grew in the midst of political movements. There is something which I am very pleased to say. Our fathers were road workers. We have come along through the roads they have constructed. There was something that made me say this; because we faced resistance in this city. I somewhat smiled when I read the text Zeytinburnu Municipality has written as a preface to the schedule of the symposium. This is a good feeling. I smiled with happiness; because at first sight, it resembles the migration to Germany. When we arrived here, we came to a city of fairy tales; its gates wide open... Before that; I recall my childhood, when I was in the village; Demirel (Prime Minister) used to wander around. They were causing people change their places, and dragging them to dreams. Turkey chose to develop by Capitalist means; and they used to drag people into an adventure. My father was one of those

people dragged into it.

As you know, we are childish; and spiritually speaking we tend to migrate. Moreover, the women were encouraging migration. I believe women cooperated with the state during the process of migration. This is a serious criticism of mine to feminists. That is because the women, for their own struggle of becoming free and to smash the traditional patterns into pieces, were so good at encouraging their husbands for migration.

I grew up in an infinite broadness. The valleys, gardens, houses had a view of the Toros Mountains. But we have come to a very small room in the lower floor of a wooden house. That has always been an awful feeling in my heart. Yes, we came to Istanbul; a city of fairy tales, but was very bad in terms of living conditions. The place we have come to was Besiktas, Yeni Mahalle (the New District). Besiktas was an extremely beautiful place. It was not uglified by buildings like Conrad and the similar ones. It was almost a district of fairy tales. It was a district full of richly decorated villas around Yildiz Palace. I believe some of you know; Abbasaga district, Dortyuzlu Cesme (Four-faceted Fountain) Street. There were many beautiful hous-



es in the vicinity although it was a period of poverty for the Ottomans; rough cobblestone pavements, wooden villas...

So, what did we experience when we came? We lost our past. All that experience of being a villager is useless in the city. We came to the city; the city-dwellers were burning the culture instead of establishing a new one. I have mentioned about that in many of the interviews. The city-dwellers are degenerated; they did not want to have those wooden houses. And there were not any city-dwellers around to embrace and to invite. There was an incredible foppishness. And today I observe a very similar foppishness; in terms of attitudes in a city and the things longed for.

Barbaros Boulevard, Aksaray was opened. They were trying to deport the incomers from the city center; same thing is happening today. They deported the poor from the city center for a couple of times; today they are doing the same thing. And this takes place in the same manner in every place of the world. The residents of Istanbul were burning Istanbul.

I still discuss with those friends of mine. They say: 'You came and ruined the city.' And I say: 'You were degenerated. You were not taking the ownership of your own city; you were burning it.' The model of apartment buildings is not made known by the people who have come from villages. That is a model from the West. But people coming from Anatolia could have brought very nice architectural designs to this city; or the people from Black Sea. Think about their vineyard houses. Why did those people build crooked houses, why shanties? And in my idea, the shanties were not bad at all. That was because they faced resistance. They wanted that our father would build houses, but may those be invisible! They would build houses like fairies, and may those be invisible at night times. They met a very boring crowd of city-dwellers who would only benefit from their hard work; but not having the desire to live with them in common areas.

Of course, there were elegant and beautiful people. Starting from the latest period of the Ottomans, there was an established culture in Istanbul. But those people were assimilated. I believe those elegant people of today are also assimilated.

Zeytinburnu is one of the oldest districts of shanties. I have started making researches about shanties long years ago. I have a novel named *Berji Kristin: Tales from the Garbage Hills*. I would like to say something to people in Zeytinburnu Municipality: When they ruined the Byzantine garbage in Taksim area, the made new ways, during Dalan (Mayor of Istanbul) period... The intellectuals, architects protested and said: 'They are ruining those Italian houses; there is a historical

touch here.' And at that time I said: 'Is not there a historical touch of our shanties? We used to have mosques with minarets made of copper; a type of architecture, a form established during the times of migration.'

A shanty appears extremely beautiful to me. They are much more humane and beautiful when compared to buildings constructed today. There were constructions, built during the period migration, telling our adventure. One of them is the mosques with minarets made of copper. It was my dream; I hope Kagithane Municipality will take that mosque under protection. I struggled for that. That is because; if we ruin our own history, and suffice with the architecture and life styles of the Western people, we may not be able to propose solutions for the problem of migration and what is more; we would be handling the situation from an incorrect point of view.

I would like to give you an example. The real upsetting aspect of migration is the uselessness of the knowledge of life and the experience. That is to say; my father had the experience of a villager, but if he cannot use that experience in the city, put that experience into practice, then he becomes silent and he suffers.

The migrants also have a claim. I observe the fact among the Turks who have migrated to the West. They work almost in a manic mood and they have energy; they can have a new life for themselves.

Actually, another thing has happened. We, in fact, -I am not sure if you are aware or not- were in a situation like we migrated to some other country although we did not go anywhere. I believe this is a very shocking experience. I would like to say something. I was in Ankara and a friend of mine took me to Ulusoy bus terminal. I was depressed there. That terminal was like a terminal of another country. All the signs were different. The tea glass, chair, all the forms... We fail to protect our own forms; let alone architecture. What am I suffering for? Today, I feel like a member of society which has migrated in groups even though I have not migrated anywhere. I believe that we have to come to a very clear understanding of the situation.

Now what do we have a desire for? We are damaging the touch of Istanbul. They have done something to us; the people of Istanbul, degenerated city-dwellers attacked us. And two generations of ours, our mothers, our fathers suffered a lot. And whence the shanties become valuable; they were purified of mud, built new ways, they took the houses away from them. Similar things happen in Istanbul today. People make a living in those districts, and as they build roads, and as those places become valuable, they take those places over.



INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SYMPOSIUM

As a reaction to that, our people penetrated to those lands. That was violence. When those people wanted to build the first shanties, they did not have the intention of building apartments. As a result of resistance, violence took place.

The migrants were in power. Now, they should not use that power to ruin the touch of the city in a spoiled manner. We have to be gentle as well. We now have the power; we have the opportunity to change something, so we will sell Istanbul. This is a very dreadful situation. Or we will deport the poor from the city center... I see such an operation and observe it very clearly. Therefore I want to say something. The municipalities have very critical tasks to undertake.

The sensitivity here made me feel good. That means; we have gained sensitivity by growing and living in the city. But I wish there would be a protected district of shanties within

Zeytinburnu Municipality. Take Ankara for example; they have ruined the shanties. And shanties are like fairy tales of Ankara. Today, they are doing the same thing here. But they are a very important part of us and the history of our city. *I want a protected district of shanties in Istanbul.* We should be feeling this based on our sensitivity. This is my suggestion to Zeytinburnu Municipality. We could at least take 3 shanties under protection in order to say to our children in the future, *'People have come here and lived in such houses.'* We have so beautiful streets of shanties; we can do that; that is nothing to get ashamed of. We may also protect them, while we protect the apartments.

The issue of migration is such an issue that will feel that you miss something regardless of how long you speak; and I feel that as well. But I believe I have talked about the essentials of the subject. Thank you very much.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nazife GUNGOR

Gazi University - Member of the Faculty of Communication

Born in Ankara in 1963. Graduated from Academy of Journalism of Ankara University. Completed her Master's Degree on Communication from the Social Sciences Institute of Ankara University in 1986. Worked as a research officer at Gazi University. Currently a lecturer at the Department of Communication of Gazi University. Also serving as an advisor to the Rector of Gazi University since 2004.

The Fact of Immigration and Arabesque

Immigration which has developed in parallel with the history of mankind forms a significant part of the struggles of humans against nature and people. People, throughout the history, have migrated from one place to another in order to evade from adverse nature conditions, live in safer places, establish warmer and humane relationships, create social environments, and endure their lives having better financial standards. In parallel with the increase in the quest for the better, the fact migration has preserved its importance in every period of the history of mankind.

MIGRATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Migrations, in a sense, have caused the human and social lives earn a great movement; or dynamism in other words. Dynamism, as we all know, is one of the basic elements of transformation and development. The fact of migration has also been a critical factor in the acceleration of humane and social development and the interaction of cultures and civiliza-

tions. By the help of migrations of various phases like; inter-continental, interregional, international, intertribal; the social and cultural changes and transformations have been realized more dynamically. It is an inevitable fact that a very important part of the history of mankind is formed by clashes and agreements, disorders and togetherness, separations and unions which have sprung from the fact of migration.

The social disintegration and migration from the rural to the urban areas which have started in Turkey in the 19th century have been the beginning of a critical period. The static structure which have lasted for centuries within the Empire have made room to a dynamic structure as a result of the public facing towards the West, especially Istanbul. Even though it took hundred years for those slight movements to turn into a mass migration, it is inevitable that it has become an irreversible transformation process for Turkey both in the metropolises and the rural provinces.

It is observed that mass migrations of three different levels; from rural to urban, from rural to abroad, from urban to



abroad, existed in Turkey in 1950s. This was a migration movement which, maybe for the first time in this country, led to such comprehensive and many-sided effects.

People migrating from the rural areas to cities in masses have brought their local cultures to the cities on one hand and adapted the cultural elements they have acquired in the city to the rural areas they come from on the other. That is to say; the interaction process has taken place between the two sides. And in the following years; the concrete reflections of the consequences of those interactions would be witnessed in urban and rural lives.

The groups of people migrating from the rural areas to the urban primarily come with their own lifestyles, values, traditions, customs, and rituals. Therefore; there happens to be a flow of culture from the rural to the urban. And this leads to dissolution of urbanized social and cultural structure; and a beginning of the process of becoming rural.

On the other hand; there is also the comings and goings of the people to their villages and towns who have immigrated to the cities; and these comings-and-goings brings the process of taking some social and cultural values pertaining to urban life to the rural areas. This situation also leads to the process of dissolution of traditional, introvert, closed social and cultural life unique to the rural areas. Urban values leaking through the traditional social and cultural lives cause critical conflicts in time with regards to the social and cultural values of the rural areas; and also prepares the grounds for the start of an important change and transformation. That happens in a way in Turkey that while the cities undergo a process of becoming rural, the rural areas experience a process of urbanization. This mutual interaction taking place in between the two parties results in a complexity and chaos. Within that sense, it is not possible to state that the movement initiated by migration brings positive consequences for our society and culture.

I have already stated that another dimension of the aforementioned mass migration is migration from the rural areas to foreign countries, especially Germany. Germany, being heavily wounded after the Second World War, was in need of great number of foreign workers during the process of restructuring; and migration of Germany was a perfect chance for Turkey, especially during that period. Landless and poor villagers, unemployed city-dwellers (living in the city; yet had many difficulties in finding a job) migrated to Germany in masses. Nevertheless, the majority of workers –since they have left their wives and children in Turkey- come home at least once a year in order to spend their annual leaves in their homelands. During those comings and goings, in addition to goods like

households, clothes, electronic appliances, they start to pass a serious of behavioral patterns they have attained to their surroundings, families, and relatives. So the cultural flow starts together with the flow of currency from Germany. A flow from our side is not discussed. On the contrary, special precautions are taken in order to keep the migrant workers away from the society in Germany and other European countries aiming to maintain the interaction at a minimum level. Specific districts are allocated for migrant workers in order to have them live in ‘ghettos’. By this means, joining the other sections of the society, and becoming close friends are prevented at a certain extend. In this way, a one-way cultural flow; therefore a guided process of transformation is experienced. And the concrete consequences of this will be observed in the years to come.

MIGRATION AND POVERTY

It is a fact that people are unwilling to get away from the neighborhood they live in; get away or move from the environment they have settled down. However the negativeness of the conditions they experience generally leaves them without any other options. Especially, insufficient economical conditions direct the people towards finding solutions in far away lands, other places and environments. The fact that most of the immigrations are caused by insufficient economical conditions; it brings the close relationship between the fact of immigration and poverty into one’s mind. Whether it be within the same country or international, interregional, or intercontinental; people leave their homelands and migrate to have better economical conditions. However, they usually fail to get what they expect. Or even though they will attain a certain life standard, it is most of time impossible for them to reach to the same life standard of the local people of the place they have settled down. Therefore; people migrating from their homelands due to economical insufficiencies; that is poverty, usually become the poor people of place they have gone to. In other words; as far as the migrations originating from poverty are concerned, there will no difference for the migrants with respect to the social section they belong to. But their life standards may improve in accordance with the economical conditions of the region, country, or the continent they have migrated. For example; noone can deny the difference between poverty in Africa and poverty in the United States. In one, the poor cannot find even bread to eat; but at least there is the likelihood for people in the other to eat scraps or buy cheap clothes. The African poor may not even dream about other lives, but a person living in one of the poor districts of America may both find scraps from the garbage and dream about becoming rich one day.



At this point, we have to take into consideration that poverty is not only a social fact but also a cultural one. Just each and every society has a lifestyle, culture of its own; it also has a poverty culture of its own. What could have been more natural for the culture of poverty, having the characteristics of a sub-culture within the general culture, than reflecting the characteristics of the general culture it forms a part of? Then, the thing people -migrating from one place to another in order to get rid of poverty- essentially do is reshaping their lives within the poverty culture of that new place. There will be no changes in the social layer they belong to; but there will be significant changes in their lifestyles with regards to the economical, social, and cultural conditions of that new location. The poor are again poor at the place they go to; however they experience poverty quite differently this time.

This close relationship between the fact of immigration and culture of poverty is undoubtedly important in relation with the evaluation of the social and cultural environment caused by the mass migration from the rural area to the urban started back in 1950s in Turkey. Of course, the situation is not that different from the perspective of the apparent side of poverty; however there are big differences, without a doubt, between the poverty in Turkey resulting from migration and the poverty which has become so established in European countries for centuries. The culture of poverty which was conceptualized by Oscar Lewis is a social and cultural fact dating back to hundreds of years ago especially in European countries, and had a static place among the general social structure. But in our case; having shanties, which turned out to be poverty consequentially, has come on the scene as a reflection of social movement. It is the product of a Turkey undergoing a transitory period, and maybe it is a temporary situation; because people migration from the rural to the urban areas or the people leaving their settlements and homelands are, in a sense, travelers of hope. They leave their homes and migrate to other places hoping that they will improve their lives, have better life standard; and they put a great effort in order to have better life standards in the places they go to. But for people settled in the poor districts of developed countries and especially metropolis cities, poverty turned out to be a lifestyle, a cultural form. People who share that lifestyle and culture generally comply with this situation unwillingly and simply go on living. There is not much they can do after all. In developed societies, the general system is well-established with all its institutions and organizations. In such a well-established system, it is almost impossible to change things. Therefore, the developed societies have a static structure.

However in societies like ours which has not completed its development process yet, since the system is not already well-established, it is much more likely to make changes. During that transitory period, every section of the society has opportunities to change and improve their own life standards. The dynamic of the general system allows any kind of movement within the society. Therefore; it is probable that the poor districts, which have formed after the migration from the rural to the urban, may have better standard in a near future. And we see that this thesis in time has been verified. A significant section of the population which has started the adventure of urbanization in shanties in 1960s, and in years; it is observed that this section has leaked through the local population of the cities moved from the lower layer of the society to the upper low layers of the society gradually.

On the other hand, there are great differences between the appearances of districts of shanties which have formed as a migration to big cities in our country and the poor districts of developed countries. In the poor districts of the developed countries, for example in London, crooked houses, dirty streets, people with clothes full of tears are seen. However in our case, most of the shanties in our districts look like villas. Our shanty districts are full of houses decorated with flowers, fruit trees, and beautiful gardens, painted in white. People living in those districts, even though they have a relatively lower level of income, have a good looking appearance as much as they can. In spite of all the adversities; being hopeful about the future, struggling to have better conditions make them look more dynamic, more optimistic, and more confident. It is obvious that they do not want to feel the pressure of poverty on their shoulders throughout their lives. They put great efforts in order to get rid of it. They set all their opportunities into action in order to have their children get an education, and they demonstrate self-sacrifice for the coming generations to have better life standard than they do. But what far would they go with such limited opportunities regardless of how hopeful and hardworking they are? Of course, there is a movement towards the 'good'; but generally speaking, this will be possible for only a very limited section of the population.

The social, political, and economical conditions in our country are suitable to feed the culture of poverty. In spite of all the efforts of people living in shanties and the dynamic structure in the society, the lifestyle unique to the culture of poverty has gained establishedness by leaking into the districts of shanties, and suburbs, and after a while in places where shanties have turned out to be apartment buildings. Together with the get-



ting worse of the economical conditions of the country, the aforesaid elements have established within the social pattern. Therefore, it may be stated that, raising the life standards of the people living in the shanties or the poor section of the society, and having better conditions is directly related not only with their own efforts but also the economical development process of the country.

The case of people going to foreign countries, especially German is much different in that sense. It is known that the Turkish workers in foreign countries are the people with the lowest levels of income in the countries they work at. Especially in Germany, they live in ghettos and extremely inconvenient conditions. Within that respect, they form the poor section of the society they live in. But their poverty is not a permanent and established poverty. They have gone to live in the poor conditions of the countries in order to return home as rich people. Therefore, poverty was not a condition they accepted and internalized. We have witnessed that some of those people have returned Turkey with quite good economic conditions; and they have established businesses and live in even better economical standards. However it is also observed that a great number of those people, especially after growing up their children, have not returned and stayed in those countries. We now see that a smaller section of those people live in better economical and social conditions and a great majority of them live in poor districts, accepting the culture of poverty as their lifestyles.

MIGRATION, ALIENATION and CRISIS OF IDENTITY

Surely, it is not easy to be in a new environment, a new surrounding, to meet new people, to have new relationships and to adapt oneself. The entrance of a new element to the established structure generally leads to an imbalance within the structure. On the other hand, the newly entered element must undergo a harmonization process. This may either be an easy or a difficult process. If the newly entered element encounters a totally different environment than the one it was in, the harmonization process will be more difficult; but in a reverse condition the process will be easier.

Within this respect; it should not be that easy for a person who migrates from the rural to the urban. The harmonization process has always been long and difficult for people who have come to the modern cultural, open society structure of cities from a traditional cultural structure and a closed society of the rural. Most importantly, people migrating from the rural areas to the cities find themselves in a different pattern of pro-

duction relations than they are used to. And this alone is a valid and sufficient reality for them to reorganize their lifestyles.

New relations of production bring a process of new consumption relations, behavioral patterns, restructuring and reorganizing of social and cultural relations together. But this restructuring and reorganization process will not be an easy and smooth one. It is not expected from people to change their values, behavioral patterns, rules, rituals and put overnight. There will be indecisive actions, difficulties, and depressions. People who have migrated from the rural to the urban areas have undergone that difficulties and times of depression. There will be indecisive actions, difficulties, and depressions. People who have migrated from the rural to the urban have experienced that period for a long time. They have come to the city; a place where they do not belong to, a city they do not feel they are pertaining to; but everything around was strange to them. People, relations, working conditions; everything... Everything was different from when they were together; having same accent, the way they shared their happiness, grief, common interests, the similarity in the way of dressing, feeding. In their villages, lands, or the farms of others; they used to produce and consume in accordance with their needs. Now, it was hard for them to buy bread, food, beverages from the shops. It was hard for them to work under the commands of people between specific hours whom they do not know at all, have no idea about their habits, even people they do not understand the language of; especially in such a competitive environment where everybody was trying to oppress one another. Working hours, resting hours, leisure times, shopping, and eating and drinking times were scheduled for them by other people. They became the subject, not the object, of their lives. That was the important thing. In their villages and towns, even though they were poor, had the control of their lives; but now they were being directed by other people. They were not belonging to themselves; and their lives were not theirs either. The remote control was in the hands of other people and they had to organize their lives according to the commands like a robot.

They had very close relationships with the people surrounding in their traditional lives. They would go to their neighbors, relatives any time they would like. But now, it was impossible for them to establish close relationships in an environment which was totally alien to them. They were completely alone in the crowded city, a foreign environment, a feeling of loneliness sprung from a total loss of feeling of belonging. With their own



expression, 'They were strangers in a strange world.' While they were calling themselves as strangers, they were feeling alienation deep inside. A state not belonging to anywhere, being in between, being broken off the past, not being to able the adapt the new things... An environment where values, behavioral patterns, tastes mix into on another but fail to come together; where they conflict with one another, but fail to intersect. An environment of confusion where encounters fail to turn into synthesis, and conflicts into agreements...

The confusion was actually a confusion of classes. People, where the relations regarding production are shaped in the traditional social surrounding, do not experience the difference in between the classes significantly. They will not have the feeling of alienation since they share their workplace with their close friends, relatives having a warmer work atmosphere as they perceive the work they do as a whole even though they work at the lands or farms of other people. But the lines are clearly drawn in the city. The border between the owner of the production tools, money and the producer is very rigid. Everyone's place is assigned and it is a useless effort to push the borders. The relations of production are also very different. In the new environment, the producers cannot identify themselves with the product they have put a great effort to produce. That is because they participate in certain part of the production; not the whole. The work in between specific hours, in return for a certain amount of money; but it is impossible for them to understand what they produce, whom they produce for, which requirements they meet. There is only one what thing they are sure of; they are workers, and the work is disrupted due to their faults, they will become unemployed and hungry. They deeply feel that there may be discrimination among the classes while they work getting a very limited salary, having limited life conditions, in poor districts. And as they sometimes pass by the rich districts, they sigh deeply thinking that how far they are from that world, and the impossibility of participating in it. But regardless of whatever one says; they are city-dwellers too. Then they may try to live like the city-dwellers who live in rich districts. Dressing like the way they do, speaking like them, decorating their houses like the ay they decorate. Even though the class discrimination will not disappear, they will be showing friends –but for 'showing' only- that they live in cities and they are city-dwellers. And then; the shanty houses are adorned with plastic plates, knick-knacks, and upholsteries. With fake pieces of jewelry and nylon clothes, they start to dress up like urban people. They will try to meet all their needs from the bazaars in the district.

While their debts to local grocery stores continuously increase while they buy bread, cheese, and olives and even though the quarrels with the owner of store are tried to be secreted; those will be the material for the daily gossips of the residents of the district. Who bought what from where, how many breads they eat, whether they buy cheese or not will be closely watched by the people of the district and the competitive nature of Capitalism will be slyly engraved to the conscious. The ones who will have higher purchasing power will become the respected leaders of the districts of shanties. This also means an appearance of a class difference within the same district. The people having better economic conditions start to actively participate in the political environments; they become mukhtar (the elected head of a village or of a neighborhood within a town or city) or a member of the municipal council. This decomposition will not be unnoticed by the political parties, and they rapidly start to support by 'feeding' the leaders of the district, and the formation of 'servant politicians' in compliance with their policies.

During that process; the residents in the district who hardly make a living, most of the time unconsciously, are dragged behind those 'servant politicians' without knowing where they are headed to or what they are doing; thinking that a light of hope shine in their poor lives. So they jump into politics; in addition to the confusion they are in, struggling for the desires which are impossible to be realized, the disorders caused by dreams.

Could there be a more suitable situation for the arabesque culture to appear? An arabesque culture of sections came together from the traditional, modern, old, new, east, and the west. A culture of a transitory culture period; mixed categorical and political identities; a culture of not being established. Arabesque is the culture of a movement and transformation the direction of which is not known. It is a cultural process not known by whom it is being manipulated, what kind of games are being played about it. Arabesque is a culture embodying a culture of migration, fed by migration, living with migrants, maturing with it, and most probably will be terminated by migration. Arabesque is a culture of squeezing in between, loss of the feeling of belonging; and a culture that will leave its place to other cultural formations upon gaining of the feeling of belonging, and providing the establishedness.

It is a cultural formation which is not unique to the rural, and not representing the urban. It is a cultural shaping leaking into pots and pans, food, beverages, clothing, households; shortly all the sections of daily life and all its patterns. Arabesque cul-



ture is not only limited to goods and services needed in the daily life. Artistic activities take their places in the shaping of the culture. Markets have formed which will attract the attention of people of shanties as far as adornments, knickknacks, and artistic productions are concerned; new shops have been opened.

But I suppose the most significant reflection was in music. There was need for music and literature which would represent the people of shanties in their lives experiencing the feeling of non-belonging, being without an identity, economical problems; and tell them all those feelings. Comics with many pictures, easily understandable expressions have become indispensable literary works and the musical productions which have started with Orhan Gencebay were all in a process of embracing the people living in shanties. And in a very short period of time, there was a market for arabesque music. Arabesque music singer coming to the market one after another was so much owned by the shanty people that as the areas of shanties became larger, the consumption of arabesque music increased.

As years passed, the shanty people have not limited themselves to districts of shanties and rapidly leaked into the other parts of the city and started to join the urban population. In parallel with that, arabesque music started to spread in the general of the city; not being a kind of music unique to shanty people anymore. And it was liked by most of the urban people shortly, and became the popular music of the city.

A cultural form, becoming so widespread, which has come on the scene as being unique to the shanties, naturally raises questions in minds? Were shanty people becoming urban, or the urban people were becoming people of the rural? 'Yes' may be the answer to both questions. The shanty people were becoming urban, as they have penetrated into the city life, incorporating some elements and using them in their own lives. As time passed by, they were getting far away from the rural areas they have been coming from and were internalizing with the city. On the other hand; the urban people were less reactive to against people who have migrated from villages. The second, third, and following generations, as they have come gathered at schools, entertainment places, workplaces they started to join together, agree with each other and share life. Dressing styles, attitudes, levels of taste have started to look alike. In the city environment, a middle layer of people has formed which has enlarged day by day, and keeping the urbanized villager, and city-dwellers becoming rural people together.

The culture of this middle layer which started to form in the

city was pertaining completely neither to city nor the village; but rather it was arabesque in a sense that it was a new cultural form having common elements from both; yet differing from the two. The market of arabesque culture started to surround the culture swiftly. The diversity in that market was increasing each and every day. In addition to urban and rural elements, elements of Western pop culture also started to leak into the arabesque culture. In music, painting, literature, dressing, and households -shortly everything and in every area- a process of low cost production and fast consumption significantly presented itself; and importation has started in order to take production costs to even lower rates. Products which have been purchased at very low prices penetrated into the market and were reached to the consumers. So that section, which we may call as the middle urban layer, has become a new expansion for the market relations of the capitalist system; and therefore a revival area.

SHANTIES IN APARTMENT BUILDINGS

The period of migration from the rural areas to the urban and building shanties which started back in 1950s continued with various paced till the 80s. However after the 80s, there happened to be a stagnancy period. A new process started for shanties in the 80s which were spread in a large scale on the lands of the city; and we may call this as 'turning into apartment buildings'. In parallel with the increase of the intensity of population in the metropolis cities, the shanties were turned into apartment buildings. The shanties were ruined and new apartments were built instead; and the outlook of a modern city was achieved.

However urbanization at those areas was only an image. That was because a significant part of the apartment flats were provided to the landowners of the shanties; and the shanty people continued their lifestyles in the apartments as well. The shoes left in the corridors of the apartment, washed clothes hung in the balconies, rugs shaken out down from the balcony, women sitting and chatting on the streets, and around the corners, kids continuing to grow up in the streets, the credit notebooks of the grocery stores, the family member sitting in one single room in order to save fuel expenditures, sacks of flour, onions, potatoes put in the balcony that are brought from the village, barbecue like braziers in the balcony or the gardens of the apartments, chatting from one window to another, or from one balcony to another, etc. Life continues just like the aforementioned way in districts like; Dikmen, Balgat, Mamak, Batikent, Sincan in the city of Ankara where the shanties have turned into apartments.



On the other hand; there is a situation of mixing one into another in the regions where shanties have turned into apartments. While shanty people were living in the apartments, other people who have bought flats from the same district found themselves in such a social and cultural environment. While the luxurious flats of those new apartments were attracting rich people of the city, the existence of the shanty people stand out as an uncomfortable factor. But as a result, those newly restructured and built places may also be regarded, in a way, as environments for the meeting and joining together of the urban and shanty culture.

Therefore; today, in our big cities like Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, and even Adana, Gaziantep, especially in the regions of apartment buildings which are far from the city center; it is observed that urban and shanty cultures have mixed into one another. It is hard to answer the question of which section is more dominant. It is obvious that both cultural sections are affected from one another. While the shanty people are trying to adapt with the urban culture, the urban people, willingly or unwillingly, are affected by the tastes, behavioral patterns of the shanty people.

A SUITABLE ENVIRONMENT FOR AN INDUSTRY OF CULTURE

The cities becoming provinces, and provinces becoming actually creates a very suitable environment for the industry of culture. The lifestyles getting closer and looking like one another day by day, tastes of people, level of conscious, etc. facilitates the task of the market of the industry of culture to a great extend. The goods, produced in the industrial environment and sold in the markets for the social and cultural environment -which is getting more homogenous and joining together rapidly- are being consumed fast and new goods are produced and are brought to the market. In an environment of the industry of culture, the producers of culture do not need to deal with detailed market strategies like; which product will be popular in the market, what kind of cultural products they need to produce for whom... In any case, every product entering the market, with some advertisement, finds its consumer. Fashion and the media, in that sense, facilitate the job of the producers of culture who work in the market of the industry of culture.

With the effect of the standardized mass production of the industry of culture, the discrimination between rural and urban has disappeared to a great extend. However, at this point, it is even harder to understand whether the rural is adapted into the urban environment or the city has disappeared in the rural life. But it is clear that, thanks to the propul-

sive power of the industry of culture, both sections have come together, in a way that they will not leave one another anymore, under the common grounds of popular culture; and they are moving forward other targets together.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Migration, in essence, should not be perceived as a negative fact. Actually, it is a very positive motion for social transformation and development. However, the socio-economical and cultural grounds for migration should be prepared carefully. People, while migrating from one place to another, aim to have better life standards. In order to have those aims achieved, planning activities should be carried out in various dimensions.

Social dynamism will lead to optimism; provide that it not left on its own, or coincidences. Dynamism which is; planned, programmed, carefully operated will only be beneficial. Otherwise, it will be unknown towards where the movement, therefore the transformation is headed to if the direction of the movement is not known, calculated, and all is left to chance. In our case, the situation was like that. The villagers have moved from their settlement and come to the city; but without having a place to accommodate, a job to work at and earn money. They set off on a journey to the unknown, to create a chance, and consenting to their destinies. The result: an unsolved tragedy for years. The origin of the most of the political, economical, social, and cultural problems we have been experiencing for decades in this country is that unplanned, unscheduled migration movement. No one can deny that. It is not a coincidence that the political violence events which left a bloodstained country during the 70s have taken place in shanty districts.

Planned orientation programs should be implemented for migrants. Special education should be provided for harmonization. People who have left the habits they are used to and have come to a new place, a new life definitely need a series of special support. They need not to feel lonely or alienated in the new environment. In case of failing to support them with regular and systematic programs, some other people may support them; and eventually manipulate them to join some illegal, negative, harmful formations.

Life guarantee should be granted. Accommodation, job, and education opportunities should be provided. In this manner, the people would find better conditions at locations they have come to and feel safe. It is the only way to create a feeling of belonging amongst them. They may trust their state only in such a case; and be proud of their citizenship.



Dr. Yusuf ADIGUZEL

Researcher - Author

Born in 1973 in Adana. Graduated from the Department of Publishing and Broadcasting of the faculty of Communication of Anadolu University in 1995. Completed his Master's Program from the Discipline of Sociology of the Institute of Social Sciences of Sakarya University in 1998. Began his Doctorate Program at the same Department. Worked between 1996 and 2004, as manager at Istanbul Municipality in the areas of communication, press and public relations. Since June 2004, Director of Press and Public Relations of the Savings Deposit Insurance Fund.

Contribution of Fellow Townsmen Organizations to the Cultural Capital of Istanbul

INTRODUCTION

In this announcement the dense domestic immigration from Anatolia to İstanbul and the process of urbanization, the concept of "cultural capital" and different forms of cultural capital, the contribution of fellow townsmen organizations to the cultural capital and the organizations' re-production and consumption forms of the cultural capital will be analysed. The data attained at this study are supported with interviews with the executives and the members of some fellow townsmen organisations. The debate is about the "contribution of the associations for adaptation first to İstanbul, then to the global world", "what kind of activities they do to be considered within the framework of cultural capital", "whether they give the most importance to economic, social and/or cultural capital cooperation" and "whether these associations are NGOs or an

obligation group" with the interviews held and with resources like bulletins, journals and web sites.

While İstanbul is developing in terms of economic capital with the population coming from Anatolia region, it has had many problems concerning protecting its present cultural capital. Whereas the fields of cultural diversity have increased, politics of city integration (architecture, language, daily life, etc), city control or authority over the city couldn't be maintained. Diversity pertaining to the city culture changed into a turmoil or a chaotic process rather than a harmonious city unity. Forming organizations is an urbanization phenomenon. Although the village organizations formed in the cities are defined as belonging to the villages, in fact there is a completely different socialization talent from the village life. While the fellow townsman organisations increasing rapidly beginning from



the 1960's in İstanbul have become places of shelter for people coming from the same places, they have contributed largely to their adaptation to city life and to their socialization. The people coming from the same places with the fellow townsman organizations have changed their primary bonds in the rural areas to the secondary bonds in order to protect the newcomers and to help their integration with their new environment in İstanbul.

The most important function of these organizations which have 10 thousand members in İstanbul and 80 thousand members throughout Turkey is that they have very strong cooperation networks. Cooperation is the social shortcoming of cities and fellow townsman organizations have completed this at a great extent.

People coming to the cities from rural areas keep their local culture alive for some time. The form of the local cultures in the cities is different from its original form in the rural areas, they include the city values and as Bourdieu conceptualised, they are the "anew produced dimension of the culture." Thus fellow townsman organizations contribute greatly to the "re-production of the culture" in the cities.

Although they have been living in the city for decades, a big number of the people who came to İstanbul from the Anatolian region have included themselves in the course of "urbanization without a city". While fellow townsman organizations display a very important form of cooperation with regard to social cooperation, they are not active in the organization of the city life and they do not even put forward such a civil demand.

According to the research carried out by the metropolitan municipality of İstanbul within the framework of "My City İstanbul" project, 29 % of those people coming to İstanbul from the Anatolian regions have not changed their living styles and 51 % have not changed their accent. The activities of fellow townsman organizations can be defined in a better way with local factors within the context of keeping their homelands' values alive.

THE CONCEPT OF CULTURAL CAPITAL

Cultural capital, as a sociological concept, was first used by Pierre Bourdieu (1930 -2002) in 1973 with "cultural reproduction" and "social reproduction" concepts. Bourdieu highlights that there are culture based forms and accumulation processes in parallel to changeable, collectible and realizable economic capital.

Bourdieu declares that capital should be investigated and

argued within three dimensions. These are economic, social and cultural capital dimensions. These dimensions of capital are transitional and they support each other. While economic capital brings about social and cultural capital, social capital may result in the development of economic capital. The members of a group who have come together just for cultural activities at the beginning may get involved in economic cooperation later on. This is very widespread in fellow townsman organizations. Let's give an example from Kastamonu Cooperation Organization (KAS-DER), in addition to its activities as a fellows townsman organization. Kastamonu Holding was established by this organization's members. Moreover "Kastamonu Products Fest" is held each year at İstanbul Feshane. On the other hand, there are other examples of this such as the businessmen organizations formed by the people of Trabzon, Siirt, Malatya and Erzurum.

If we define cultural capital with its different dimensions, it can be said to be the sum of all cultural values that define the residues that are left behind after everything disappears, that are not temporary, that have historical grounds, that finds its essence in the society and that embodies the dynamics which activate the society. Human rights, democracy, social sensitivity, view of life and values make up the cultural capital. This cultural capital encircles the individual and the society; its reflections can be seen everywhere such as on daily life, language, folklore, socio-economic relationships and architecture. Turkey's cultural capital is composed of peace, love and brotherhood ties which have deep faith roots, where sharing and cooperation is dominant and which is tolerant towards diversities. But İstanbul seems to have lost its balance with the high influx of population in the last 50 years. But if we consider that the city has had a population boom, that stability has just started to be built and that this is a transition period, the fact that the newly forming social relationships interrupt and force to melt the cultural capital can be seen as a natural thing. Regarding resisting this interruption, fellow townsmen organizations should be considered as a factor developing cultural capital.

IMMIGRATION TO İSTANBUL AND THE PROCESS OF URBANIZATION

When we have a look at the urbanization process intensifying from the 1950's in Turkey, it can be seen that this fifty year time is not enough with regard to integration with the city and adaptation of the values of the city. This should not be perceived as that city values are to assimilate and eliminate local



and traditional values. But a city which includes and which has to include heterogeneous and different cultures should keep local and traditional values alive within harmony and conformity.

Contrary to modern theorists, it would be better to think of cities as a field which makes it possible for pluralist cultures to live together. Under this postmodern approach, urbanization can be defined as "the formation of a city culture which makes use of city opportunities through diversities in cities where diversity and variety is ruling."

That a large number of people leaving and forcing to leave their homelands get mixed in a city like İstanbul where millions of people are living and that people who have the same cultural capital come together and transform into a community from individuals and from community to society will take a long time. Sensitivities that form the social reflexes and social transformation cannot be completed in a very short time. The fact that a city's population multiplies even before a generation will surely result in a chaos. In this chaotic situation, it is not easy to claim that fellow townmen organizations who help newcomers adopt to the city culture and organize the life in the slum regions are very successful.

One of the leading factors causing immigration and urbanization is industrialisation. While this process started in the late 18th century, immigration and urbanization started in Turkey after 1950's.

We can say that the balance between village-city hasn't changed in the time between the constitution of the Republic of Turkey till 1950. According to the statistics of DİE (State Institution of Statistics) urbanization rate which was 16.4% in 1927 could only reach 18.1% in 1950 with a slight increase of 1.7%. Urbanization rate increased to 26.3% in 1960, to 35.8% in 1970, to 45.4% in 1980 and to 56.3% in 1990. Urban population surpassed rural population firstly in 1985 with a rate of 51.1%. According to the statistics of 2000, the urbanization rate of İstanbul which had a population of 10.018.735 was 90,69%.

This rapid change in urbanization is not in parallel with industrialization as it is in the West. The truth is carrying the poverty and unemployment to the city. Because of the influx of so many people to the cities owing to employment opportunities made urbanization unfavorable rather than making it systematic and orderly. As a result many economic, cultural and social problems appeared where forming of the slums was the biggest problem.

While İstanbul was attracting people coming from the Anatolian region, new centers for these people to gather and

scatter from were formed. The centers attracting the people coming from rural areas, being the brain of both the city and the hinterland and being the business center of İstanbul, are places where the management and control functions of all the social and economic activities are found together. Sirkeci, Eminönü, Karaköy are examples for this. Those people coming from the villages can see the city from these places. Although nearly fifty years have passed, an important percentage of the commerce activities of the city are directed from these places. For instance the big bus station and the big market place was founded in Eminönü in the 1960's.

People coming to work in İstanbul temporarily from the 1950's started staying at rooms for rent near to these attraction centres. These places were like transitional places for people to stay who did not settle down to the city and who worked in the city in summer and went back to their village in winter. The chairman of the people of Bozkır Association Kamil Bilgin who came to Eminönü in 1962 says that the people who came to İstanbul before him had come here one or two times before, had stayed at rooms for rent in Eminönü and Küçükpazar and then had settled down in places like Fatih, Bakırköy and Zeytinburnu with their families.

In the first years of the immigration, İstanbul absorbed the newcomers. Those people coming from the villages worked for unregistered workplaces rather than working for more formal and secure places making use of their relatives, fellow townsmen relations. These newcomers settled down to their fellow townsmen and relatives' houses. The ones who came to the city before procured jobs and accommodation for the ones coming after them. Kamil Bilgin who is from the Pınarcık village of Konya's Bozkır district says that he and his 5-6 friends were taken here by their friend they called "Uncle Nuri." This Uncle Nuri who spent winters in his village asked each time he was leaving İstanbul "Is there anyone who wants to go to İstanbul?" and he took 5-6 people each year from the village to İstanbul and found jobs for them each year.

Cities are like living organisms; they make the ones coming from other places harmonious with themselves. But as it is the case in İstanbul, it is difficult for a city to cope with a population density which it had not reached for hundreds of years. It has become impossible for İstanbul to provide these millions of people immigrating here with employment, education, accommodation, etc.

One of the biggest problems caused by these dense immigration is accommodation, that is the forming of slums. As the people immigrating from the rural areas to the city settled down in places near the city, forming of the slums became a consider-



able problem. Whereas the number of the slums was 50.000 in 1950's, it increased to 240.000 in 1960's.

The first formation of slums in İstanbul started in the 1940's near Zeytinburnu, Kazlıçeşme. The leather and weaving industry nearby caused the people coming from the rural areas to settle down here. For the integration of the slums, the first civil steps were taken in 1948 here under the name of "Association for the Development and Organization of Kazlıçeşme-Zeytinburnu Slums."

Immigration from the South East region due to security with the liberalization politics starting from the mid 1980's are different from the former immigrations. Ethnic and religious identities, as a social cooperation network, have superseded the fellow townsmen organizations as a result of the political and cyclic environment. The basis of ethnic, religious and political network became "sharing similar social, cultural and economic situations and political views." which is different from fellow townsmen organizations.

As the causes of immigration to İstanbul have changed, it has become difficult for the newcomers to find a job even with the help of their relatives and fellow townsmen. Starting from the 1990's a group of people who can be named as "Poor city dwellers" that cannot find a job easily as the former immigrants was formed. According to the 1996 dated Habitat Report of the United Nations, this group of "city dwellers" are the ones who live in the slum regions, who don't have the necessary living standards and a house and who have problems about social relationships and behaviors due to their poorness of accommodation. When the newcomers could not settle down in the city center in cities which cannot grow organically, they settled down in these slum regions.

Immigrants coming after the 1985's are mostly deprived of the support of fellow townsman organizations. When we have a look at the distribution of the fellow townsmen organizations in regions, this situation can be seen easily. While the rate of the fellow townsman organizations formed by the Blacksea region people are 48%, the rate of the organizations of the South East region from where there has been a dense immigration is only 2%. People coming from the South East region who are deprived of a fellow townsmen support had more difficulties in adopting to the city compared with the ones coming from the Blacksea region.

Since immigrations from the East and South East regions, contrary to immigrations from the other regions, are more unplanned, involuntary and sudden due to security reasons, their accommodation and employment facilities were more

difficult. As seen in the former immigration, there was not such a situation as the father comes first, finds a house and a job and then brings his family. As people coming from these regions did not immigrate with any kind of support and as their connections with their homeland were not good, they were deprived of cooperation from their relatives and fellow townsmen.

One of the reasons why city poorness does not reach critical levels since hundreds of thousands of people immigrate to İstanbul each year is the fellow townsmen organizations. These group of people to whom central and regional administrations cannot reach easily, cannot help financially and morally can survive with family, relatives and fellow townsmen support at a great extent. While the ones who have strong relative and fellow townsmen support can make use of the opportunities of the city in a better way, the ones who don't have such opportunities as the ones coming from the South East region are left alone with their problems.

The fact that the newcomers have "harmony or strain in social system in accordance with whether they fulfill their producer and consumer roles or not in immigration-urbanization relation" is very natural. One of the reasons why immigrants from the South East region have problems in adopting to the city is that these people immigrating due to terrorism are not as capable in education, talents and skills as the ones immigrating from the Blacksea region.

URBAN CONSCIOUSNESS AND FELLOW TOWNSMEN ORGANIZATION

Urbanization is one of the most important factors of social change. Studies carried out about urbanization and the culture of urbanization point out that new city dwellers will change from conventional to modern in time.

According to the modernization theory, individuals coming to the city leave their traditional behaviors and start adopting attitudes and behaviors peculiar to the city. Post-modernization theories accept that urbanization process will develop with various cultural identities and heterogeneity in the city.

The concept of modernist urbanization undertakes liberalization by breaking the people in the cities free from traditional bonds, society relationships, relatives-fellow townsmen cooperation and primary relationships. According to the postmodern urbanization, sub-cultures in a city should be considered as factors enriching the city and thus they should be supported.

The concept of fellow townsmen and fellow townsmen organi-



zations are criticized by some modern social scientists saying that they make it hard to adopt to the city. Contrary to the modern theories, it is impossible to claim that there is a uniform city dweller identity in İstanbul. While people living in Şişli are living in İstanbul and they are from İstanbul, people living in Güngören or Küçükçekmece should also be regarded as living in İstanbul. In fact, a place like Şişli where there are many skyscrapers or the back streets of Metrocitiy don't have a different view than Küçükçekmece. As a result, it would not be correct to criticize regional associations, fellow townsmen organizations and multi-centralism and pluralism in İstanbul taking only some underdeveloped regions into account. None of the fellow townsmen organizations ignores the minimum common points that living in İstanbul necessitates. There is no such a fellow townsmen organization which does not criticize polluting the environment, which doesn't give much importance to education, which advises stinginess instead of sharing, which isolates love and respect, which aims theft, degeneration and injustice. The establishment target of most of the fellow townsmen organizations is to support culture, cooperation and helping each other. These associations form their sub-cultures again as suitable to the cities. Living as a villager in a city is not also accepted by the fellow townsmen organizations. The chairman of the Sivas Association says that their aim in forming this association is to help their people adopt to the city. He says "Living as a villager and supporting this in İstanbul is like micro-nationalism. This is not right. If we are earning our living in İstanbul, if we are living here, we should own and claim this city. We should quit micro-nationalism.

Belonging to a community and being cared by people gives confidence and peace to the people. When people are talking about themselves, they say where they are from after saying their names. The identity and consciousness of an individual is formed within the rules, values and his/her view of life. Urban consciousness is about attitudes, values and behaviors formed by our knowledge resulting from living in a city. The first stage of urban consciousness is individual's accepting her/himself as a city dweller, as belonging to that city.

The consciousness of belonging to a city motivates the individual to be more sensitive towards that city. The factors effecting belonging to the city are immigration, the duration of staying in the city, education, employment, transportation and spending leisure time.

According to a research carried out by the Metropolitan Municipality of İstanbul, only 33% of the participants, 53% of whom have been living in İstanbul for more than 10 years,

could say "I am from İstanbul." Hometown is a concept about where that person thinks he belongs to. Having been born in a place or living in that place are not seen enough to feel that place as a homeland.

Being a fellow townsmen evokes a kind of "the concept of being from the same homeland which includes regional nationalism.". The consciousness of being a fellow townsmen is one of the most important cultural capitals of our society. Being a fellow townsmen is the state of physically belonging to the same city or region. The word "fellow townsmen" which we use often in daily life comprises a lot more in our culture than its dictionary meaning. Even when addressing a person we have not met before, we can say "my fellow townsmen". In this way a chitchat situation is formed with a person you have not met before or you have just met. In the society whether or not the people being addressed are from the same homeland is not that important. As the performer Barış Manço says in one of his songs "My fellow townsmen, where are you from?" we can adress people whose homeland we don't know this way.

Common references such as "My fellow townsmen, "my friend", "my brother", "my friend from my homeland" etc. are the addressing types we use to find common belonging points. Even when you get on a cab and have a short conversation with the cab driver, the first thing to be said is usually "Where are you from?" On occasions in which the chances of staying together is not much, homeland is asked before the names. Saying the name of a person's homeland is the indispensable second phase after asking his/her name in acquaintances.

Fellow townsmen is a foreign land concept. The start of a dense immigration from the rural areas to the cities after 1950's and people's starting to live on cities away from their homeland where they were born and grown up has played an important role in fellow townsmen's being one of the most dominant factors of our cultural life. For a person being born, grown up and continuing to live in a town of Anatolia region, the phenomenon of fellow townsmen does not make much sense.

Since everyone knows each other in the homeland, it is not considered necessary to express the sub-identity and community identity. In big cities social relationships are formed again. A complex network of relationships take the place of familiar network of relationships. Individuals take shelter in fellow townsmen associations where "they are important for the others", "there are people they know" and "there are people who know them." In a foreign place the sense of cooperation among people coming from the same places is more dominant against "the others". The informal relationships among the relatives in



villages or in rural areas expands to fellow townsmen relationships. While distant relatives are not considered as from the real family in rural areas, being from the same village or being a fellow townsmen in a city gets more important and more valuable.

Fellow townsmen organizations are an important tool for coming over problems faced in daily life. People need to get in touch with their fellow townsmen in order to find a job, find a house for rent or for buying, for their children's enrollment to a school or finding a good doctor or a hospital.

FELLOW TOWNSMEN ASSOCIATIONS AS CIVIC COOPERATION ORGANIZATIONS

According to the first article of 2908 numbered Act of Associations, an association is defined as "institutions having a corporate identity formed by combining the knowledge and studies of at least seven people in order to fulfill a common target which is not forbidden by law and which does not aim sharing profits."

The number of associations established to maintain the consciousness of fellow townsmen and cooperation in big cities where İstanbul is on the first place is around 80.000. According to the answer of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to a proposal of Turkish National Assembly in June 1997, the number of associations in Turkey is 69.385 and 10.700 in İstanbul.

The people coming to İstanbul from the rural areas establish their "cooperation associations" as a defensive reflex against "the others" in cities. Being a member to one of these associations is being different from the others for the new city-dwellers. In the small places where these people come from, it is not necessary to emphasize "where is s/he from?" or "from which family is s/he?" since people know each other well. But in big cities as the relationships get more formal, as the number of people not met each other before increases, individuals need to define, express themselves and mention where they are from and this need results in fellow townsmen organizations.

According to the modern city approach, the fellow townsmen organizations which are criticized for making adoption to the city more difficult, are important transitional institutions which help the new comers to adopt to the city and which facilitates this transition period. The concept of associations is peculiar to the city where there is a transition from the community to the society. That people encircled by only a network of primary relationships become a part of secondary relationships like association activities is a behavior form peculiar to the city.

Fellow townsmen organizations are the leading factors nourishing cultural diversity in cities. The fact that people coming from different cities try to reproduce and live own cultures by adopting them to İstanbul is not against post-modern city conception. On the contrary, diversity of sub-cultures is a sign of richness for cities.

Whether or not fellow townsmen cooperation organizations can be accepted as a NGOs or not is a controversial issue. NGOs are nongovernmental organizations where the citizens of a country come together for common interest, benefit and aspirations, where they combine their intellectual financial potential and where they express their form of participation for which they endeavor. The term NGO should be used for organizations which can address the whole or a considerable part of a society about issues such as democracy, human rights, environment, etc. Mete Tunçay defines NGO as "institutions which aim to protect basic rights and freedoms such as democracy and modernization and which do not have personal or group benefits."

Fellow townsmen associations should be considered as a bridge between the community and the society. That's why it would be better to name these associations CBO, not as NGOs. CBO is a newly created concept in American literature and is used to express parochial organizations based on community-neighbourhood relationships as different from NGOs which are more widespread and which have bigger aims.

Since the majority of fellow townsmen organizations which are about 9936 in number are parochial organizations based on fellow townsmen and relative relationships, it would be better to consider them as CBOs.

According to the latest data of the Institution of Associations of the Governorship of İstanbul, 70% (9936) of the 14161 associations in İstanbul are fellow townsmen and cooperation associations. According to a research carried out by İBB as a project of My City İstanbul, membership to associations based on homelands is 12%.

According to the 2000 statistics of Ministry of Internal Affairs, Blacksea region has the biggest number of associations in İstanbul. The rate of Blacksea region associations in all fellow townsmen organizations is 48%. Then comes Eastern Anatolia region with a rate of 22%, Middle Anatolia with a rate of 19%. The total of the fellow townsmen organizations is 11%: South East Anatolia (2%), Mediterranean region (1%), Aegean region (1%) and Marmara region (7%). That the associations of the Blacksea region are more in number than the others is due to the fact that they immigrated to İstanbul earlier than the others



and that their consciousness of fellow townsmen is more developed and different. While the cities of the other regions consider only the ones from their own cities as their fellow townsmen, coming from the Blacksea region as a whole is a regional thing. The sense of regional belonging is a distinctive factor for the people of Blacksea region. Thus 3500 Blacksea region associations came together and formed the Union of Blacksea Region NGOs (KASTOB).

Before the time associations had a widespread corporate structure, there were again fellow townsmen associations. But these associations were like fund organizations. They were helping the immigrants from the villages or helping the people in need in the villages. The Vice President of KAS-DER Hidayet Yünsel says that KAS-DER was founded in 1985 but after two years they came to İstanbul which was in 1967, they founded Tosya-Kargın village Cooperation Fund. Yünsel also says that this cooperation fund which was founded in Üsküdar Bağlarbaşı gave long-term credits to the people who came to the city from the village. The people coming from the village were given a house, a job and money; this money was paid back in the long term without any interest.

These people who were living in a community in the rural areas and who were always involved in the same style of cultural elements in daily life now have to meet, get on well and live together with the "others" and different cultural elements in business life in the cities. New city dwellers who are busy with fellow townsmen relationships in their spare time are to be with people from Kayseri, Bayburt, Kastamonu, Sivas and Siirt while handling their daily stuff.

Those people immigrating from the villages to the cities usually keep their traditional values peculiar to the rural areas. Living in the city and living with the rural values, staying in the middle, being neither a villager nor a city dweller is a dilemma which may cause a identity crisis or alienation. First the family and relatives, then the fellow townsmen organizations help those who do not feel belonging to neither of these places. Fellow townsmen organizations give a sense of belonging to these people and save them from having an identity crisis.

One of the most important signs of urbanization is forming organizations. The first organization for people immigrating from the rural regions to the city use to adopt to the city are fellow townsmen organizations. The activities people take part in fellow townsmen organizations as managers or members may direct people to be a member of other organizations or to cooperate with other NGOs.

People who came to the city before help their fellow townsmen or relatives coming to the city on a temporary basis or for immigration. And those people coming from the village settle down and work in places where their fellow townsmen or relatives are found. Fellow townsmen whose jobs and neighborhood is the same or nearby form a cooperation network so as to resist the competitive environment in the city. Ayşe Güneş-Ayata says this network of cooperation gives them the opportunity to "form a shelter with walls for protection where there aren't any foreigners let in". Even these associations can serve as places for teenagers and families to meet and marriages to take place. These organizations serve as mediators which facilitate marriages among the communities which are away from each other.

According to a research carried out by Etüt Research Company with 1274 people after the clashes between the people from Siirt and Romans in Esenler in March 2002, 60 % of the participants said they were not surprised with the clashes and considered them normal. The same questionnaire asked "the reason of settling down as groups in big cities on the basis of fellow townsmen and kinship" and the following results were obtained:

The fellow townsmen organizations in İstanbul are like oxygen tents for sub-cultures. Sub-cultures are culture islands which are formed by the grouping of people on the basis of criteria such as age, social class, education level, wishes, needs and aesthetic taste in a big culture. The people coming from the rural areas to İstanbul have come here from the various regions of Anatolia, from cultures with different folkloric features with traditional living styles which have different values and norms., that is to say they have come with their "sub-cultures."

Fellow townsmen associations are important both for meeting social and economic needs and for strengthening the feelings of belonging. When we have a look at the reasons why the relationships in big cities are formed on the basis of being fellow townsmen, it is seen that the necessary institutions to meet the needs of the individuals who have just come from the rural areas and who don't know the city life are not founded by the official authorities. People immigrating to the cities due to unemployment, social and economic problems, education, etc. take shelter in their relatives or fellow townsmen to meet these needs in the cities. This kind of relationship which starts as an obligation first can be sustained in the long run with belonging feelings especially in the first and the second generation.



Reasons of Settlement Related to Fellow Townsmen/Kinship	Percentage
Economic weakness	40.27
Social weakness	23.08
State's not forming social service institutions	19
The feeling of belonging	13.89
No answer	3.77

ACTIVITIES OF FELLOW TOWNSMEN ASSOCIATIONS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF CULTURAL CAPITAL

When we have a look at the establishment targets of fellow townsmen organizations, it is seen that their target is "to keep cultural values peculiar to their homeland alive and to make the new generations accept these values." The President of the Association of People from Bozkır, Kamil Bilgin emphasizes that one of the targets of their establishment is "to protect ethical values, traditions and regional authentic cultures." For the second generation teenagers that were born in İstanbul to know the cultural values of their homeland, activities like folklore, handicrafts, folk music classes are held. In this way, the homeland culture is reproduced and tried to be transferred to the new generations in İstanbul.

Some of the fellow townsmen associations are seen as cafes. The regular middle-aged visitors of such places spend most of their time there so as to play games, meet their fellow townsmen and relatives and to chitchat. As a matter of fact, the workplaces, the places of settlement and the places for shopping are mostly common for the first generation. But the second or the third generation teenagers make friends with the "others" at school or at work and they have new and different surroundings. Since the teenagers are grown up in a different and bigger environment in İstanbul, their relationships with these associations are more limited.

The activities of the fellow townsmen organizations and the functions they have (whether they are aware of them or not) can be categorized as the embodied, institutionalised and objectified dimensions of cultural capital as Bourdieu conceptualized.

The effects of the organizations on speech, aesthetic view and daily life can be considered within the objectified cultural capital. The first generation to come to İstanbul maintains the accent and the way of life of his/her homeland for a long time. According to the data of My City İstanbul project, 53% of people who came to İstanbul 10 years or longer before have not changed their life style, 23% have changed it a little and 51% have not changed their accent. The function of fellow townsmen organizations in keeping these features is very important. Common cultural habits which are also defined as cultural

habitus, the acts, behaviors and habits done by the society spontaneously are another dimension of objectified cultural capital. Strong cooperation and help activities serving to meet the social needs of fellow townsmen, helping poor or sick people or people in need or the ceremonies such as weddings, engagements and funerals can be the examples for the objectified state of cultural capital.

These associations have big contributions to the objectified cultural capital which includes cultural products such as art productions, fine arts, handicrafts, history of the city, music products, etc. These associations register and record the cultural values, historical and cultural characteristics, important personalities, life styles and folk songs of their homeland via the journals, books and bulletins they publish. They develop objectified cultural capital with the handicrafts, music and folklore classes they hold. They enrich the cuisine of İstanbul with their homeland's cuisine. People from Konya organize "*etli ekmek*" and "*Arapaşı*" days, people from Kastamonu organize "*keşkek-pilav*" days, people from Siirt organize "*büryan kebabı*" days, people from Urfa organize "*çiğköfte*" days, people from Erzurum organize "*cağ kebabı*" or "*kadayıf dolması*" days and by doing so they introduce their local tastes first to the new generations, then to the people of İstanbul. Also all the objectified products of cultural capital are displayed in such special programs. In these programs special dresses are worn, folk dancing is done and special nights called "sıra nights" are organized. Apart from these activities in İstanbul, festivals are held in many cities, towns and villages in Anatolian region. By means of the festivals held in homelands with the help of the associations and organizations in İstanbul, the new generations have the opportunity to learn the places where their parents were born and also their local culture.

Features such as the network of relationships, values, norms and social reliance which fellow townsmen have or have to have and which facilitate coordination among its members are the elements that compose organized capital.

The contribution of the fellow townsmen organizations to the organized cultural capital which has to be considered with the network of social relationships is remarkable. The level of education and the network of social relationships are important tools for the individual to have a upper social status in the society. The education families provide for their children increases their social status with their cultural capital.

Fellow townsmen associations contribute considerably to cultural capital with the scholarships they provide and their investments on education as Bourdieu pointed out. While



tycoons of the fellow townsmen organizations help to the newcomers, associations give scholarship, build dormitories, and thus help to increase the level of education and help their fellow townsmen to have good careers. These contributions may be considered limited but when we take their widespread organization into account we can say that they contribute considerably to the cultural capital of İstanbul.

The institutionalised state of cultural capital is an approach based on norms and values. Individuals cannot reveal and live the values on their own. Only when values become common for a group, a community and a society they can be described as "values". Values to be included in social capital should be experienced personally and should be appropriate to the common conscience, common dreams and common ideals of the society. The active members and the executives of the fellow townsmen organizations feel themselves stronger with the network of relations of the association, they have active roles in politics and they solve the problems they come across in daily life more easily.

Fellow townsmen organizations give trust to their members. An individual belonging to an organization feels him/herself stronger and secure. One of the most important aspects of the institutionalised state of cultural capital is trust as stated by Putnam. According to Putnam as social participation increases, so do the horizontal relationships based on social relationships, reciprocity and cooperation. Putnam defines societies in which associations and cooperation organizations are developed highly as "civic community" and he says that individuals help democracy to develop and to strengthen by means of these associations.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Forming organizations is a phenomenon peculiar to cities. Although fellow townsmen organizations are simply CBOs, they contribute to the organized society. Associations which contribute to the reproduction and protection of common values organize the feelings of belonging which is a social need and minimize the risk of alienation/anomy with the emotional bonds among its members.

The last statistical data show that only 37 % of the people living in İstanbul are registered to İstanbul population. A majority of the people from Sivas, Kastamonu, Giresun, Ordu and Trabzon who have the largest number of fellow townsmen in İstanbul are still registered to their homeland. These cities are the ones which have the largest number of fellow townsmen organizations in İstanbul.

While fellow townsmen organizations can be claimed to be obstacles for urbanization process, they can be considered as catalyzers to contribute to urbanization. These associations formed by obligations may be one of the most important parts of urbanization via successful executives and leaders. Muhsin Kaya, who is the president of The Association of Sivas People which includes 312 out of 614 associations and foundations established by the people from Sivas says "Some of the members of our associations are still acting like villagers. The lives and accents of the members of the associations are still like villagers. They are even trying to raise up their children in a village environment. We are now living in İstanbul. We are all from İstanbul. This city was the capital of Ottoman Empire. We have to respect and protect İstanbul and our environment."

It would be too optimistic to accept a strong civil society reaction from these associations which were formed by means of meeting their fellow townsmen's obligatory needs such as employment and accommodation as a result of a sudden influx of immigration. But it is seen that as immigration slows down, the primary function of fellow townsmen organizations are replaced by behaviors and acts peculiar to the city. Fellow townsmen organizations can use their large number of members and the high number of their fellow townsmen as an effective political parameter. The effect of fellow townsmen organizations on local governments and political parties is increasing. And this helps representative democracy to strengthen. Associations force political party authorities to give the real representatives of the public to be involved in politics by taking local dynamics into account instead of assigning mayors or parliamentarians backed by some people.

The members and the executives of fellow townsmen organizations can make use of their fellow townsmen relationships in occupational organizations and in political movements. That people from Konya/Bozkır are dominant in fruit/vegetable sector in İstanbul resulted in the president of the big market place in Bayrampaşa being from Bozkır region. Starting from the second half of 1990's fellow townsmen associations started showing their reactions even slightly and they started expressing their demands strongly being aware of their political power. The vice president of KAS-DER (Kastamonu Cooperation Association) Hidayet Yünsel says that one of the targets of their association is to "let people of Kastamonu be represented in politics in accordance with their population."

The new city dwellers just trying to get away from the community structure and who are having a status in the society apart from their family or kinship relationships are changed into the



INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SYMPOSIUM

direction of being the member of a real civil society after these associations. Small associations come together and they start to form federations. Developments through roof associations result in dealing with larger scaled problems instead of trivial village problems, which means the formation of real NGOs. KAS-DER held activities such as Immigration Panel in 1995 and Rehabilitation of Slums and Forests Panel in 1997 as a real NGO.

Fellow townsmen associations are an important auto-control system for their members at the same time. Attitudes and behaviors not accepted by the society can be improved by the fellow townsmen associations. People involved in acts such as theft, pickpocketing, drugs or sex trade cannot be accepted in fellow townsmen organizations and these associations try to protect their members from such acts. It is not difficult to guess

that these offences are committed by people whose informal bonds such as family and kinship relationships are not strong. Fellow townsmen associations protect their fellow townsmen in need with their strong cooperation mechanism.

Cultural capital conceptualised by Bourdieu who is known for his anti-globalization views is effected by the mass media which produces and broadcasts culture industry. The role of the associations in protecting local values and keeping them alive against the dominant culture broadcast by the media cannot be denied. Fellow townsmen organizations should be considered as barriers protecting their people from the destructive effects of the global culture which threatens the financial and moral values, ethics and mutual trust of the city dwellers.

Note: For references, further readings, and related web sites of this paper, please check Turkish version.



Yusuf KULCA

Chairman of Umut Çocukları (Children of Hope) Organization

Spearheaded activities about street boys 20 years ago, thanks to which such children can now find a place to live in and food to eat and can obtain counseling services to return to their families if they have any and can find job opportunities. His activities about street boys are taken as a reference by many public and civil society organizations.

An Immigration Story: The Story of a Life Starting in Zeytinburnu

I am the son of a family who immigrated from East Turkestan first to Keşmir, then to Turkey... since we faced many hardships in the region we were then living, there was a third and a fourth immigration from Keşmir. There were also other immigrations of the Turkish people living there before I was born through conversation with governments and with the help of United Nations. And we, two hundred Turkish families came to Turkey in 1969 with the help of UN as a result of a two-month journey. There are many hardships, which I don't want to mention.

We were kids then. Before we came to Turkey they told us so many nice things such as we would have a bike and we would have very nice apartments that we believed in them. In fact, telling immigration is not easy. Immigration is a difficult thing. Both domestic and foreign immigration is difficult. You also know, I guess. The problems the first, the second, the third and

the fifth generation have experienced in Germany and in many countries of Europe are unbelievably multi-dimensional and I believe this is well worth discussing.

Now I don't have photo of mine with me, I couldn't find any; because I don't have any photos from my past; I can only try to describe our travel to İstanbul in 1969. but I have only one small photo in which there are three people. My two brothers and I are holding against each other. It was taken at a photo studio in Zeytinburnu. We don't have any other photos till high school. I mean, we don't have photos pertaining to our past, and this is interesting. You lose many things with immigration; your mum, your relatives, your friends. Your mum, dad and siblings may migrate together but there are also the ones left behind.

When we first came here, we landed on Yeşilköy airport. We were welcomed well. I looked at my dad; he was kissing the



ground. I was seven at that time. We considered it like our homeland. And for one year The Turkish Republic hosted these two hundred Turkish families on the building at the opposite of the train station in Zeytinburnu. There were also others who came before, they found their relatives. And in the end thirteen families were left. Me, my siblings and my dad were three of them.

After one year they gave us to Institution of Children Protection. They told my dad that he could not look after his children and they should take us to the Institution of Children Protection according to the 6972 Act of the law. And they took us. We had so many problems there. We cried for one month. Why did u take us away from our dad? We didn't want to stay there. And our dad was all alone. I still have the document, maybe I can show it to you later. There is a wall in Gazlıçeşme which is near the Housing Administration. And there stands ten-fifteen square meter slums. And they are still there. And my dad used to stay there. No toilet, no bathroom. We also stayed there. We changed many places in Zeytinburnu.

I had not started primary school. We had language problems, adaptation problems. They gave me to Yakacak Institution of Children Protection. There I started primary school after one year delay. And after I finished primary school, they told me I was old enough and I was very tall that I should be sent to Mevlanakapı Institution of Children Protection in Topkapı. They told me I was to work there, I did not have the chance to have an education. I stayed there for three weeks. I struggled a lot. After the schools were opened, I went to the Ministry of Health and Ministry of Education. Finally thanks to the ex İstanbul governor Cudi Kalkan who died in the earthquake, I enrolled in Mensucat Santral Secondary School in Zeytinburnu after one and a half month. After attending the first two classes of the secondary school there, they sent us to the Institution of Children Protection in Çatalca saying that studying and working children should not be at the same place. I finished high school there. I could not pass the universty examination.

I started experiencing the streets on September 4, 1981 and for three years I lived on the streets. After that I joined the army for my military service. Now I am standing here as a journalist, as a pedagog, and as the manager of the organization I founded in 1992 which focuses on the children and teenagers living on the streets. And from 1998 onwards I have been serving as a consultant for homeless children and orphans. Now I am serving as the consultant of our esteemed minister Nimet Çubukçu.

There are some documents about immigration which I cannot

forget. For instance, there are two letters which my dad wrote to the Zeytinburnu municipality and to the head official of the district. Of course there are some positive aspects of immigration too. After some time and effort you get used to your new life. But there are also some people who could not adjust. For example my dad couldn't get used to it. Because at that time if they had not given us to the Institution of Children Protection, if we had stayed with our dad with some financial support, everything would have been different. Even today there are such problems The children were staying at most of the Institution of Children Protection because of poverty. And this effects the lives of these people greatly.

The letters my dad sent to the Zeytinburnu municipality and to the head official of the district with his own handwriting are really interesting. I still feel bad. We didnt have any coal, wood, food, or clothes, It was like we are poor, can you please help us. Dad stayed for a long time at a Turkestenian house just opposite the mosque near the store in Zeytinburnu. And at the end he died under harsh conditions. He died on my arms at Haseki Hospital on August 30, 1987.

We are three siblings, we don't have any relatives. These three siblings were grown up in the Institution of Children Protection and we don't have many problems today. Our problem was immigration which seperated us from mum, dad and our relatives, and the siblings from each other. I went to Yakacak with my young brother and my youngest brother was sent to the institution in Kasımpaşa. We stayed at different institutions although we three were boys. When we were out, we were three foreign brothers. We endeavored a lot for many years to have a normal relationship with each other. And we came across many problems.

I have been living in İstanbul for nearly thirty eight years. When we have a look at the immigrations to İstanbul, we see that they want to have a better future concerning economy, education and health. This is true for both domestic and foreign immigrations.

Twenty years ago, I had said that metropolitan mayors could prevent immigration. Not only Istanbul metropolitan municipality but also other metropolitan municipalities facing immigration such as Ankara, Antalya, Mersin and Adana should come together and find an immigration fund. They have to found this fund. If three hundred thousand people are coming to İstanbul each year and when you should provide water, electricity, infrastructure, employment and housing to all these poeple, this is a vicious circle. You cannot solve the problems of İstanbul like this.



So immigration stories may be positive or negative. We talked mostly about the negative sides. Yes, in fact when we consider immigration in the long run, it doesn't have such good results. If you go there for education, this is something different. You may go to USA for masters or PHD, this is something different. But we were exposed to obligatory immigration. We didn't have a country, we were expelled. They weren't treating us there like humans, we didn't have the right for education or citizenship. We came here because Turkish Republic gave us these and we faced these hardships. You may ask me if I regret this after all this time. No, I don't. But immigration should be done in better ways so that the newcomers and the ones residing here won't have big problems.

What I can't understand is that the immigration to İstanbul is being supported with so many houses. There is no end to this. Esteemed guests, when I first came to Zeytinburnu there were Albanian pavements. They were found nearly on all parts of İstanbul. What bothers me most is that there are not many such pavements left and secondly the slums. When apartments were involved we started spending so much money for security, health and education infrastructure.

I am for founding this immigration fund. The mayors of the metropolitan municipalities will come together and invest in the cities and towns from which there is a dense immigration. And thus these people will not go to İzmir or İstanbul for employment and education, they will go to these cities just for vacation.

For example regarding these pavement stones I can say that only the municipality of Eminönü is using them. Please go and visit Sultanahmet, Eminönü one day when it is raining cats and dogs, you will see how rain gets in the Albanian pavements into the soil. This is very important. You are increasing the ground water wealth and you are saving money this way. Why? Because asphalt is an expensive investment and it has very bad effects on the environment. However, these Albanian pavements which we don't like much has a history of 1200 years. You can use one other side of it in every three hundred years. Please consider that nobody will get on this street to build pavements for such a long time.

Actually we should own our city more, there should be a standard of of İstanbul from Gebze to Silivri. Unfortunately there is not.

These fellow townsman organizations have both positive and

negative sides for me. Because they don't get mixed in the city, they can't adapt to the city. And then we can't reach universality. If they could cooperate with other organizations and own their city İstanbul, we wouldn't face this situation. Because when they come here, they continue keeping their own values. And when they do this, they have difficulties in adapting to the city just like me and my family. And we face many hardships for this. Then politicians go after these people to get votes. Fellow townsman organizations should avoid this situation. I believe that fellow townsman organizations have a lot to contribute to this country.

I will tell you the reason of our forming this organisation with an example from Denmark. Five million people live in Denmark. Among this five million there are thirty five million organized people. At first I was surprised. They told me that one citizen is a member to ten, fifteen or twenty different NGOs. What does it mean? All those people sitting there may be the members to Homeless Children Protection Organization, environment organizations or organizations handling women rights. And when we are looking for our rights thousands or millions of people may be supporting us. This is one of the problems of forming organizations. Fellow townsmen organizations become NGOs when they support homeless children, clean society, various rights such as human rights. But when they start protecting fellow townsmen rights they are not NGOs for me. The same is true for unions and job organizations.

Civil society serves for public benefit. One of the reasons why we have adaptation problems with EU is that we can't perceive civil society well. I will give you a simple example. According to the 15'th act of the Children's Rights Declaration, children have the right to form organizations. This right was only enacted three months ago. If you don't give your children the right to form organizations and if this doesn't start in the early ages then self-interests come to the fore. People don't become members to the organizations or associations consciously when they retire. And when self-interests come to the fore, there comes a vicious circle. If the Republic of Turkey is one, if all these land is ours and if the happiness and welfare of our people is important for us, then we should act in cooperation.

I would like to end my speech by thanking both to the mayor of Zeytinburnu and our chairman. Thank you very much for listening to me.



VIII. SESSION

Preventing Internal Migrations and New Horizons



VIII. SESSION

PREVENTING INTERNAL MIGRATIONS AND NEW HORIZONS

11 December 2006 Sunday

Chairman of Session

Prof. Dr. Husamettin ARSLAN

Uludag University

Emrehan HALICI

Chairman of Turkish Intelligence Foundation

“Sustainable Development, Information Technology, and Brain Drain”

Sekib AVDAGIC

Representative of Istanbul Chamber of Commerce (ITO)

“Economical and Social Problems Caused by Internal Migration”

Abdurrahman KURT

Bilkent University

*“Economical and Political Migration in South East Anatolia:
Causes, Consequents, and Solution Suggestion”*

Neşe ERDILEK

Sociologist / Administrative Coordinator of Istanbul Bilgi University

Center of Migration-Related Researches and Implementations

*“Introduction of the Rehabilitation Project to be Implemented in Tarlabaşı
District Where Different Types of Migrations are Observed”*

Zekeriya AKCAM

Member of Parliament - Izmir

*“Migration Policy of Turkey at the Gates of EU:
What should be at the New Perspectives?”*

Prof. Dr. Mustafa ILICALI

Member of Parliament - Erzurum

*“The Prevention of Migration from East Anatolia:
Winter Tourism and Organic Agriculture Project”*

Sabriye SAYIN

An Immigrant Artist

“An Immigration Story: The Story of a Family Settled in Zeytinburnu”



Emrehan HALICI

Chairman of Turkish Intelligence Foundation

Born in 1956 in Konya. Completed his undergraduate and postgraduate studies at the Department of the Electrical and Electronical Engineering of the Middle East Technical University. After a short period of assistantship at the same university, made the first investment on Technopark in our country. Involved in activities on chess. Elected as MP from Konya on 18th April Nisan 1999 from DSP and executed duties as the Acting Leader of DSP Group in the Parliament. Founder of Turkish Intelligence Foundation.

Sustainable Development, Information Technology, and Brain Drain

I. INTRODUCTION

In this symposium elaborately dealing with all aspects of emigration, my presentation aims to examine the concept of 'brain drain' in terms of sustainable development and peace and discuss what contributions the information technology solutions can make with regard to the understanding these concepts, monitoring, and management.

In the initial part of the presentation, in addition to examination in the concept of "sustainable", the effects of the critical movements emerging as emigration and brain drain are studied within this context. The basic thesis, here, is that the perception of the brain drain as a natural movements is becoming inevitable day by day.

Information and technology age not only provides all the elements facilitating replacement of individual both physically and ideologically but also plays an important role in triggering the desire and need to emigrate giving the notion that it is a natural right.

On the other hand, in the second part, the negative effects of any sort of emigration and the urgent need to develop new concept of globalization to tackle with them.

The current form of globalization, not mentioning the historical reasons, is localizing the wealth taking its practical effects into considerations, and the regions away from these areas, even the close ones, are turning into swamps running out of oxygen.

From this point of view, emigration is the term standing for either the problems carried from the swamps to the wealthy regions or leaving those swamps with their own faiths. In both situations, migration as an origin, destination or both causes an ongoing deprivation and poverty.

In the final part of the study, it is claimed that information technology based solutions and generally the qualities of the information age provide every potential opportunity to maneuver in a desired direction.

When the human societies seen scattered in a logical balance



are left in their natural environments, they are registered by some organized political or bureaucratic structures within those environments. This situation is the basic identification tool used when we call someone Singaporean or Canadian.

From this point of view, information technology based solutions are able to easily show what nationality, society or background the individual contributing anything economically or scientific, cultural and anything related to art to the humanity owes in terms of turning this contribution into an object inside him/herself, and provide all interfaces needed in the process of paying this debt in different ways.

II. THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The 'development' itself is a quite old term regarding economic theory. To some historian, it first existed as the nations started to appear; depending on the international competitiveness, it has become a variable that is measured systematically.

It is frequently emphasized that "gross national product" (GNP) used to measure this variable solely indicates "economic development" and is, to some extent, effective; however, it is not efficient in terms of understanding conditions of the nations and the entire prosperity level of the social-ecological environments of these nations. (Piana, V. 2001)

Especially the condition of social and humanitarian development or adjusting to the natural environment, perhaps of more importance as an indicator, has led other measuring methods and development concepts with wider ranges instead of GNP.

"Humanitarian Development Scale" has become of more importance as an evaluation tool along with GNP by the Western nations.

The concept of "development" has been subjected to an interdisciplinary questioning as economic development in a country measured with GNP has failed in creating a fair equality for reaching basic needs, health services, and education facilities in that country and it is commonly agreed that developed nations to the conventional measuring methods are obviously responsible for ecological crimes.

Instead of determining "the development" regarding GNP at anytime and any place, determining to what extent the development tendency of that place at social, ecological, and international scale is consistent, robust, and predictable is the main paradigm in this field.

When we think that this paradigm gained power with the report titled "World Conservation Strategy" that was published in 1980 (Redclift, M. 1989), that no ideological satisfaction has been achieved yet will be noticed.

The concept of sustainable development aims to understand to what extent a society, internally and globally, is organized in a way that covers a predictable future as related to social and ecological features.

Therefore, in a world where societies are connected with each other electronically, economically, and culturally, though not organically, development and its being sustainable, at the same time, puts forward the notion of "Cooperated Sustainable Development" as something compulsory.

With the term "Cooperated Sustainable Development", explanation of justice in wealth distribution is also aimed at a global scale in this context.

Accordingly, how regions that more people prefer to live and work and migration towards those regions can indirectly contribute to the wealth of less popular regions.

Thus, instead of considering the migration, especially the brain drain, as a concept that arise the feeling of exploitation, it is aimed to see the positive sides which contribute to global distribution of wealth and relatively a fair share of it.

III. MIGRATION: CAN IT BE A WIN-WIN GAME?

As a matter of fact, migration is an inevitable result of efforts to adopt changing living conditions. All living creatures struggle to stay alive, do this by consuming less energy, if possible, and create environments more suitable for them. Not only is this an anthropological fact but also a biological need.

The concept of migration should be studied considering three main aspects – emigrant, as an individual or group, the origin, and the destination.

Social and economic statue, the level of education, talent, moral values, and interests of the person or group emigrating have the basic importance both to the origin and to the destination.

As the quality of the emigrant increase, the origin is getting poorer and poorer. Likewise, as the quality is lower, it constitutes threats to the internal systems of the destination, and loses of the origin becomes less important.

If the case is brain drain, the variables mentioned becomes more and more clear. Emigrant chooses the places where he most gets use of his capital, brain. During this process, the destination is becoming the land of intellectual richness. As for the origins, they are liable to a great deal of lose.

For example, the cost of the brain drain lose in India from 1976 to 1985 is estimated to be approximately 51 billion \$. (Zweig, D., Changgui, C., & Rosen, S. 1995: 65) Likewise, in a report submitted to the congress of the US in 1974, it was pointed out



that the profit the US made, only in 1971, through brain drain was 835 million \$ and in the same year, in developing nations, the economic loss was 326 million \$. (a.g.e. 65)

What's more, that % 35 of the Nobel prized people living in the US were of foreign descent in 1962 and that they migrated to that country when they had got the prize were established. (a.g.e. 65)

Within the current economy and social system, it is not hard to predict that migration will be more inevitable despite the negative effects mentioned above.

The strong connection between technological development and human movements is emphasized by many sociologists and historians. (Toro-Morn, M. I. & Alicea, M. Eds.. 2004)

Consistently, it doesn't seem possible to prevent movements at a global scale from emerging as an ordinary migration and brain drain or to hinder them.

Especially policies of "persuading returning home" tired at different eras in China was unfortunately had no a considerable achievement.

Furthermore, brain drain is gradually being considered rather a right to move freely; in addition, global culture, media, and art intensifies the notion of "reaching distant places".

All the things considered, the important question was asked at the title of this chapter; Is it possible to find a common solution that will contribute to each – the emigrants, the origin, and the destination?

IV. PART OF THE SOLUTION: INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

We live in an era of global information technology that policies to determine where people prefers to live, and change their mind on this; briefly, any attempt to prevent migration will least succeed.

On the other hand, if we give p asking the wrong question, we are more likely to reach creative solutions.

"How can we prevent people from preferring other places (big cities or developed nations) to their hometowns to live?"

Instead of this, we should ask it in this way, "How can we pave the way to individuals, wherever they live, to pay their depth to the origin, nation, society or the region with regard to contribution to their individual outfit?"

"Cooperated Sustainable Development" constitutes the ethical side of this approach.

According to this, Pakistan should benefit, to some extent,

from the economic use to Canada from a Pakistani nuclear physician. This is not a result of a simple aid work ethics; on the contrary, it is a logical requirement. In terms of the casual relationship between development of Pakistan and global peace along with sustainable development, it is an indirect obligation.

Thus, the first step of this approach is about "what should be"

In the case of the second one, we should be dealing with the question of "Is it possible?" in other words, with today's technological opportunities, is possible to form a system of "mutual interest" like the example given above.

Today, with the help of network of information and communication, it is possible to buy the share of the firms which we know nothing but just their financial profiles, to have a partnership with their unknown investments; moreover, the profit out of these financial decisions can be transferred to the bank accounts wherever you are.

As a student, we have the chance to participate in courses in remote distances all over the world. Likewise, as a patient, we can easily send our diseases background to health care centers far away from us, and reach the information about the diagnose by the doctors of that center.

As a client of a bank or stock market and as a student or a patient, it is obvious that information network has succeeded in the accurate circulation of our personal files without causing any confusion with others'.

Taking everything into consideration, why can't a person whose origin is in a country but who produces ideas in another country record the added value from this production, and achieve a transaction through this revenue?

The emphasis, of course, is not on the classically "state rights", but rather on the intellectual rights, global contracts, and cooperated sustainable development.

It is mostly agreed that such kind of regulation is needed for the global economy; within this regulation, intellectual right is of primary importance. (McBride, S. & Wiseman, J. Eds: 2000)

As solutions for the problems I want to draw your attention and practicing the theories and suggestions I am trying to develop, we can benefit form the "technology development zones", which is becoming more and more common in our country.

Those zones, as we all know, are designed to create a coordination between the scientific practices of academic world which researches-develops, produces information, and criticizes and the practices of the business world which manufactures and trading.



Techno parks, as their purpose suggests, are the zones where qualified brains are dealing with advanced technological works, and whose employees are mostly from the white colored people. They are quite a suitable environments, on account of the features mentioned above, to practice and try the notion of “cooperated sustainable development” on a global scale or , perhaps, on especially software industry.

As a pilot initiative, the participation of the people of different origins and working for European Techno parks in “intellectual copyrights” and similar programs with a systematic appliance mentioned in this text and reaching a common sense on institutional and employer scale can be practiced.

In information and communication technology, that the working place of the people working in production of software and

content is less importance make it possible for everyone to yield ideas, goods, and services at any time, any place through an e-trading connecting all world.

It is an important opportunity for brains migrating willingly or obligatory, at any place of the world, to make economic and technologic connection with their homelands and develop it. Constituting the necessary regulations and resources to take the opportunity is possible with the regulations to be made by both the countries themselves and the international area.

Brain drain, for me, is not a thing that should be stopped but a natural motive that should be well managed. To canalize the energy of this motive to right places in correct way may be the most important benefit expected from information technology.

Note: For references on this paper, please check Turkish section.



Sekib AVDAGIC

Representative of Istanbul Chamber of Commerce (ITO)

Avdagiç is a board member of Istanbul Chamber of Commerce.

Economical and Social Problems Caused by Internal Migration

I would like to express that Istanbul is one the most affected cities of the world by migrations; and we, as ITO (Istanbul Chamber of Commerce), have involved in various activities.

"We should, attentively, plan and manage the economic growth and migration of Turkey. We are at an interesting point in Istanbul. Istanbul is a big metropolis that realizes %44 of tax incomes, and almost %50 of export-import of the country, it holds %22 of the tax income. As the surveys show, those moved to new areas are not satisfied with their decisions. For some time the government has a development plan. This framework suggests some cities by themselves, some in coordination with others plan some concepts clearly. I am thinking of adaptation of this scheme to the conditions of Turkey. Now, Istanbul itself is being planned. The authority of Istanbul municipality has reached up to all of the city borders, even the suburbs and remote districts. Outside the city borders towards

Bursa, Bilecik, Trakya, Adapazarı, and Sakarya, a zone as constructed. I think this planning is not sufficient. Accordingly, we think that we should prepare a more regional framework creating some hubs directly connected to Istanbul but away from the city centrum, and develop a policy increasing supports related to the probable migration towards this region. These are the things that should be directly linked to Istanbul."

But "Where can we realize those? What ports will we use for import? What ways will we use for transportation, and what kind of vehicles will we use? And the labor? Where will we accommodate and transfer those workers?"

Thus, we should make a correct picture of the framework related to our subject behind that economic growth. If we fail, we will constantly be a society %50 – 60 of whom are moving and growing, and will never be a kind of society which solves this. We have had a great deal of experience through the problems



we have gone through. What we should do is acting together as local authorities, central government, chambers of commerce and trade, and NGOs to form a common potential structure. To change the structure and reach an appropriate formation of statistics of growing Turkey, we should produce policies. I would like to point out that 3 – 5 millions of people have migrated since 1970s in five-year-terms. Approximately 1-1, 5 million people have been subjected to internal migration over the past 30 years. Although it has slowed down after the earthquake, internal migration is still continuing with the speed it has gained. One of the things we should do is to determine and eradicate the factors driving people to migrate. ITO has already been working on this. Take for example; it is conducting an important project which aims development in East of Turkey on the basis of tourism. It is obvious that preventing dense emigration from those regions is impossible through using force and some laws enacted to stop it. To achieve this,

we should put forward new policies to make those people be satisfied with their homelands and arrange minimum wage according to each city. Organizations like us, NGOs and government ought to produce policies taking the negative conditions of the underdeveloped regions. Any aspects of social facilities and economy must be considered to hold the people in the high potential emigration-prone and underdeveloped regions. It is highly the responsibility of those people migrating from those regions. Their supports to the project and contributions to investments to be made on those regions will create benefits both economically and psychologically. That would be too optimistic of us to expect someone from a foreign country or outside the region to make investments on those regions. On the other hand, I think we can only turn the problems out of migration into making our society better if we include the local people and activate the mechanisms that excites the emigration regions.



Abdurrahman KURT

Bilkent University

Born in 1968 in Diyarbakır. After graduating from the Faculty of Civil Engineering from Yıldız Technical University, obtained his Master's Degree on International Economy, Politics and Business Management of Beykent University. Worked at Beyoğlu Municipality in 2000. Currently the chairman of the Platform for Solidarity with the Families of Casualties of Diyarbakır Plane Crash.

Economical and Political Migration in South East Anatolia: Causes, Consequents, and Solution Suggestion

It is possible to classify migration from South East Anatolia toward western urban as into voluntary-economic or search migration and forced-escaping, dismissing (exile) or political migration. Generally in voluntary (search-economic) migration after pioneer of the family prepare background in the target space, the other members of the family join to migration step by step. Though its negative sides, economic migrations can create many of utilities for the social motilities and movement of migrants. Because of coming from the lower strata of their society, new space is the world of dream and hope for the actors of such migration. After this point, the important one is the ability of adaptation of migrants.

The situation in the forced migration is much merger. Forced migrants without having any chance owing to preparation for the place where they have gone as well as the place is not pre-

pared for them with leaving their all goods and owning behind find out themselves alone, such in pity and sort, angry and hate. Such kind of migrations create risky situation for society. In order to prevent terror in the south east Anatolia (Mao's example: fish and lake) revenging village brought opposite consequents and turned cities into feeding source of terror. As consequent, target cities of forced migration had accounted to struggle with its problems (order problems).

While we examine the causes of forced migration in Turkey, we will see that a considerable part of migration is related to the decline in economic conditions. The main reasons of economic migrations are economic deterioration, high fertility rates, unemployment, lower income, differentiation between development of regions and unequal income distribution. The other important reasons of forced migration are revenge attacks



from security forces, anxiety about safety, logistical arguments, and pressure to become village guards, pressure from village guards and food embargoes (Peker, 2000). Barut characterized the internal displacement as a tragedy resulting from a political structure lacking in pluralism, democratization and human rights in contemporary Turkey.

Mansur Meçin (ODTÜ, Ankara 2004) found in his research in Mersin on forced migration that "Whereas 32, 5 % of migrants show the state as the cause of migration, 16, 7% of them show pressure to become village guards as the cause of migration. 12,0% of them migrated because of economic deterioration, 11,1% of them migrated because of an unidentified murderer, 8,1% of them migrated because of pressure from village guards, 7,3 of them migrated because of other reasons, 6,8% of them migrated because of unemployment 3,8% of them migrated because of illegal organizations and 1,7% of them migrated because of vendetta."

Mansur Meçin (ODTÜ, Ankara 2004) found the causes of forced migration as below. When we evaluate the causes of their settling in Mersin, we see that 57, 6% of forced migrants show the causes of their settling in Mersin as of the previous settling of their relatives, 25% show "employment, education, health and social possibilities", 10, 9% show "appropriateness of its survival conditions", 2, 2% show "knowing the region" and 4, 3% of them show other causes for settling in Mersin. Ersoy (2003) indicate "majority of the displaced villagers pointed that the spatial proximity to their village and the existence of relatives and friends in the target city are the main reasons behind the choice of future settlement." (Ersoy, 2003: 4). When we compare our field research with the research of Ersoy (2003), which was made in southeastern region provinces, we also found that "relatively well off groups moved outside the region to the large metropolitan centers." (Ersoy, 2003: 4).

Table 42: Frequency Distribution of the Causes of Migration

Causes of Migration	Frequency	Percent
State	76	32.5
Illegal Organizations	9	3.8
Pressure to Become Village Guard	39	16.7
Pressure of Village Guards	19	8.1
Unidentified Murderer	26	11.1
Economic Deterioration	28	12.0
Unemployment	16	6.8
Vendetta	4	1.7
Other	17	7.3
Total	234	100.0

CONSEQUENTS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MIGRATION

Barut carried out the most comprehensive survey on forced migration in Turkey with the sponsorship of GÖÇ-DER (Association for Social Solidarity and Culture for Migrants) (2002). This survey covered the major cities that received the largest part of the forcibly displaced migrants since the beginning of 1990s: Diyarbakir, Van, Batman, Istanbul, İzmir and Mersin. This survey indicates very important facts about the migrant people. The forced migrants are nearly homogeneous ethnically. Most of 'displaced population' has hardship of living conditions and lack of estates in order to cope with the urban life. We also derived from this survey that forced migrants are in deep social and economic segregation. According to this survey, of the displaced families who migrated to the cities:

1. 86.7% migrated between 1989 and 1999.
2. 83.7% state the reason for migration as 'practices within the emergency rule, namely depopulation of villages, forcing to become village-guards, closing of pasture lands'.
3. 41% migrated with the totality of village.
4. 98.6% state to have material loss.
5. Kin (47.8%) and acquaintances from the hometown (45.6%) played important role in choosing the place of settlement.
6. 25% speak only Kurdish, while 66.5% speak both Turkish and Kurdish.
7. 42.3% are illiterate.
8. 43.4% have children at the compulsory school age, but not going to school.
9. 82.9% work in daily, temporary jobs in the informal sector.
10. 91.3% had unemployment problem.
11. 88% are not covered by social security.
12. 93.7% express their wish to return to their villages.

At this result, especially the health reforms that sustained at term of AK party (especially the green card) and the limited cash transform namely, paying scholarship for poor students with this usages the negatives of 11. Matter is seriously declined.

Also %93.7 of immigrants have desire of turning back to village which is shaped with a nostalgic emotion or attractive anger, thus, it is declined at ratio of 60 percent- 55 percent with the last research. That is, with the time this desire of turning back to village is reduced. Mansur Meçin (ODTÜ, Ankara 2004) at his research's result evaluation with the statistical data's predicted that although the majority of the forced immigrants defined that they will turn back to their villages; this ratio will not be more than 30 percent. Mansur Meçin (ODTÜ, Ankara 2004) As well, he stated that the forced immigrants who could able to turn back strictly have to have employment opportunities. It is assumed that the immigrants who have more than 50 dec. Land will turn back.



00SOLUTIONS SUGGESTIONS

We have to classify your solution suggestions as well the main reasons of the migration in terms of economic and politic.

1) In view of economic especially the competence of the irritation invest of region is the main factor. The competence of the irritation invest will create dependence to the land, thus it will be the main prevention of migration. Specifically, Silvan dump that has a capacity of irritating of 257 000 hec land initially has to be in act. The agriculture is the main source for employment. It has a force of almost 50.000 household in a direct way. It is consist of 14% of GAP Project.

The investment of 35% of economically irrigatable lands of Turkey is completed. This ratio is %5 in Diyarbakır. Namely, Diyarbakır has a ratio that seven times less than the recourses of country. Nonetheless, GAP Project is perceived as if a Project that is not invested Project for the region. If we think that GAP is consist of energy and irritation paths, the invest of energy path is almost completed in view of %75, however, energy investment is spread out all around of state and much more consumed at the industrialized western cities. The irritation investments that directed to the specialty of the region are completed at ratio of 12%. that is such a conscience that the region is squeezed into such an economic negative differentiation.

Because of this reason when the residents of the region want to have solution as a need of right supply positive differentiation.

2) A new and scientific reconstruction in agriculture has to be hold in the region. Product versions must be changed and traditional agriculture mind must be transformed.

3) Encouragement law has to be evaluated in forms of the region as well, regional and sectoral encouragement law must be reconsidered.

4) Especially, Diyarbakır centered road web have to be strengthen through the west-east of country more rather to the middle east and the potentiality of Diyarbakır as the market center way of country opened to middle east strictly must be evaluated.

In this conjuncture an international civil airway and railway have to be modernized and open to flight and departure (to

Middle East countries). The completed autobahn between Gaziantep and Şanlıurfa making it longer at least as a double way to Diyarbakır is essential.

5) Specifically, my lecture Mr. Prof. Mustafa ILICALI who has to speak today in stead of yesterday clarified that coordinated and supportable program have to be produced among the cities that give migration and the cities that take migration.

6) The regional development differences must be over down or at least separated charm center have to be created in terms of preventing the negative intension of migration.

7) Occupation daring courses- the projects that decreasing social riské have to be considered.

8) To be able to live such potential in Diyarbakır, one of the most important cities in the world where time and space combined, needed investment has to be done earlier and such potential has to bring out in social and economic life.

In anticipation of culture and believe tourism of Diyarbakır as a important center of world we should consider the tomb of 27 saints of Mohammed and 8 prophet as well the sun prayers temples, Judaists synagogues, Christians churches, and other believing temples and centers also the second longest wall of world and other important historical places. As well as, there are to many other epochs living in this ancient city.

The second part of our solution suggestion which is political one and without this approach nothing will be real and beneficial. In our opinion with the improvement of elohalism and which set off the discrimination and differences as its ability of taking place of emptiness like the subject of diffusion. The improvement in communitarian makes assimilation impossible. Thus, every identity recreate it self. Because of this politics that anticipated in definite part of the world has to be given up (Will Kimlica). It has to be unconsidered that the mind of creating a universal nation from a specified nation just brought out blood and tear in this country.

In my opinion there is nonequivalence in solving these problems with multiculturalist's approach that is defined by someone

Thanks for all the audiences owing to their courage.



Nese ERDILEK

Sociologist / Administrative Coordinator of Istanbul Bilgi University
Center of Migration-Related Researches and Implementations

Currently the Director of the Center for the Application and Research on Migration-Related Activities under Bilgi University in Istanbul. After graduating from the Sociology Department of the Middle East Technical University, obtained a degree of specialization on Demography from the Population Studies Institute of Hacettepe University.

Introduction of the Rehabilitation Project to be Implemented in Tarlabası District Where Different Types of Migrations are Observed

Turkey is, from now on, defined as a migratory country. Emigration, immigration, internal migration, and a transit way- illegal migration are the problems we face in our country. Migration is one of basic components of changes in Turkey. In Turkey where the population has increased by 50 million people in a fifty-year-period, from 1950 to 2000, population in rural areas which was 75% of total population in 1950 has been down to 35%.

Proportion of rural and urban population is generally considered the criteria that determine development and industrialization. In EU process, Turkey is expected to reach the proportion of 75-80% urban population in EU countries. It is a must for development to increase by 15% of urban population, now 65%. Within the next 10-15 years, the population that will flow to urban areas is expected to be concentrated in metropolises. In brief, the internal migration process will go on and the balance on population of our society will take some time.

Some evaluations about emigrants who radically have changed the structure of big cities will make it clearer to understand the situation. Migration causes the person to have some negative or positive characteristics. Those characteristics directly affect and change the society they have started to live in. As they get rid of traditional ties, obstacles, in their homelands, their ability to adaptation and flexibility increases in connection with the need to adjust themselves to the host society. Briefly, immigrants must be courageous and creative to survive. To have a statue in that society, they give importance to be qualified, which creates dynamism in the society. The dynamics of the rapid growth in the USA, Canada, Australia, and even Turkey is attributed to immigrants.

On the other hand, migration is something traumatic. They both develop internal solidarity to make their place stable and try not to vanish lasting their traditions and devoting them-



selves to traditional values strengthening the ties among themselves. And, this ends in isolated streets and districts (ghettos). Consequently, this coordinative life can be easily turned into mafia relations.

The urbanization of Turkey is based on regional imbalances. Those imbalances are considered both effect and cause of migration from rural to the cities.

Major change in Istanbul's population, nearly 25% of Turkey's urban population, can be taken as a transformation from western origin to eastern. Between 1950 and 1990, the percentage of the people born in Istanbul was down to 37% from 53%. Those born in Istanbul in 1950 were mostly from Marmara, Aegean, and Balkans and they accounted for 75% of the city's population. In 1990, it was 50%.

When examining the characteristic of the population, one third of the immigrants are from young people aging from 15 to 24, and half of the emigrants are adults, from 24 to 64. In terms of education, immigrants have lower education relatively to the emigrants. The exact statistics shows that the population is getting younger but the level of the education is lowering in Istanbul.

To see Turkey in future, it would be fine to take the question of what kind of urbanization and migration process it has been experiencing into consideration.

After 1950 and in 1960s, a massive migration from villages to the cities was observed as a result of transformation in rural areas.

Slum housing has become a basic way for those migrating from rural to cities to have accommodation and somewhat a way of urbanization. At this initial phase, the dwellers build houses just for their own use.

Housing and finding job are executed on the basis of coming from the same city or town. At first, the houses were built by occupying the public land. After 1970s and mostly 1980s slum housing wasn't a way to be accommodated for migrants but something very profitable with its rapidly increasing value. Naturally, the regions with improper and uncontrolled construction lack infrastructural and environmental facilities. Those regions are on their way to become ruins without any hope of recovering and developing.

The characteristic of migration which was something done willingly on economical purposes has changed to a different formation since the middle of 1980s. This new phenomena called forced or obligatory migration has existed as a result of the fights from the attacks of PKK to Şemdinli and Eruh in 1984,

"A War with Low Intensity" as officially named, to the start of an easing period, one-sided ceasefire declared by PKK in 1999. That was a sudden and massive migration.

To a report by "*The Parliamentary Investigation Commission to Examine the Problems of The Citizens Migrating Because Of Evacuated Settlements in East and Southeast Anatolia*" formed in the TBMM (Turkish Grand National Assembly), the number of villages evacuated, due to security reasons, is 3428.

To the official statistics 378 000 people, 1,5 or 3 million to NGOs, have been affected that migration in East and Southeast of Turkey. Those people were evacuated giving them no chance to think where to go, what to eat and wear, how to make their living, and forced to leave all their belongings, houses, farms, gardens, livestock animals behind.

While making decision on societies, short-term benefits or solutions creates social problems to such an extent that could never be anticipated. This movement solely out of military and pragmatic purposes has made its reflection felt all over the country as domino effect. When deciding such kind of social changes that can be called social engineering, all risks should be taken into consideration.

Victims of migration confront with not only the great problems such as accommodation, food, medical services, social security, and education but also trauma, no chance to implement their habits, customs and life styles, stress out of non productivity and the state of poverty. In an environment that adults can not find job but do only temporarily and marginal works, children work on streets. The children on the street are subjected to any kind of harassment, abduction, killing, injury, forcing to commit crimes, physical and psychological disorders, drug addiction, and violence, away from education.

To the remarks of Mayor Diyarbakir made in a panel "*Internal Migratory Problems and Solution Suggestions*" held in Istanbul Bilgi University on June 19, 2004, a sudden increase in rate of child crimes was seen after 1990. It was also indicated that there are 28 000 children under that risk, and drug addiction among them is growing. Some of them are being exported to bigger cities.

Studies made in Istanbul, has showed that the children working on the street are from the families migrating from East and Southeast Turkey (75%). According to the research by Beyoğlu Child and Youth Center of City Directorate of Social Services, 47% of families has migrated due to terror and 43% unemployment. 93% of them has made their children work on the streets owing to economic reasons. 43% of the children aging between



6 and 14 has no more connection with the school.

Another group heavily affected by migration is women. The rate of non-Turkish speaker is 57,7%. An increase in depression and suicides is observed among those out of productivity, forced to isolation.

In big cities, among the families living in poverty, problems like family violence, honor killings, suicides, liability to violence, children working on the streets and escaping have been observed. A generation with no trust in world, feeling a constant threat, alienated from his/her environment, finally hosting hostile feelings has been created. Unless any precaution is taken as soon as possible, this loser generation excited by uneven distribution of wealth and poverty will, probably, be the basic of violence in next 10 years. Theft and pick pocketing cases increasing rapidly with more organized crime mafias may render the cities unlivable places.

In addition to all, masses sharing the poverty direct their hatred towards each other. With the effects of media, nationalist movements, organizations, and political parties, people from different ethnic origin but living at the same street are provoked and the results of these provocations worry us.

Turkey, involuntarily, has become a country that hosts transit migrants travelling to a third country. Refugees who have fled war and economic difficulties and have come to our country illegally work illegally for a while. They work illegally not only in housekeeping, construction, tourism, entertainment industry but also in crime organizations. In coming years, this will be a problem that should be solved.

THE TARLABAŞI COMMUNITY CENTRE PROJECT

Tarlabası, one of the most problematic districts in İstanbul, is directly in the study area scope of the Migration Research and Implementation Centre due to the characteristics of its residents. The district population mostly consists of recent migrants from the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia Regions, Romani people (Turkish Gypsies), illegal and unregistered immigrants, and the urban poor.

İstanbul Bilgi University, the Migration Studies Research and Implementation Centre has developed a project to establish a community centre in Tarlabası, Beyoğlu district. The project has been designed as a model to create employment as a way of combating poverty, to form coalescence among different ethnical, religious and social groups, and thus a rehabilitation model for the children and youngsters who might incline towards crime causing urban violence.

The Profile of Tarlabası:

Tarlabası, the target area in the project, is one of the districts in Beyoğlu Municipality. The fundamental sources of revenue in Beyoğlu are entertainment, culture, and tourism sectors. It is estimated that the population of the district is about 35 thousand including the unregistered. Most of the houses in the district, which was the area of minority residence once, were left either to foundations or National Treasury after the departure of the minorities. And these houses, which have become public property, are in ruins due to neglect and some of them have been invaded. These culturally distinct residents of Tarlabası are poor people called as low income group. These people had come from different geographies and cultures and settled in the district. And in the 1990s, there started an intense migration to this district particularly from the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia Regions. Thirty-five percent of the total population constitutes of the people migrating from the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia Regions (people from Mardin, Siirt, and Kars), who constitute 35% of the population, and Romani people. And in the area near Taksim dwell the Zimbabwean, Rwandan, Senegalese, Togolese and Romanian people (About 3% groups coming from abroad). And the residents who have been living in the district for a long time constitute the 40% of the population. The poorest, most despised and insulted people of İstanbul, so of Beyoğlu, the travesties, street children, and Africans, have come together in Tarlabası and created a "poverty"-based new living quarter for themselves. The residents of Tarlabası, which is appurtenant to Beyoğlu, one of the richest areas in İstanbul, feel themselves outcast from Beyoğlu culture (from the city life) and this results in their living in conflict with the society. Migration, poverty, uneducatedness, child abuse, and the health problems of family members are among the problems in Tarlabası. In Tarlabası, about half of the children at the age of primary school has been taken from their schools and directed to work in the streets.

According to the findings of the study, the Profiles of the Children Working in the Streets and Their Families, carried out by Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SHÇEK);

- 56% of the residents are unemployed.
- 90.2% of the women who migrated from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia and who live in Tarlabası are illiterate.
- 60% of the families live on subminimum wages.
- 63.5% of the families stated that they do not want their children to work in the streets whereas 32.7% stated that due to economic insufficiency they have to make their children work in the streets.



- Children earn 56.7% of the family income.
- The percentage of working mothers (cleaning) is 13.3.
- According to the study titled "Evaluation of the Crime Concept in the Context of Physical and Socio-Cultural Change", theft and fraud crimes broke out between the years 1993 and 1997, and multiplied 8 times over this period in Beyoğlu. In the study started in 1998, Tarlabası headed the list of the districts the researchers examining about 1600 crime files came upon.

Tarlabası stands out as a priority area to be rehabilitated in the metropol of İstanbul both with its demographic characteristics and the societal problems it exhibits. There are various ethnic groups (the Turks, the Kurds, the Romanis, the Syrians, refugees, foreigners living illegally in the district, and etc.) and religious groups (Alaouites (Alevi Muslims), Sunni Muslims, Christians, and etc.) in the district. The aggrieved migrants, the poorest and the most marginal people in the city, criminal people, narcotic people, people engaged in prostitution, children working or living in the streets and their families are also considered as the inhabitants of the district.

With regard to these evaluations, it is aimed in the project:

- to identify the reasons for societal problems, employment problem and poverty in the urban areas in İstanbul,
- to identify the problems caused by migration and its consequences, and to form a solution platform with all its components,
- to implement employment and education models giving priority to women and children,
- to develop and improve a participatory solution model for societal peace, poverty and employment problems by founding Tarlabası Community (Research and Implementation) Centre.

A field study to get to know the district:

It is essential to identify the demographic and ethnic profile, the social conflict areas and poverty profile to plan the activities of the centre and to establish realistic criteria to be used in developing policies. The key issues to be identified in the course of the field study are as follows:

- Identification of the various ethnic and religious groups in the district,
- The ethnic, cultural and economic dynamics of the intergroup interaction,
- The cradles of migration and the continuous relationships of the migrants,
- The migrants' time of residence in the district,
- The number of children in family, age, gender and educational background,
- Poverty limit (monthly income groups),
- The state of employment and the sources of income,
- The education and employment of the women.

The project aims at forming a sample model which will ensure that all components actively participate in the resolution peri-

od to solve poverty and employment problems, which will contribute to the resolution of tension and violence between different cultures and which will promote multicultural cohabitation in Tarlabası, which has a low income level and where there is an intensive migration and multiculturality.

The target audience of the Project is the minorities who have become low in number and who have been living in the district for a long time, the Romanis, the victims of forced migration (35%), and the unregistered illegal migrants (3-4%, the Zimbabwean, Rwandan, Senegalese, Togolese and Romanian people); briefly, all the residents of Tarlabası, especially the women and the children.

The objective of the project is to establish an education, research and implementation centre and to carry out field studies in order to achieve production, education, social service and social coalescence activities at the planned centre.

A community centre will be established in Tarlabası with the following aims:

- Identifying the multidimensional aspects of and reasons for societal problems and poverty growing out of the heterogeneous profile,
- Determining the solution proposals and methods for these problems with the participation of concerned institutions and organizations,
- Supporting the development of multicultural cohabitation model for the solution of the problems growing out of migration,
- Contributing to the resolution of tension and violence between different cultures,
- Carrying out informing and capacity enhancement studies with the participation of all the actors playing an active role both in economic and social life to ensure changing the negative judgments and wrong intervention methods in the district,
- Supporting the functional and accurate use of the capacity of local civil and official institutions and organizations by developing an orientation network,
- Supporting the social and educational development of the children working in the streets through training ateliers,
- Supporting the employment of low-income women by establishing a production atelier to set an example of employment,
- Enhancing the capacity of the youths in the district through vocational education courses and facilitating their employment.

Funds have been searched in various institutions for "Tarlabası Community Centre for the Prevention of Poverty - The Operation and Development of Tarlabası Education, Research and Implementation Project". Different institutions will fund the activities included in this very comprehensive Project. The production and education activities in the project have been accepted to the Social Solidarity and Assistance Fund - Social Risk Mitigation Loan Project financed by the



World Bank. Financial support has been received from the European Commission's the "European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights - Micro Project Programme" for the field study carried out to get to know the district, for the social service and social coalescence activities, and for the expenses on personnel needed for the sustainability of the Centre.

As the owner of the project, İstanbul Bilgi University, the Migration Studies Research and Implementation Centre, will receive direct support from the Sociology, Psychology, International Relations and Political Science departments, from the Tourism and Hotel Administration Programme of Vocational School and from the Honorary Education and Certificate Programme of the Social, Economic, and Political Research Centre (TESAR) of the University. Outside the University, Beyoğlu Municipality, Beyoğlu District Administration, and concerned directorates, the Accessible Life Association, as the partner of production activities, Helsinki Citizen's Association, and British Council will support the project.

Tarlabası Community Centre activities will comprise the following:

a- Production activities - Production with SAORI weaving technique and marketing of the products (A cooperative will be founded)

b- Education Activities

- Honorary vocational certificate programmes (or with a token fee) (Computer, English, accounting, salesperson, tourism, cleaner, set worker, construction and restoration, babysitting, security guard, etc.)

- Turkish language courses (for pre-school children, women, and foreigners)

- Courses supporting primary education

- Literacy courses

- Social-educational activities (for children)

c- Social service activities

- Health support (mother and child health, birth control, fight against tuberculosis, substance addiction, AIDS, and etc.)

Judicial support (citizenship rights, family law, refugee law, etc.)

- Psychological consultancy

d- Social coalescence activities

- Presentation meetings of the district

- Information meetings for the civil servants

- Human rights educations

- Exhibitions

- Concerts

- Films, documentaries

- Publications, and etc.

e- Sports activities and organizations

It is planned to form youth basketball, volleyball and handball teams.

Goals:

- Employment of 320 low-income women during the course of the project (2 years) (four three-month terms a year and employment of 40 women in each term) and foundation of a cooperative at the end of the project,

- Participation of the district's young people, between the ages of 15 and 20, who completed and/or were not able to complete his/her primary education, in the vocational and educational activities,

- Supporting the children at primary school stage and those working in the streets with social and educational activities,

- Foundation of Youth Sports Club,

- Continuation of the activities of the Centre by the residents of the district organized as an association.

With regard to these evaluations, it is expected to:

- identify the reasons for employment problem and poverty in the urban areas in İstanbul,

- update the information about poverty as regard to migration and its consequences and to form a solution platform with all the component parts of the problem,

- implement employment and education models giving priority to women and children,

- develop and improve a participatory solution model for poverty and employment problems by founding the Research and Implementation Centre.

Social Benefits of the Project:

- The following are the main social benefits that the project will ensure:

- Determining a durable solution proposal and programme for the employment problem.

- Improving the attitudes of the residents and the representatives of the institutions and organizations working with the concerned groups through the capacity-enhancing programmes.

- Achieving cultural communication among different cultures through the eradication of prejudices and preventing the urban violence,

- Contributing to the canalization of increasing urban tensions to productive and peaceful activities.



Zekeriya AKCAM

Member of Parliament - Izmir

Born in 1968 at Savaştepe. After graduating from the Faculty of Political Sciences from Ankara University, obtained his Master's Degree from the American University School of International Service. Assumed duties as a research officer and specialist in USA and Turkey. Currently a member of the Turkish Delegation of the European Convention, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) and West European Union (WEU). 22nd Period MP of TGNA.

Migration Policy of Turkey at the Gates of EU:

What should be the New Perspectives?

Thank you very much dear ChairmanFirst of all, I would like to thank, in the first place, our Mayor of Zeytinburnu Municipality and all those who helped organize this Symposium on such an important issue at the very proper time.

Of course, every issue in Turkey is being considered in relation with the EU now. From this point of view, the EU issue is not a matter of foreign policy any more; it has become a matter of interior policy. For this reason, our claiming that the EU is being turned into a matter of interior policy in Turkey is a justification without a political and social basis. Because what is a requirement of the EU, what is not a requirement of the EU has become totally confusing.

The most important document we should refer to while evalu-

ating the EU accession period is the Accession Partnership Document, which is our road map to the EU. The Accession Partnership Document signed by the Turkish Government in 2001 was revised in May 2003. Nearly since that date the works on Turkey's asylum and migration strategy have been carried out. Of course, in the Accession Partnership a perspective concerning the short and medium term priorities that should be realized was presented to Turkey. The priorities listed under the short term are further reinforcement of struggle against illegal migration and negotiation of a readmission agreement with the European Commission. And in the medium term, the EU acquis and practices on migration will be adopted and put into force with the aim of preventing illegal migration; alignment in the field of asylum will be ensured, and activities to lift



the geographical limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention will be commenced. Strengthening the system of evaluating and deciding on the asylum claims and providing accommodation centres and social assistance for asylum seekers and refugees are also among the priorities listed under the medium term.

Moreover, in order to align with the EU *acquis* on Justice and Home Affairs, Turkey has established a special task force where various state agencies responsible for border control, migration and asylum are represented.

And this task force has prepared an action plan for Turkey. I would like to stress on the National Action Plan for Asylum and Migration in the second part of my speech. And finally, as a member of parliament, I would like to share the views of the Turkish government on the issue of lifting the geographical limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention.

Turkey has established three main commissions while developing her national action plan for asylum and migration. And three strategy papers, one on the protection of external borders in Turkey, one on the activities foreseen in the field of asylum within the process of Turkey's accession to the EU, and one to contribute to the migration management action plan in Turkey, have been published. As we all know, a national programme on the adoption of the EU *acquis communautaire* was accepted and publicized in the Official Journal in 2003. In the 2003 Turkish National Programme, under the title of "Initiation of Alignment Process with the EU *Acquis* on Asylum and Capacity Enhancement in the Field of Asylum", initiation of alignment process with the EU *acquis* on asylum has been identified as a priority; and it has been foreseen that administrative and technical capacity be enhanced, particularly the maintenance of works to develop mechanisms for accommodation and social support for refugees.

In this accession partnership document, there is another commitment: Following the enactment of the Draft Bill on Asylum, the started process of alignment with the EU *acquis* will be continued during the preparation period by means of related administrative arrangements. National training plan on asylum and migration. In order to increase the capacity in the field of asylum and migration, an appropriate institutional set-up will be established to constitute a specialization unit in the field of asylum and migration to avoid institutional confusion.

Secondly, expanding the existing specialization unit in order that asylum and migration procedures are implemented in alignment with the EU *acquis* is under consideration. In this context, I would like to mention an institutional set-up

designed for this purpose. Firstly, the implementation of procedures applying to aliens arriving in Turkey by legal or illegal means seeking asylum individually, or applying in Turkey to seek asylum in other countries, and those requiring international protection within the framework of international conventions and agreements Turkey is a party to will be transferred to this institutional set-up.

And, secondly, the task of developing and directing migration policies, which is very important for Turkey, will be transferred. Thirdly, the implementation of procedures to evaluate and decide on the applications of migrants willing to come legally to Turkey to work, study and for the purpose of family reunification, or of migrants who are legally in Turkey will be transferred. And it is also expected from this institutional set-up to determine residence and similar statuses, and when necessary, to decide on the withdrawal of the status and on deportation; to develop and implement return programmes for those willing to return to their countries; to shape policies for the integration of aliens to the society; to identify the studies to be made and measures to be taken in the national and international arena against illegal migration and develop policies in this field; to resolve the possible disagreements over migration management at administrative level, which is important both in exercising administrative supervision over migration management and protecting the rights of aliens undergoing the procedure; to establish an evaluation board comprising of experts in the field in order to decide on complex cases, to provide coordination among institutions in combating against illegal migration and human trafficking, and to develop corresponding policies; and, finally, to collect and evaluate data on migration and to exchange information internationally.

In order to align with the EU *acquis* on asylum and migration, Turkey, within the framework of the financial programming for 2002, commenced the Asylum-Migration Twinning Project in March 2004 in cooperation with Danish – British Consortium. The overall objective of this twinning project is to align Turkey's asylum and migration strategy with the EU *acquis*. And the purpose is to benefit from the provisions of the EU funds and thus to support and subsidize the development of an action for alignment with the EU *acquis* and best practices, including the improvement of the operational capacity of the institutions responsible for asylum and migration. This action plan is the one developed in the framework of the objectives I have mentioned.

The recommendations made in these three strategy papers have been sent to all Ministries and concerned institutions to



be turned into an action plan. At the same time, an action plan task force for asylum and migration is being established for the dissemination of these issues. Since December 2004, these studies have been carried out, also in the provinces, as train-the-trainers seminars.

The main objective of the action plan for asylum and migration is to align Turkish legislation and system on asylum, migrants and aliens with the EU systems within the EU accession negotiations process. In the scope of the action plan are the investments and measures that should be taken to align the existing system in Turkey. In this context, in order to increase the capacity in the field of asylum and migration, an appropriate institutional set-up will be established to constitute a specialization unit in this field. The opportunities offered by the branch offices of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in the EU member and non-member countries for education and training in Turkey or in other countries will be searched and it will be tried to receive special support to provide training at all levels.

A training academy or institute will be established under the body of the Interior Ministry in order to ensure continuity in the training of personnel working and to work in the field of asylum and migration.

It is envisaged that essential regulations will be made in order to make information on asylum seekers and countries of origin available in electronic form to decision-makers as long as they are authorized.

A project fiche for the asylum unit will be prepared and a building should be constructed or a suitable building will be renovated and made operational in Ankara with the equipment required.

Asylum seeker reception and accommodation centres and guest houses for refugees will be established and made operational primarily in the eastern and then in the central regions of Turkey in order to implement the asylum strategy and to provide effective and fair international protection to genuine refugees. Construction and operation of facilities to host aliens to be returned until relevant procedures are completed will be accelerated. In this context, return centres will be established for the said people.

A systematic approach for the compilation, analysis and publication of credible statistics will be guaranteed to facilitate policy development. Works undertaken between the Directorate General for Security and State Statistical Institute will also be continued with diligence to ensure the timeliness of release of

statistics in the field of migration and asylum.

It is essential for Turkey to develop a policy urgently. Clear national rules will be introduced to clarify what kind of applications will be included in this procedure. Of the persons who have been granted the refugee status, or found to be eligible for subsidiary or temporary protection, those who have completed essential integration programmes will be allowed to decide where to reside in order to ensure their full integration with the Turkish society.

It is expected that appeals procedure is criticizable and open to all the applicants seeking an effective remedy. A sound legal or administrative procedure of appeals will be established and practiced in order to ensure that those whose asylum demands have been rejected make an appeal or access to justice.

It will be ensured that, particularly to operate the accelerated procedure, measures guaranteeing that the courts make accelerated rulings on actions for nullity brought to Administrative and Regional Administrative Courts against decisions about asylum seekers be taken.

The effective application of the principle of non-refoulement will be disseminated in the sense of the provisions of the 1951 Geneva Convention, European Convention on Human Rights and other international standards.

It is considered that pre- and post-crisis planning and coordination should be made for cases of mass influx. Following Turkey's full-membership to the EU, at times of mass influx actions will be taken in line with the decisions of the EU Council within the framework of the EU Council Directive on Temporary Protection. Because devolution of authority is in question.

Although not mentioned in the relevant legislation in Turkey, various residence permits such as subsidiary protection and the right to residence on humanitarian grounds are issued in practice. However, procedures related to "Subsidiary Protection", "Tolerated Aliens" and "Residence Permits based on Humanitarian Grounds in the draft bills on asylum and/or aliens will be established in order to avoid differences in practice and to provide uniformity.

Arrangements regarding the procedure and right to family reunification in line with the procedures and rules in the EU acquis will be incorporated in the Draft Bill on Aliens.

Restrictions of access to labor market for aliens of will be reregulated, taking into account the international practices.

The obligation of the member and candidate countries to issue permanent residence permits to citizens of third countries fol-



lowing a 5-year legal residence is favoured by Turkey and currently practiced. Due to its advantages, a two-instance administrative procedure is considered to be established. Such as expertise in the field of migration in the second instance, an accelerated review of cases which will lead to economical advantages and facilitated access to the second instance.

Integration activities are very important. In practice, integration activities for asylum seekers and migrants are carried out in line with the relevant legislations by national and international organizations and non-governmental organizations, such as UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Anatolian Development Foundation, and Turkish Red Crescent. In Turkey, there does not exist a system for the integration of aliens except for asylum seekers and refugees. For this reason, the government will have a regulative and supervisory responsibility in relation to the integration activities in general. A national integration programme will be drafted for refugees. This programme will include an envisaged time schedule, and those who will be in charge and their responsibilities, as authorities and tasks, will be defined in the programme.

The needs of asylum seekers and refugees, who have been granted status following the amendments made to the legislation, and of other aliens arriving in the country to learn Turkish will be met in order to ensure they fully enjoy the right to education and other social rights. Provisions on vulnerable groups will be incorporated in the asylum law and measures will be taken to encourage the vulnerable groups to take part in trainings. The extent of the right to access health care services will also be defined in the legislation. The issues that those subject to integration are financially self-sufficient and their not being in conflict with the cultural life will be taken into consideration.

The local government or the provincial organizations of the central government such as Directorates for Public Education Centres will provide the opportunity to those who have been issued long term residence permits in Turkey and to family members of these individuals arriving to Turkey within the scope of family reunification to take part in vocational courses. Their participation in social activities will be ensured. And regulations will be made for them to attain literacy in Turkish in order to benefit from social services.

Terms related to the rejection of entry, invitation to leave the country, removal from the country, return and deportation will be redefined in relevant legislations and primarily in the Passport Law No. 5682, and Law No. 5683 on Aliens.

Measures will be taken to accelerate the process of identifica-

tion and determining the recurrent entries of those individuals whose entry into the country has been rejected, who have been removed or deported from the country, and those who have been subjected to mandatory residence, or who lack documents; and within this scope fingerprint inquiry and identification methods will be used.

It is essential to create awareness in the society in refugee and migrant related issues to promote the understanding of Turkey's obligations towards asylum seekers, refugees and other aliens. Creating this awareness is also one of the ways of facilitating the integration of refugees and migrants.

Institutions in charge of the implementation of the National Action Plan on Asylum and Migration will make the necessary budgetary preparations in order to identify the sources required for the implementation of the EU alignment strategy. Because this also has a financial dimension to it. When necessary, these institutions will try to identify the principal fund resources in particular for the suggested systems and facilities by contacting both national and international institutions, NGOs and donor foundations and institutions.

In the case of a mass population flow towards Turkey due to its geographical location, upon Turkey's request and within the scope of equal sharing of responsibility, other states, in particular EU Member States, individually or as partners, will take the necessary measures to enable an equal sharing of the burden of Turkey, which is the first country of asylum, through UN High Commissioner for Refugees or other international institutions.

These are the main issues envisaged in the national action plan.

Of course now, geographical arrangements are emphasized both in the EU Accession Partnership Document and in the Progress Report. Because Turkey became a party to the 1951 Geneva Convention, and put an annotation. The Convention, by its nature, gave such a right to the countries party to it. We consider this as an issue which should be resolved without harming the economic, social, and cultural interests of Turkey. Because we all know that Turkey has become a country very widely affected by the mass population movements, which took a rise in 1980s, and which changed the world's conjuncture. I would like to mention some incidents to emphasize how immense it was. About 51 million refugees came to Turkey during the Iran-Iraq war of 1988. A total of 345,000 people including 311,000 people deported from Bulgaria and 34,000 people arriving with visas came to Turkey between May – August 1989. Before the first Gulf War about 8 thousand, and afterwards about 460 thousand asylum seekers came. Between



1992 and 1997, 20 thousand people due to the civil war in Yugoslavia and the separation of Yugoslavia; 18 thousand people after the events which took place in Kosovo in 1999; 33 thousand Ahiska Turks on exile from their countries, who were dispersed to a large geographical area, came to Turkey. So, in the last 5 years, a total of about one million people came to Turkey.

In the national plan, the issue of lifting the geographical limitation to the 1951 Convention, which was placed due to challenging experiences in the region, has been subjected to be realised in line with the completion of the EU accession negotiations and the completion of the two conditions. The first condition is that necessary amendments to the legislation and infrastructure be made in order to prevent the direct influx of refugees to Turkey during the accession phase. This is wish made by Turkey. And the second condition is that the EU countries should be fair in burden sharing. And considering the refugee movements Turkey may encounter with the lifting of the geographical limitation, we expect a financial support to be provided supplementary to the EU pre-accession financial assistance programmes.

The EU countries and other countries with economical power should continue to receive refugees from Turkey during the transition phase. Turkey wants this sincerely. Turkey, which has always been subject to intense population movements, which may be equal to the sum of all movements towards the EU, should not be expected to handle issues of asylum and irregular migration on her own.

On the other hand, the validity of our concerns for burden sharing becomes obvious when it is considered that the countries constituting the EU have recently been working towards establishing stricter practices and policies in the field of asylum; that there is the lack of a common European system for asylum and migration; that debates on safe third countries still

continue, and that the geographical area occupied by our country, particularly in case of conflicts in the Middle East and the Caucasus, may receive a mass influx of about half a million people, like it did in the past.

Within this context, Turkey hopes that the EU countries also recognize such concerns, and expects a concrete and realistic approach and support from them.

We believe that a study should be carried out to reveal what burdens on Turkey will be caused by lifting the geographical limitation and implementing the EU acquis.

It is clear that a programme and a protocol in accordance with the findings of this study should be drafted by the EU Commission before lifting the geographical limitation in order to enable opportunities for the equal sharing of responsibility and a compromise should be reached with Turkey.

Within this framework, a task force for burden sharing or lifting of the burden should be established with the participation of the Turkish and EU authorities. Findings revealed in the studies carried out by the task force should be analyzed and arranged with a view to the time frame, and be approved and implemented by the parties.

A proposal for lifting the geographical limitation may be expected to be submitted to the Turkish Great National Assembly (TGNA) following the finalization of the projects and conditions I have mentioned in line with the completion of Turkey's negotiations for accession to the EU. Therefore, lifting these limitations may be considered in 2012-2013, the time envisaged for the completion of the negotiations. As the Government we think that the limitations should be lifted after the questions I have basically mentioned replied. Of course, the TGNA will play the most important role in it. Because, this is a very important and sensitive issue. Thank you all very much.



Prof. Dr. Mustafa ILICALI

Member of Parliament - Erzurum

Born in 1954 in Erzurum. After graduating from the Faculty of Civil Engineering of Istanbul Technical University, obtained his Doctorate Degree on the Discipline of Transportation of the Faculty of Construction of Yıldız Technical University. Served as Higher Civil Engineer, Lecturer, Civil Engineer, Controlling Supervisor, Advisor and Manager in academic settings and public departments.

The Prevention of Migration from East Anatolia: Winter Tourism and Organic Agriculture Project

Thank you very much dear ChairmanFirst of all, I would like to thank, in the first place, our Mayor of Zeytinburnu Municipality and all those who helped organize this Symposium on such an important issue at the very proper time.

Of course, every issue in Turkey is being considered in relation with the EU now. From this point of view, the EU issue is not a matter of foreign policy any more; it has become a matter of interior policy. For this reason, our claiming that the EU is being turned into a matter of interior policy in Turkey is a justification without a political and social basis. Because what is a requirement of the EU, what is not a requirement of the EU has become totally confusing.

The most important document we should refer to while evaluating the EU accession period is the Accession Partnership Document, which is our road map to the EU. The Accession Partnership Document signed by the Turkish Government in 2001 was revised in May 2003. Nearly since that date the works on Turkey's asylum and migration strategy have been carried out. Of course, in the Accession Partnership a perspective concerning the short and medium term priorities that should be realized was presented to Turkey. The priorities listed under the short term are further reinforcement of struggle against illegal migration and negotiation of a readmission agreement with the European Commission. And in the medium term, the EU acquis and practices on migration will be adopted and put



into force with the aim of preventing illegal migration; alignment in the field of asylum will be ensured, and activities to lift the geographical limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention will be commenced. Strengthening the system of evaluating and deciding on the asylum claims and providing accommodation centres and social assistance for asylum seekers and refugees are also among the priorities listed under the medium term.

Moreover, in order to align with the EU acquis on Justice and Home Affairs, Turkey has established a special task force where various state agencies responsible for border control, migration and asylum are represented.

And this task force has prepared an action plan for Turkey. I would like to stress on the National Action Plan for Asylum and Migration in the second part of my speech. And finally, as a member of parliament, I would like to share the views of the Turkish government on the issue of lifting the geographical limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention.

Turkey has established three main commissions while developing her national action plan for asylum and migration. And three strategy papers, one on the protection of external borders in Turkey, one on the activities foreseen in the field of asylum within the process of Turkey's accession to the EU, and one to contribute to the migration management action plan in Turkey, have been published. As we all know, a national programme on the adoption of the EU acquis communautaire was accepted and publicized in the Official Journal in 2003. In the 2003 Turkish National Programme, under the title of "Initiation of Alignment Process with the EU Acquis on Asylum and Capacity Enhancement in the Field of Asylum", initiation of alignment process with the EU acquis on asylum has been identified as a priority; and it has been foreseen that administrative and technical capacity be enhanced, particularly the maintenance of works to develop mechanisms for accommodation and social support for refugees.

In this accession partnership document, there is another commitment: Following the enactment of the Draft Bill on Asylum, the started process of alignment with the EU acquis will be continued during the preparation period by means of related administrative arrangements. National training plan on asylum and migration. In order to increase the capacity in the field of asylum and migration, an appropriate institutional set-up will be established to constitute a specialization unit in the field of asylum and migration to avoid institutional confusion. Secondly, expanding the existing specialization unit in order that asylum and migration procedures are implemented in

alignment with the EU acquis is under consideration. In this context, I would like to mention an institutional set-up designed for this purpose. Firstly, the implementation of procedures applying to aliens arriving in Turkey by legal or illegal means seeking asylum individually, or applying in Turkey to seek asylum in other countries, and those requiring international protection within the framework of international conventions and agreements Turkey is a party to will be transferred to this institutional set-up.

And, secondly, the task of developing and directing migration policies, which is very important for Turkey, will be transferred. Thirdly, the implementation of procedures to evaluate and decide on the applications of migrants willing to come legally to Turkey to work, study and for the purpose of family reunification, or of migrants who are legally in Turkey will be transferred. And it is also expected from this institutional set-up to determine residence and similar statuses, and when necessary, to decide on the withdrawal of the status and on deportation; to develop and implement return programmes for those willing to return to their countries; to shape policies for the integration of aliens to the society; to identify the studies to be made and measures to be taken in the national and international arena against illegal migration and develop policies in this field; to resolve the possible disagreements over migration management at administrative level, which is important both in exercising administrative supervision over migration management and protecting the rights of aliens undergoing the procedure; to establish an evaluation board comprising of experts in the field in order to decide on complex cases, to provide coordination among institutions in combating against illegal migration and human trafficking, and to develop corresponding policies; and, finally, to collect and evaluate data on migration and to exchange information internationally.

In order to align with the EU acquis on asylum and migration, Turkey, within the framework of the financial programming for 2002, commenced the Asylum-Migration Twinning Project in March 2004 in cooperation with Danish – British Consortium. The overall objective of this twinning project is to align Turkey's asylum and migration strategy with the EU acquis. And the purpose is to benefit from the provisions of the EU funds and thus to support and subsidize the development of an action for alignment with the EU acquis and best practices, including the improvement of the operational capacity of the institutions responsible for asylum and migration. This action plan is the one developed in the framework of the objectives I have mentioned.

The recommendations made in these three strategy papers



have been sent to all Ministries and concerned institutions to be turned into an action plan. At the same time, an action plan task force for asylum and migration is being established for the dissemination of these issues. Since December 2004, these studies have been carried out, also in the provinces, as train-the-trainers seminars.

The main objective of the action plan for asylum and migration is to align Turkish legislation and system on asylum, migrants and aliens with the EU systems within the EU accession negotiations process. In the scope of the action plan are the investments and measures that should be taken to align the existing system in Turkey. In this context, in order to increase the capacity in the field of asylum and migration, an appropriate institutional set-up will be established to constitute a specialization unit in this field. The opportunities offered by the branch offices of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in the EU member and non-member countries for education and training in Turkey or in other countries will be searched and it will be tried to receive special support to provide training at all levels.

A training academy or institute will be established under the body of the Interior Ministry in order to ensure continuity in the training of personnel working and to work in the field of asylum and migration.

It is envisaged that essential regulations will be made in order to make information on asylum seekers and countries of origin available in electronic form to decision-makers as long as they are authorized.

A project fiche for the asylum unit will be prepared and a building should be constructed or a suitable building will be renovated and made operational in Ankara with the equipment required.

Asylum seeker reception and accommodation centres and guest houses for refugees will be established and made operational primarily in the eastern and then in the central regions of Turkey in order to implement the asylum strategy and to provide effective and fair international protection to genuine refugees. Construction and operation of facilities to host aliens to be returned until relevant procedures are completed will be accelerated. In this context, return centres will be established for the said people.

A systematic approach for the compilation, analysis and publication of credible statistics will be guaranteed to facilitate policy development. Works undertaken between the Directorate General for Security and State Statistical Institute will also be continued with diligence to ensure the timeliness of release of

statistics in the field of migration and asylum.

It is essential for Turkey to develop a policy urgently. Clear national rules will be introduced to clarify what kind of applications will be included in this procedure. Of the persons who have been granted the refugee status, or found to be eligible for subsidiary or temporary protection, those who have completed essential integration programmes will be allowed to decide where to reside in order to ensure their full integration with the Turkish society.

It is expected that appeals procedure is criticizable and open to all the applicants seeking an effective remedy. A sound legal or administrative procedure of appeals will be established and practiced in order to ensure that those whose asylum demands have been rejected make an appeal or access to justice.

It will be ensured that, particularly to operate the accelerated procedure, measures guaranteeing that the courts make accelerated rulings on actions for nullity brought to Administrative and Regional Administrative Courts against decisions about asylum seekers be taken.

The effective application of the principle of non-refoulement will be disseminated in the sense of the provisions of the 1951 Geneva Convention, European Convention on Human Rights and other international standards.

It is considered that pre- and post-crisis planning and coordination should be made for cases of mass influx. Following Turkey's full-membership to the EU, at times of mass influx actions will be taken in line with the decisions of the EU Council within the framework of the EU Council Directive on Temporary Protection. Because devolution of authority is in question.

Although not mentioned in the relevant legislation in Turkey, various residence permits such as subsidiary protection and the right to residence on humanitarian grounds are issued in practice. However, procedures related to "Subsidiary Protection", "Tolerated Aliens" and "Residence Permits based on Humanitarian Grounds in the draft bills on asylum and/or aliens will be established in order to avoid differences in practice and to provide uniformity.

Arrangements regarding the procedure and right to family reunification in line with the procedures and rules in the EU acquis will be incorporated in the Draft Bill on Aliens.

Restrictions of access to labor market for aliens of will be reregulated, taking into account the international practices.

The obligation of the member and candidate countries to issue permanent residence permits to citizens of third countries following a 5-year legal residence is favoured by Turkey and cur-



rently practiced. Due to its advantages, a two-instance administrative procedure is considered to be established. Such as expertise in the field of migration in the second instance, an accelerated review of cases which will lead to economical advantages and facilitated access to the second instance.

Integration activities are very important. In practice, integration activities for asylum seekers and migrants are carried out in line with the relevant legislations by national and international organizations and non-governmental organizations, such as UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Anatolian Development Foundation, and Turkish Red Crescent. In Turkey, there does not exist a system for the integration of aliens except for asylum seekers and refugees. For this reason, the government will have a regulative and supervisory responsibility in relation to the integration activities in general. A national integration programme will be drafted for refugees. This programme will include an envisaged time schedule, and those who will be in charge and their responsibilities, as authorities and tasks, will be defined in the programme.

The needs of asylum seekers and refugees, who have been granted status following the amendments made to the legislation, and of other aliens arriving in the country to learn Turkish will be met in order to ensure they fully enjoy the right to education and other social rights. Provisions on vulnerable groups will be incorporated in the asylum law and measures will be taken to encourage the vulnerable groups to take part in trainings. The extent of the right to access health care services will also be defined in the legislation. The issues that those subject to integration are financially self-sufficient and their not being in conflict with the cultural life will be taken into consideration.

The local government or the provincial organizations of the central government such as Directorates for Public Education Centres will provide the opportunity to those who have been issued long term residence permits in Turkey and to family members of these individuals arriving to Turkey within the scope of family reunification to take part in vocational courses. Their participation in social activities will be ensured. And regulations will be made for them to attain literacy in Turkish in order to benefit from social services.

Terms related to the rejection of entry, invitation to leave the country, removal from the country, return and deportation will be redefined in relevant legislations and primarily in the Passport Law No. 5682, and Law No. 5683 on Aliens.

Measures will be taken to accelerate the process of identification and determining the recurrent entries of those individuals

whose entry into the country has been rejected, who have been removed or deported from the country, and those who have been subjected to mandatory residence, or who lack documents; and within this scope fingerprint inquiry and identification methods will be used.

It is essential to create awareness in the society in refugee and migrant related issues to promote the understanding of Turkey's obligations towards asylum seekers, refugees and other aliens. Creating this awareness is also one of the ways of facilitating the integration of refugees and migrants.

Institutions in charge of the implementation of the National Action Plan on Asylum and Migration will make the necessary budgetary preparations in order to identify the sources required for the implementation of the EU alignment strategy. Because this also has a financial dimension to it. When necessary, these institutions will try to identify the principal fund resources in particular for the suggested systems and facilities by contacting both national and international institutions, NGOs and donor foundations and institutions.

In the case of a mass population flow towards Turkey due to its geographical location, upon Turkey's request and within the scope of equal sharing of responsibility, other states, in particular EU Member States, individually or as partners, will take the necessary measures to enable an equal sharing of the burden of Turkey, which is the first country of asylum, through UN High Commissioner for Refugees or other international institutions.

These are the main issues envisaged in the national action plan. Of course now, geographical arrangements are emphasized both in the EU Accession Partnership Document and in the Progress Report. Because Turkey became a party to the 1951 Geneva Convention, and put an annotation. The Convention, by its nature, gave such a right to the countries party to it. We consider this as an issue which should be resolved without harming the economic, social, and cultural interests of Turkey. Because we all know that Turkey has become a country very widely affected by the mass population movements, which took a rise in 1980s, and which changed the world's conjuncture. I would like to mention some incidents to emphasize how immense it was. About 51 million refugees came to Turkey during the Iran-Iraq war of 1988. A total of 345,000 people including 311,000 people deported from Bulgaria and 34,000 people arriving with visas came to Turkey between May – August 1989. Before the first Gulf War about 8 thousand, and afterwards about 460 thousand asylum seekers came. Between 1992 and 1997, 20 thousand people due to the civil war in Yugoslavia and the separation of Yugoslavia; 18 thousand peo-



ple after the events which took place in Kosovo in 1999; 33 thousand Ahiska Turks on exile from their countries, who were dispersed to a large geographical area, came to Turkey. So, in the last 5 years, a total of about one million people came to Turkey.

In the national plan, the issue of lifting the geographical limitation to the 1951 Convention, which was placed due to challenging experiences in the region, has been subjected to be realised in line with the completion of the EU accession negotiations and the completion of the two conditions. The first condition is that necessary amendments to the legislation and infrastructure be made in order to prevent the direct influx of refugees to Turkey during the accession phase. This is wish made by Turkey. And the second condition is that the EU countries should be fair in burden sharing. And considering the refugee movements Turkey may encounter with the lifting of the geographical limitation, we expect a financial support to be provided supplementary to the EU pre-accession financial assistance programmes.

The EU countries and other countries with economical power should continue to receive refugees from Turkey during the transition phase. Turkey wants this sincerely. Turkey, which has always been subject to intense population movements, which may be equal to the sum of all movements towards the EU, should not be expected to handle issues of asylum and irregular migration on her own.

On the other hand, the validity of our concerns for burden sharing becomes obvious when it is considered that the countries constituting the EU have recently been working towards establishing stricter practices and policies in the field of asylum; that there is the lack of a common European system for asylum and migration; that debates on safe third countries still continue, and that the geographical area occupied by our country, particularly in case of conflicts in the Middle East and the Caucasus, may receive a mass influx of about half a million people, like it did in the past.

Within this context, Turkey hopes that the EU countries also recognize such concerns, and expects a concrete and realistic approach and support from them.

We believe that a study should be carried out to reveal what burdens on Turkey will be caused by lifting the geographical limitation and implementing the EU acquis.

It is clear that a programme and a protocol in accordance with the findings of this study should be drafted by the EU Commission before lifting the geographical limitation in order to enable opportunities for the equal sharing of responsibility and a compromise should be reached with Turkey.

Within this framework, a task force for burden sharing or lifting of the burden should be established with the participation of the Turkish and EU authorities. Findings revealed in the studies carried out by the task force should be analyzed and arranged with a view to the time frame, and be approved and implemented by the parties.

A proposal for lifting the geographical limitation may be expected to be submitted to the Turkish Great National Assembly (TGNA) following the finalization of the projects and conditions I have mentioned in line with the completion of Turkey's negotiations for accession to the EU. Therefore, lifting these limitations may be considered in 2012-2013, the time envisaged for the completion of the negotiations. As the Government we think that the limitations should be lifted after the questions I have basically mentioned replied. Of course, the TGNA will play the most important role in it. Because, this is a very important and sensitive issue. Thank you all very much.

Our country is located in a strategically significant region. Turkish economy is the 21st biggest economy of the world. However, our country is still in the category of developing countries. Like any other country within this category, our country also has various problems to solve. One of these problems is, the issue of migration.

The process of migration in Turkey had started during the 1950's in the form of migrating from underdeveloped cities to the more developed ones within Turkey. Starting with the 1960's this process has continued until today in the form of immigrating to foreign countries from Turkey. The structural changes in both rural and urban areas, which started parallel to the economic and social development started by the beginning of 1950's, had increased the attraction to urban life whereas it led to discouragement for rural life, which in the end, directed people to live in the cities.

High birth rates in rural areas, in time, led to the insufficient distribution of land, which then resulted with decreased productivity together with hidden increased unemployment and in the end, rural people migrated to cities.

Unbalanced distribution of agricultural income and land ownership together with agricultural mechanization, which led to the decreased demand of labour force and also the inadequate social infrastructure, speeded up the process of migration to cities.

In addition to all these, more possibilities for employment and better educational and health services together with more cultural activities that cities offer, all encourage the migration from rural areas to cities.



INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SYMPOSIUM

Between 1970 – 1990 the population of our country increased with an average of 2.3 per cent and within the same period of time, urban population (areas with a population of 20.000 or more) increased rapidly with an average of 4.9 per cent. In 1970, the proportion of the urban population, which was 11.6 million, to the overall population of the country was 32.4 per cent. By the 1980's, together with the migration from rural areas to cities, Turkey has become a country with densely populated urban areas. In the year 1990, the urban population increased to 30.5 millions and its proportion to the whole country's population came up to 54 %. (Chart 1).

Depending on the population increasing rate and population movements, there has been changes in the regional distribution of the population. In 1965, Black Sea region had the highest

population with 6.085.986 and the Southeast Anatolia region had the lowest population with 2.367.740. In the year 1990, Marmara region became the most crowded region with a population of 13.295.607 and Southeast Anatolian region preserved its statue of being the lowest populated region for 25 years.

When we compare the regions in terms of population increase rates, we see that Southeast Anatolia has the highest rate whereas Black Sea has the lowest rate of population increase.

Despite the high birth rates in East and Southeast Anatolian regions, there has not been significant increases in these regions' total share in the country's overall population due to the high levels of migration from these regions to other regions, mostly to Marmara region. (Chart 2)

CHART 1: TOTAL URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC RATES (1970-2000)

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	URBAN POPULATION	%	RURAL POPULATION	%	PERIODS	DEMOGRAPHIC RATES							
							POPULATION GROWTH RATES			Crude Birth	Crude Death	Baby Death	Total Fertility	Life Expectancy
							TOTAL (percent)	CITY (percent)	RURAL (percent)	Rate (Per Thousand)	Rate (Per Thousand)	Rate (Per Thousand)	Rate (Child)	at Birth (Year)
1970	35.605.176	13691101(2) 11550644(1)	32,4	24.054.512	67,6	1965-1970	2,52	6,03	—	30,0	13,5	158,0	5,31	54,91
1975	40.347.719	16869068(2) 15181918(1)	37,6	25.165.801	62,4	1970-1975	2,50	5,62	0,009	35,5	11,6	140,40	4,46	57,88
1980	44.736.957	19645007(2) 18824957(1)	42,1	25.912.000	57,9	1975-1980	2,06	4,40	0,006	32,2	10,0	110,79	4,33	61,20
1985	50.664.458	26865757(2) 23926262(1)	47,2	26.738.196	52,8	1980-1985	2,49	4,91	0,006	30,8	9,0	82,96	4,05	63,00
1990	56.473.035	33326351(2) 30515681(1)	54,0	25.957.354	46,0	1985-1990	2,17	4,99	-0,006	29,9	7,8	65,22	3,76	65,58
1995(3)	62.171.000	37853969(1)	60,9	24.317.031	39,1	1990-1995	1,85	4,40	-0,013	23,5	6,7	50,56	2,80	67,28
2000(3)	67.332.000	47549543(1)	70,6	19.782.457	29,4	1995-2000	1,62	4,67	-0,040	21,4	6,5	39,02	2,45	68,55

Source: DIE (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Institute of Statistics) (1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990) DPT (State Planning Institute) (1997)

(1) Settlements with a population of 20.000 or more (2) Population within the municipality borders of city and town centers (3) Estimates for mid-period demographic rates and end year population

Chart 2. REGIONAL TOTAL POPULATION AND POPULATION GROWTH RATES (1965 – 1990)

REGIONS (1)	TOTAL POPULATION						POPULATION GROWTH RATE (PER CENT)				
	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1965-70	1970-75	1975-80	1980-85	1985-90
MARMARA	5.835.624	6.837.167	8.064.490	9.435.210	11.097.514	13.295.607	3.17	3.30	3.14	3.25	3.61
EGE	4.397.337	4.867.151	5.397.195	5.954.504	6.746.769	7.595.221	2.03	2.07	1.97	2.50	2.37
AKDENİZ	3.306.662	3.834.064	4.555.823	5.257.808	6.124.744	7.026.489	2.96	3.45	2.87	3.05	2.75
İÇ ANADOLU	5.874.602	6.690.858	7.632.494	8.261.527	9.216.979	9.942.793	2.60	2.63	1.58	2.19	1.52
KARADENİZ	6.085.986	6.590.432	7.051.503	7.489.299	7.961.989	8.107.253	1.59	1.35	1.20	1.22	0.36
DOĞU ANADOLU	3.523.470	3.982.338	4.433.683	4.770.981	5.212.896	5.347.659	2.45	2.15	1.47	1.77	0.51
G. DOĞU ANADOLU	2.367.240	2.803.166	3.212.531	3.567.628	4.303.567	5.158.013	3.38	2.73	2.10	3.75	3.62
TÜRKİYE TOPLAMI	31.391.421	35.605.176	40.347.719	44.736.957	50.664.458	56.473.035	2.52	2.50	2.07	2.49	2.17

Source: Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Institute of Statistics (1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990)

(1) For the cities covered by the regions please see attached list 2



THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT RATES OF THE REGIONS

According to the East Anatolian Project completed in the year 2000, the reason why the regions develop at different rates, i.e. the reason why there are regional inequalities, is basically a result of three factors, which are as follows:

1. Labour force productivity differences between agriculture and the other sectors,
2. The regional concentration of industry,
3. Productivity differences between sub-sectors and regions in terms of industry and other sectors.

THE CURRENT SITUATION IN EAST ANATOLIAN REGION

East Anatolian region is still an agricultural region like it used to be in the past. Apart from a few exceptions, agriculture is the main source of income in all the cities of the region. For instance, the share of agriculture (cattle breeding, forestry and water products) in GDP of the year 1987 with current price levels was 38.2 per cent in Ağrı, 48.2 per cent in Bingöl, 35.9 per cent in Erzincan, 46.4 per cent in Hakkari and 54.8 per cent in Tunceli.

In the same year, on the other hand, the share of agriculture in GDP, was 15.5 per cent in Elazığ and 22 per cent in Malatya. These two cities had the highest levels of income per capita in the region when compared to the average of Turkey. In such an agriculture based economy, to increase the volume of real economic activities and the income level per capita, depends on increasing the agricultural productivity.

The climate of the region is continental climate with long and harsh winters and dry summers. For instance, in Ağrı the number of frosty days per year is 152 and in Erzurum it is 150.9. Apart from Kayseri and Sivas in the Central Anatolian region and a few other cities in some other regions, the number of frosty days is not over 100. When the number of frosty days is high, agricultural activities are restricted both in terms of time and product sorts.

The average amount of rain per year is scarce and unbalanced through the whole year long and may differ from year to year. Except for Central Anatolian region and a few cities of the South East Anatolian region, in nowhere else in Turkey is the average amount of rain per year is so low as it is in the east.

This, in turn, apart from some specific areas, restricts the productivity rate throughout the region.

Another thing, which is directly related with the climate and which restricts the agricultural activities is the topographical state of the region. All the cities, which are located either next to or inside of a meadow has such levels of height: Erzurum 1.950, Erzincan 1.205, Kars 1.750, Ardahan 1.800, Muş 1.520, Ağrı 1.640, Van 1.727, Hakkari 1.748, Tunceli 1.050, Bingöl 1.125 ve Bitlis 1.500 metres. Only a few city centres are located at 1.000 m. or below. Malatya is located at a height of 900 m, Elazığ at 1.020 m. and Iğdır at 860 m. The average height within the region is 1.649 m.

Climatic factors of the region, especially the high number of frosty and snowy days, restricts the number of working days out in the fields. Because of such restrictions, labour force surplus arises as a problem in the rural areas. Even when all the activities including cattle breeding and all the other agricultural activities are taken into account, the general supply of labour force is higher than the real demand for labour force.

Because of all the factors stated briefly above, the region itself is obviously underdeveloped in comparison to other regions. When you examine Chart 3, you will also see that the regional cities rank very low in terms of the general economic development of Turkey.

Chart 3. East Anatolian Project Cities Socio-Economic Development Ranking of Turkey

	Ranking of Turkey 1965	Ranking of Turkey 1985	Ranking of Turkey 1996	Ranking of Within the Region 1996
CITIES				
AĞRI	62	63	74	15
BAYBURT			64	8
BİNGÖL	57	66	73	14
BİTLİS	55	61	71	12
ELAZIĞ	24	33	33	1
ERZİNCAN	41	36	47	3
ERZURUM	35	43	56	4
GÜMÜŞHANE	63	55	63	7
HAKKARİ	67	65	70	11
KARS	54	56	62	6
MALATYA	34	41	38	2
MUŞ	66	67	76	16
TUNCELİ	65	58	60	5
VAN	60	64	67	9
ARDAHAN	-	-	72	13
İĞDIR	-	--	69	10



THE ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION

As already explained above, East Anatolian Region is underdeveloped in comparison to other regions. Because of the differences in development levels, this very region has the highest levels of migration. As it can be observed in Chart 4, the people of this region, migrate to more developed cities for economic and social purposes.

This results in negative outcomes on both people who migrate and the city to where migration takes place. The negative outcomes do not only refer to the increase in the population of the city but also to several other problems, which interact between each other. There lies the case of migration on the basis of unplanned urbanization, transportation and security problems in our metropolitan cities.

The transportation problem, which especially arose as a prob-

lem in Istanbul in 2005, is also a result of unstable population increase.

In our regions, where mass migration is the case, the existing potential development possibilities cannot be properly employed. However, the scarce investment sources are deployed for the uncontrolled infrastructure needs instead of productive activities.

On the other hand, due to some technologic developments and, at both national and international levels, new economic, political and social developments, some factors, which have till now restricted the development of the East Anatolian region, are becoming new opportunities for the development of the region. The climate and natural conditions, which are the basic "threats" to the industrialization process of East Anatolian region, can also be turned into an opportunity and advantage

Chart 4. Net Migration Rates for East Anatolian Project Region Cities

1975-1980 PERIOD				1980-1985 PERIOD			1985-1990 PERIOD		
CITIES	MIGRATION RECEIVED	MIGRATION GIVEN	NET MIGRATION RATE (per Thousand)	MIGRATION RECEIVED	MIGRATION GIVEN	NET MIGRATION RATE (per Thousand)	MIGRATION RECEIVED	MIGRATION GIVEN	NET MIGRATION RATE (per Thousand)
AĞRI	9.826	34.812	-81	13.691	32.667	-53	17.162	54.474	-95
ARDAHAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BAYBURT	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.480	20.288	-133
BİNGÖL	6.224	16.902	-55	7.712	16.989	-44	9.878	29.766	-88
BİTLİS	10.760	28.543	-82	11.094	20.310	-32	25.880	47.044	-46
ELAZIĞ	22.177	39.543	-44	23.640	37.302	-32	25.880	47.044	-46
ERZINCAN	24.443	33.812	-38	19.635	31.211	-45	24.246	49.820	-93
ERZURUM	30.689	76.782	-66	29.420	78.152	-65	34.250	122.548	-113
GÜMÜŞHANE	9.520	31.282	-86	12.750	26.799	-54	17.006	53.059	-135
HAKKARİ	4.590	6.654	-17	5.227	6.263	-8	6.990	11.462	-33
IĞDIR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KARS	19.235	90.170	-113	25.225	75.635	-78	26.759	131.784	-164
MALATYA	25.188	48.371	-43	33.167	46.093	-22	36.364	71.571	-54
MUŞ	8.389	25.326	-66	11.256	25.583	-49	12.425	46.254	-100
TUNCELİ	6.756	20.074	-94	8.502	26.286	-124	9.118	29.450	-154
VAN	13.165	20.792	-20	15.512	27.500	-26	22.187	42.967	-38
DAP	190.962	472.870	-65	216.831	450.790	-49	262.351	744.602	-94

for the development of the region in the form of winter tourism. If winter tourism, mountaineering and plateau tourism (camping) activities are developed, then the region's natural factors such as high mountains, natural surroundings, and long and snowy winters will automatically become relative strengths for the region.

Tourism is a sector, which has high development potential

worldwide. Whilst the worldwide number of tourists was 457 million and the tourism income was USD 268 billion in 1990, these figures increased a great deal in 2003 and was realized as 694 million tourists and a tourism income of USD 514 billion. For the year 2010, 1 billion tourists and USD 1.5 trillion are expected figures. For the year 2020, 1.5 billion tourists and USD 2 trillion tourism income are the expected figures. Some economic indicators are shown in Chart 5.



Chart 5. Some Economic Indicators

ECONOMIC INDICATORS	WORLD	TURKEY
Economic Volume of Tourism	6,2 trillion \$	45,9 billion \$
Employment Rate (Its proportion to total employment)	74,223,000 persons %2,8	806,957 persons %3,7
Tourism Income Per Capita (Tourism Income/Capita)	4,7trillion \$ %10,6	7,4 billion \$ %8,2
Tourism Capital Investment (Its Proportion to Total Capital Investment)	918 billion \$ %9,4	7,4 billion \$ %8,2
Growth Rate of Tourism Sector	%5,4	%7,8

Together with such developments in the world tourism, Turkish tourism is also having its golden years and growing even more rapidly than the world tourism. Whilst the number of foreign tourists visiting Turkey in 1990 was 5.3 million and the tourism income was USD 3.2 billion, in 2003, these figures increased to become 14 million and USD 97 billion respectively. Turkey mostly receives tourists from OECD countries and Russia. When we look at the profile of tourists visiting Turkey, we see that mostly sea-sun-fun tourists prefer to spend their holidays in Turkey. There is also a growing tendency for alternative tourism.

THE PREVENTION OF MIGRATION: EXAMPLE OF ERZURUM; WINTER TOURISM

One of the projects developed to ameliorate the current situation of the East Anatolian Region is: Tourism Oriented East Anatolian Regional Development Project and Research for Winter Olympics.

THE PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT

Whilst the developments in both world and Turkish tourism sectors are worth noting, there is another opportunity in the region, which might play a crucial role in the development of tourism in the region. It is Winter Olympic Games, which is held every four years. Here, the target should be to gain international recognition for the target of development strategy based on winter tourism in East Anatolia. Also the preparation of the infrastructure in accordance with the international standards will help the overall marketing of the region and provide worldwide recognition for the region. In addition to this, after such an organization is successfully completed, the region will prove to become a centre for winter tourism of high standards.

A study carried out in the East Anatolian region, pointed out that the region itself has a lot to offer for winter tourism (esp. the cities of Erzurum, Kars, Erzincan, Ağrı, Bitlis and Muş), for

mountaineering, sports, religious and cultural tourism (esp. the cities of Van, Ağrı and the rest of the region) and finally for plateau tourism (esp. the cities of Trabzon, Rize, Bayburt, Gümüşhane and Artvin). The above mentioned project aims at making use of this tourism potential of the region and also developing the tourism related sectors in order to help the rapid development of the region.

THE EXTENT OF THE PROJECT

Our research project covers the East Anatolian region and 14 neighbouring cities with a potential of winter tourism, cultural and historical tourism and plateau tourism, which are, Ağrı, Ardahan, Artvin, Bayburt, Bitlis, Erzincan, Erzurum, Gümüşhane, Iğdır, Kars, Muş, Rize, Trabzon and Van. (See Map 1). In this respect, the whole project refers to approximately 20% of the country's area and 19% of the whole population of our country.

THE EXAMPLE OF ERZURUM : ORGANIC AGRICULTURAL PROJECT

THE DEFINITION OF ORGANIC AGRICULTURE

The harmful effects of the chemical substances used in agriculture (like pesticides and fertilizers) for the health of the individuals and society are becoming more intense each day. In order to eliminate all these harmful effects, Ecological Agriculture System, which requires either less usage of chemical fertilizers and pesticides or complete usage of organic fertilizer and biological fighting methods, has been developed. This new agricultural system, which is considered by FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) and European Union as an alternative for the conventional agriculture, is called with different names in different countries. This new concept of agriculture is called "Ecological Agriculture" in German and Northern European languages, "Biological Agriculture" in French, Italian and Spanish, "Organic Agriculture" in English and "Ecological or Organic Agriculture" in Turkey.

Organic Agriculture is an alternative production system aimed at forming the natural balance lost due to the wrong application in ecological system. It consists of human and environmentally friendly production systems and it does not allow the usage of synthetic chemical pesticides, hormones and mineral fertilizers. It encourages organic and green manuring, rotation, the preservation of soil, increasing the well-being of the crop. It also encourages making use of the natural killers and requires all these factors maintained within a closed system. It



also aims at increasing the quality of the harvested product rather than only concentrating on the quantity of the harvested product.

ERZURUM ORGANIC AGRICULTURE PROJECT

One of the projects for the prevention of migration from the East Anatolian region is the organic agriculture project.

Organic agriculture project will contribute a lot for the prevention of migration from Anatolia to Istanbul and other regions.

Within the first phase of the Project of 'East Anatolian Organic Agricultural Development Contract', it is supervised that farmers located in 14 cities and 30 towns will be required to cultivate organic products for a period of 5 years. Together with this project, agriculture and cattle breeding within the region will be supported and the migration from rural areas to the urbanized regions will be prevented. Within the first phase, wholemeal bread will be manufactured by İstanbul Halk Ekmek A.Ş. by making use of the wheat and rye harvested from the farmers within the first harvest year. This project will cover 10.000 farmers' families and will provide employment for 1 million people.

East Anatolian Farmers and Cattle Feeders Union (DATÜBB) has contributed a lot to the realization of this project. Two years ago, the Union started the Organic Agriculture Project, which covers 633 farmers, with the financial support of the United Nations Development Programme and the technical support of the Ataturk University Faculty of Agriculture.

The organic wheat cultivated by the farmers of the East Anatolian Region provides the basic raw material for İstanbul Halk Ekmek A.Ş. for the production of high quality organic bread for the people of İstanbul.

In Chart 6, you will see the details of the organic agricultural planning. The cultivation of such products with high economic values will contribute a lot to the economy of the region and the country as a whole. The contribution will increase when new regions will be added to this project.

Chart 6. Organic Agricultural Planning for 2006 (Cultivated Land)

ROW NO.	CITIES	Cultivated Land	Tonnage Estimates	NUMBER OF FARMERS
1	ERZURUM	56.025	6.227.770	548
2	SİVAS	769	99.800	12
3	MUŞ	12.155	1.608.600	183
4	KARS	75.22	978.960	170
5	ERZİNCAN	7.667	1.123.772	106
6	BİNGÖL	1570	247.300	51
7	BAYBURT	3.732	457.410	46
8	AĞRI	7.245	854.100	94
9	ARDAHAN	3.230	854.100	93
TOTAL		99.915	12.451.812	1303

Even within its first phase, organic agriculture project will last for 5 years and will contribute to the lives of ten thousands of people. As a result, it will also help a lot for the prevention of migration.

CONCLUSION

The issue of regional development is the basis for the development of our country. The regional development will be realized by making use of projects created in accordance with the advantages and disadvantages of each region. The realization of these projects will decrease the cases of migration and will provide solutions for the problems that the metropolitan cities of our country are facing. In this respect, it is required that all the institutions of our country and the academic circles should provide the necessary information and support the realization of these projects. Central and local administration units should also support these projects.

Note: For references of this paper, please check Turkish section.



Sabriye SAYIN

An Immigrant Artist - Lecturer

Born in 1977 in Bulgaria. As a result of compulsory emigration in 1990 came to Turkey together with her family. Received music education at the State Conservatory on Turkish Music attached to Istanbul Technical University. Made programs to TRT Radio and Television. Carried out academic activities on music. Besides radio and television programs, carries on with her concert activities at home and abroad. Currently a music teacher at a primary school at Zeytinburnu.

An Immigration Story: The Story of a Family Settled in Zeytinburnu

Thank you. First of all, I would like to thank to the Mayor of Zeytinburnu and to everyone, who has contributed to the realization of this organization.

I am the daughter of a family forced to immigrate from Bulgaria in 1989. When I was there I was a small kid. I am not very well informed about what really happened like the professors here but I now would like to share my personal experience regarding this issue.

I was born in the city of Kosikavak in Bulgaria in 1977. I went to the primary school there. Those were the years when Turks were forced to change their names. I now remember a day from the year when I even had not started the primary school yet. My parents had come hurriedly from work. They told us never to tell anybody that they ever had come home. My grandmother was also at home. Of course, we did not understand what was going on as we were little kids. My parents took some thick clothes with them and left home. Then the poli-

ce arrived at our place and we gathered around my grandmother, who had opened the door for the police. They told her to give them the passports but she said there were no passports. Of course everybody knew about the changing of names and everybody is looking for a way to get away. Then they asked about my parents and we told them that we had no idea. After that the police pointed his gun to my grandmother and told her to give the passports immediately otherwise he would kill her and all the rest of us; the kids. We were of course scared to death. On the other hand, my grandmother made a very courageous remark and said that he can shoot her right away as she had nothing to give but her life. Then the police left. While they were leaving, my grandmother shouted "You can take away my language but never my religion!" At that time, this was the slogan of all the Turks there. This is exactly what happened afterwards. My name was changed from Sabriye to Sylvia and I started primary school with this new name. I was neither familiar with how to read and write nor my new name.



Another thing, we knew how to speak Bulgarian language but our elderly did not. My grandmother even did not go the grocer's to buy bread as she did not speak Bulgarian. Everytime she went to the grocer's, the lady there sent her away without selling her bread.

Another instance I would like to share with you is; one day my father came home with his back full of dark bruises. My mother insisted to know what really happened. He was not willing to tell her in the beginning but then he said that *they were caught speaking Turkish*. He said they were three friends altogether and *were taken to the police station to be beaten up*. Their only fault was to speak Turkish. I was very sorry to hear about this.

The primary school years lasted like that. Then the immigration started in the year 1989. Like everyone else, we were packed, said good bye to our neighbours and friends. We were happy with the thought of going to Turkey but at the same time we were sorry not to be able to be with our friends that we grew up and lived together. Then we set out for Turkey. My grandfather had always prayed to be able to see Turkey before his death. As soon as we passed the Bulgarian border and saw the Turkish flag, I remember my grandfather to kneel down and kiss the Turkish soil. I wish I could photograph that very instance. Then he opened his arms to the sky and said: "My God I thank you for providing me with that. Now I will not pass away with regret. First we were settled by a family in Gebze and then we moved to Zeytinburnu.

At first, we had financial problems due to lack of employment possibilities. But then, both of my parents were able to find jobs and we were registered at schools. However, we did not know how to read and write in Turkish as the medium of education in Bulgaria was Bulgarian language.

After the arrival of the immigrants, they had separated the

classes at the school. The kids from immigrant families were gathered in a separate class. Because of the lack of space in that class, I was settled in a class where ordinary kids were attending. One day during science class, I remember sitting in the classroom while all the other students were taking down notes of the lecture of the teacher and I was bored as I was not able to write. We were three kids sitting on one row and I was in the middle. All of a sudden I started to cry loudly. Then the teacher approached me and asked me what was happening with an affectionate attitude. I stood up but could not manage to reply back. I was also hesitant to speak as I thought my classmates would laugh at me. The classmate sitting next to me said: "Sir, she is a new comer. Perhaps she is crying because she does not know how to read and write." At that very moment, the teacher said something, which I had never forgotten: "Are you really sorry for this? I had a lot of students that came from abroad and all of them are now university students. I am sure that one day you will also manage to attend university." Thank God, this is exactly what really happened in time.

I think in a few months time, with the help of my parents I learnt how to read and write and became a successful student. After the primary school, I attended commercial high school. When I was a student there, my friends told me that there was a song contest. After joining that contest, I began my professional life in music. Then I passed the university exam and started Istanbul Technical University Conservatoire for the Turkish Music.

During my years of education I had passed the vocal exam of TRT İstanbul Radio, where I am still attending. At the same time I am working as a music instructor in Ayhan Şahenk Primary School in Zeytinburnu. To sum up, I would like to say, it is possible to succeed through hard work. That is all I want to say. Thank you for listening to me.



IX. SESSION

Perspectives for Solutions



IX. SESSION

PERSPECTIVES FOR SOLUTIONS

11 December 2006 Sunday

Chairman of the Session

Dr. Suleyman GUNDUZ

Member of Parliament - Sakarya

Ismail ALPTEKIN

Deputy Chairman of the Turkish Grand National Assembly

"The Fact of Immigration: General Evaluation"

Adv. Halim YILMAZ

Representative of Mazlum-Der

*"Migration Law and Its Applications in Turkey
in the Light of New Developments: Issues and Proposed Solutions"*

Aysem Biriz KARACAY

Koc University

"Irregular Migration Policies and Implementations in Turkey"

Raif KAPLANOGLU

Bursa Studies Foundation

"Migration that Continues in Tents: Bursa Example"

Dr. Suleyman GUNDUZ

Chairman of the Session

"Closing Speech of the Ninth Session"



Ismail ALPTEKIN

Deputy Chairman of the Turkish Grand National Assembly

Born in 1943 in Gerece. After finishing the Teachers Training School in Konya, graduated from the Faculty of Law of Istanbul University. Practiced law as a freelance lawyer and on behalf of public departments. Served as auditor of TÜBİTAK; member to: Executive Committee of Vakıflar Bank, Administrative Council of Ankara Municipality. Served as founding leader of Fazilet Party. Currently founding member of Justice and Development Party, MP from Bolu for the 21st Period and Acting Speaker of TGNA.

The Fact of Immigration: General Evaluation

Distinguished Minister,
Distinguished Members of Parliament,
Respectable Guests;

I feel great satisfaction about the holding of such a meaningful international symposium by our Zeytinburnu Municipality on migration, which is a common issue of the mankind.

Migration (exodus) that has left deep marks on the history of mankind is a forced journey made to the unknown owing to the conditions of life. Reasons for the launch of such an arduous journey by people range from war and incidents of violence, to starvation and disasters and at times, pursuit for liberty. Even though those launching such a painful journey have been given different names such as “refugees”, “asylum seekers”, “expatriates” or “displaced persons”, their common aim is to attain more tranquility, freedom and prosperity. The common destiny of the migration (exodus) that flings people to different geographies of the world is to face an arduous life struggle away from their homelands.

According to the data of the United Nations, one of the leading international organizations that work on the issue of migration, about one million people leave their homeland annually and immigrate to developed countries. Even though the exact number of refugees around the world is not known, it is estimated to be over 175 million. Under the protection of the United Nations, that has aided more than 50 refugees in the last half a century, are 17 million people today. Surveys reveal that Asia and Africa are the continents that give the largest number of emigrations. Migration that usually starts at the poverty-stricken regions and ends at the glittering cities of developed countries still persists as an unpreventable problem despite all the progress shown by the mankind.

Turkey, a bridge of civilizations between the geographies of Asia and Europe, is also among the important countries located in the heart of this issue that injures the common conscience of humanity. History of our country is full of sad migration stories. Turkey has been a home for million of people from various cultures who have emigrated from all corners of the



world. According to the official figures, the number of those who have left the neighboring regions, primarily Bulgaria, Greece, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iraq and been settled in our country and obtained work permit since 1980s is about 935 thousand. However, when looking at the issue from the viewpoint of international migration, Turkey, owing to her geographical location, is in the position of country of transit.

Experiences of Turkey on the issue of migration that is a close concern for all the countries in the world are of a nature that may shed light on the settlement of the problem. Exerting an effective effort for the solution of the issue of migration, Turkey puts into effect those legislations, in line with her level of international development. Under an act enacted by it on 25th November 2004, our Assembly decided to join the establishment agreement of the International Organization for Migration. Furthermore, focusing on the issue as part of the process for accession to the European Union, Turkey announced her plan of action on the issue of asylum and migration.

Leaving painful marks in human life, migration is one of the most lustrous items for international criminal networks. It is estimated that the dirty money obtained from "human trafficking" varies between 7 and 10 billion US Dollars.

Turkey is among the countries that combat in the most effective manner against these organizations that are engaged in trafficking in persons. Number of refugees caught and deported by the security forces between 2001 and 2004 is around 293 thousand from 163 countries.

Distinguished participants,

Turkey has become a country that experiences a migratory mobility in itself. Internal migration caused by terrorist events in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions and interregional economic imbalances, as well as natural disasters, is intensifying in our major cities, primarily Istanbul. The ongoing migration is bringing about numerous social and economic problems such as urban sprawl, infrastructure inadequacies, unemployment and theft.

Though I welcome the recent economic and social works done for the prevention of migration, one of the fundamental issues of our country, I do not find them sufficient. It is incumbent upon all the public bodies, primarily the local authorities, to carry out important functions on the issue.

Showing a great sensitivity towards solving this issue, our Assembly passed the Act No. 5233 in July 2004 for the covering of the damages caused by the combat against terrorism. At the same time, very important arrangements have also been put into effect with the aim of increasing the investments in our Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia Regions.

In a country that experiences such an intensive migration phenomenon, I deeply appreciate the organization of such an important international symposium with the participation of a large number of local and foreign invitees.

I believe that the choice of Istanbul, where the cultures are amalgamated and the Zeytinburnu District, where our refugee fellow-citizens live in dense numbers, as the venue for this gathering is a very right and meaningful decision.

Distinguished Guests,

At the same time, our country is in the position of a country that has given refugees, too many countries in the world, primarily Europe. Our fellow-citizens wage a life-or-death in many countries round the world.

The point that makes one glad that our citizens who number millions are people who are not a source of problems in the country they live in but people who contribute to the economy of the country they inhabit. The state of affairs in Germany where the Turkish citizens are most populated is a striking example. Our kith and kin that had gone there as workers, had greatly contributed to the restoration and re-development of the economy of the war-wrecked Germany. Number of those Turks who had gone to this country as a worker but who later became an employer is on a constant rise.

Distinguished Guests,

Any campaign to be conducted by a country by itself, without regarding the migration phenomenon as the common issue of the entire mankind, would prove insufficient. A great portion of people who emigrate from their homeland do not find peace they seek and continues to remain in the center of social problems. Recent incidents in France are a clear indication as to the importance of the issue. The whole of the world should read well into the events that took place in France and show sensitivity on the issue of migration.

It is the heartfelt common wish of all of us that the world must not be a place where unhappiness prevails but a planet of where tranquility and peace is enjoyed. It is only then that migrations, the toughest journey of mankind, will come to an end and everyone would live in prosperity and happiness in his country.

I congratulate everyone who has had a part in the holding of such a meaningful event, particularly the Zeytinburnu Municipality with the hope of living in a world and country where there are no migrations.

I express my belief that the views put forth by precious scientists throughout the symposium would make important contributions to the international combat waged against migration.



Adv. Halim YILMAZ

Representative of Mazlum-Der

Born in 1975 in Mardin. Graduate of the Faculty of Law in Istanbul. Currently following Master's Degree courses on "Public Law" and "Law on Human Rights" at Istanbul and Bilgi Universities respectively. Practicing law, serving as the member of the General Executive Committee and Deputy Secretary General of MAZLUM-DER since 2000. In addition, coordinator for Refugee Rights of the Istanbul Group of the Amnesty International. Also involved in seminar events on refugee law with several organizations.

Migration Law and Its Applications in Turkey in the Light of New Developments: Issues and Proposed Solutions

PART I: MIGRATION LAW IN TURKEY AND ISSUES

1 – IN GENERAL

Traffic in human movements that have reached a dazzling pace, is on a constant increase owing to the economic and other reasons, through migrations from the countryside to the cities, or from one country to the other or from continent to the other, changing the habitats of humans.

"Migration" concept traces back to the first human being on Earth: to the migration of the first man Adam from Heaven to Earth.... and the belief that after dying, people would return the Afterworld, the main "homeland" completes this.

Effects of migration upon the human psychology are massive. On one hand, it harbors dynamism, movement, clinging upon something, gaining power, and ambition while it harbors, on the other hand, breaking off, escape, separation, loneliness,

alienation, and even the pain. Sometimes, people may even be criminalized and confront with being pushed to committing crimes. The migrating party is different, the other, new and strange. Migrations are also a source of change, transformation, complication and innovation.

Migration is also a close concern of the communal psychology. As closely relevant concepts, matters such as benevolence, hospitality, aiding the one who is in difficulty give away hints concerning the approach of the society to the problem.

2 - ASYLUM AND MIGRATION CONCEPTS

Before everything else, one should refer to the difference between migration and asylum.

Under the concept "asylum", a person has left his country



because of tyranny and oppression for political or religious reasons and he can be under risk if returns to his country of origin. On the other hand, "migration" concept is a more general concept and mainly involves relocation for economic reasons.

Legally speaking, a "refugee" is one who flees or compels to flee his country of origin owing to tyranny, and who needs the refuge of another country. Under Article 1 of the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees defines a refugee as: "A person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of the protection of that country, or to return there of persecution".

"Displaced person" is one who migrates from his homeland to another country not for the political criteria listed in international legal documents but mainly for economic reasons and for obtaining a more prosperous standard of living.

Forced state of affairs and sharp breaking off in the case of asylum gives a person a sense of alienation, vulnerability and nakedness. Being an alien harbors the danger of being looked down upon and being excluded. Alienation and exclusion are closely related with issues of harmony, integration, assimilation.

Migration phenomenon is closely interrelated with many disciplines such as sociology, psychology, literature and law. We are going to take up the refugee issue within the framework of human rights and law.

3 – TURKEY AND REFUGEES

Owing to her geographical position in between three continents, Turkey serves as a bridge for passing from Asia and Africa to the European countries. Besides the refugees, those who are in a difficult economical position are spontaneously attracted by the economic position and standard of prosperity of those living in Europe. Those who are tyrannized in their own country for racial, religious reasons or for their political thoughts or who grapple with poverty -legally speaking, poverty is not a reason for being a refugee- want to pass to Europe for taking a deep sigh but the story of some of them end up sadly with the sinking of boats in the sea or bring suffocated in airless containers, as reported by the press frequently. Turkey that is mostly used a transit passage and the European countries used as the destination of arrival have to deal with the asylum cases that constantly soar in direct proportion with an increase in globalization or "runaways".

Unfortunately, the refugee policy of the European countries in the aftermath of 11th September is preoccupied with narrowing down and pulling down the standards. Human trade and trafficking and the dirty money being circulated in this respect are issues that are closely related with this matter.

For refugees, Turkey is full of rich historical experience and fine examples. Starting in the 15th century, Jews fleeing from Spain, Hungarian refugees fleeing from the Austria-Hungary Empire, millions of Circassian and Tatar refugees fleeing from Caucasia and Crimea, Russians fleeing in the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution may be cited as some examples. In the near history, as a result of incidents that took place in the neighboring and nearby countries, Bulgarian Turks, Iraqi Kurds and Turkmens, Kosovo people, Bosnians etc had to surge into Turkey.

Despite the historical experiences and fine examples, it is not possible to say that the same thing continues today. It is necessary to take this up firstly from a legal point of view and in terms of humanitarian aid to and interest in refugees.

4 – LEGAL SITUATION

Turkey's direct legislation concerning the migration law is the "1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees" (shortly, Geneva Convention) and the regulations passed in 1994 (No. 1994/6169). Even though the 1951 Convention has a force of law under the Constitution, it is not possible to say that this holds true in practice. For this reason, "Asylum Law" needs to be enacted as soon as possible. In its National Program declared on 24th July 2003 within the context of the process of Turkey's accession to the European Union, Turkey had undertaken to enact a special "Asylum Law" until 2005.

"National Action Plan on Asylum and Migration" (NAP) put into effect on 25.03.2005 with the signature of the Prime Minister will shape the refugee and migration issue of Turkey for decades to come. Issues stipulated in NAP, namely, "secondary protection", "tolerated aliens and residence permits based on humanitarian considerations", "integration of refugees", "Establishment of the Training Institute", "objection to the extradition decision", "combat against the human trade" and proposed amendments of the relevant laws are expected to make new and positive contributions to Turkey's migration law. Besides all this, though the functions of "Asylum Seekers' Admission and Accommodation Centers and Refugees' Guest Houses" are not known, they are a source of concern in advance, given custodian prisons for aliens of the police stations named as "guest houses", where the aliens are kept under custody for a long time in unhealthy conditions and



without any judicial decision. Even though it has been indicated "sensitivities will be extended" about the rule of not returning people to the place where he is under threat (non-refoulement), there have been examples in which this not much sensitivity is shown for this rule.

5 – HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

Besides Turkey's problems and defects concerning Turkey's asylum law, maybe a more important problem is the extension of humanitarian conditions to the refugees in a concrete manner. In individual and collective cases, provision of minimum living conditions such as accommodation (shelter), food, clothing, is a more urgent requirement. Registered and unregistered refugees whose number is not known and the most of whom live in Istanbul are sometimes deprived of their basic human needs, besides facing legal problems.

The clearest example on this issue is the Chechen refugees. After the second war that broke out in Chechnya in 1999, hundreds of thousands of Chechens had to take refuge as refugees, in the neighboring and nearby countries. A group of Chechen refugees who took refuge in Turkey are trying to perpetuate their lives in the Anatolian bank of Istanbul (at three places described as camps) under difficult conditions. The ongoing war and grave human rights violations in Chechnya do not allow the refugees to return to their homeland. Given the press reports, there seems no possibility for them to return in a near future.

Even though it is clear that the Chechen refugees are legally refugees, they have not been granted legal refugee status and thus have to live under uncertain conditions, deprived of legal safeguards and some basic rights. The precarious state of affairs and unsafe conditions gnaw and erode every passing day the hopes and dreams of the refugees, composed of women, children and the elderly.

Even though Turkey is a party to the 1951 Convention; despite that she has declared that she would restrict this convention with the incidents taking place in Europe, Chechen refugees that are within the context of the Convention, i.e. outside of the restriction of the Convention and under commitment of Turkey, have not achieved the refugee status yet. Because they are included in the context of the 1951 Convention, they cannot apply to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Even though they appear to be in the most advantaged position in legal sense, among the refugees in Turkey, Chechen refugees constitute the most disadvantaged refugee group in practice.

A small number of voluntary organizations and persons are

trying to aid the Chechen refugees in an irregular manner. They do fall into difficulties in providing their basic human needs. For instance, they face the foodstuff problems. Places where most of them are sheltered do not have the nature of a house. Their problems about heating, education and health remain unsettled despite the lapse of years. It goes without saying that those resorting to actions or collecting money on behalf of the Chechens do cause harm as well...

Since they do not possess the status of a refugee they cannot seize the chance to work and thus earn their livelihood. Even though a small number of Chechen refugees have been granted temporary residence permits, they cannot provide the money for the fee of the residence permit owing to tough economic conditions thus they cannot obtain the residence permits. Those who can obtain permits do not feel at ease either and are concerned as to whether or not they will be deported once the temporary residence permit expires. Obtaining fees for residence permit, despite that they are refugees, is in breach of the 1951 Convention.

Chechen refugees who are brought under custody by the police are frequently kept under custody for months under unhealthy and unfavorable conditions and contrary to law, at the Guest House (!) of the Aliens Branch of Istanbul Police Directorate on the grounds that they do not hold the valid documents. This overwears them both physically and psychologically. Sometimes they cannot control themselves and resort to hunger strikes.

Uncertainty caused by the non-recognition of the refugee status, disinterest of the officials, and the insufficiency of the voluntary activities seem to have abandoned the Chechen refugees in the heart of Istanbul. Some of the Chechen refugees who have found a way have had to go to the European countries. Even though terms 'guests', 'kith and kin', 'historical ties' etc are used for the Chechens, unless they are brought under legal protection, i.e. unless their refugee status is recognized, they will be compelled to continue to live under unsafe, unprotected, uncertain and inhuman conditions. So far no effort has been exerted for integration for the Chechen refugees. That a crowded refugee group lives in a quarter that has a relatively high standard of prosperity (Fenerbahçe) is additionally dramatic.

Whatever the reason may be, demonstrators who demonstrate for the sake of the sensitive balance of Turkish-Russian relations or on behalf of the Chechens should not be an excuse for depriving the refugees of the necessary legal and humanitarian care and attention. Turkey should not lag behind the historical experiences and fine examples. And to this end, above all,



refugee law should be enacted and necessary legal amendments and improvements made and besides this, prompt steps should be taken for the provision of the humanitarian needs.

PART II: MAZLUM-DER REPORT AND ITS PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

1 – IN GENERAL

In its declaration entitled, “Proposed Solutions for the Determination of the Psycho-social State of the Temporary Asylum-Seeking Women and Children and the Improvement of Their Living Conditions” revealed to the public opinion in February 2005, * MAZLUM-DER has underlined the points that have to be done in this area.

One of the most important problems of the refugee issue is that Turkey has undersigned the 1951 Geneva Convention with “geographical restriction” and it accepts as a refugee only the people of European origin.

One of the mostly-raised issues in negotiations for Turkey’s accession to EU is the arrangements that have to be made concerning the “asylum law”. It is seen that the EU member-states themselves face various difficulties in the functioning of the law on asylum and the refugees’ rights. Nonetheless, educational and health services are rendered in many countries.

Despite the concerns to the effect that in the event that efforts for Turkey’s removals of the geographical restriction on 1951 Convention are realized without making an infrastructural preparation for the relevant work, this would lead strengthen the possibilities for the occurrence of an influx of refugees; one should bear in mind that the majority of the people coming from the Orient would prefer going to Europe to staying in Turkey.

Undoubtedly, when the European Union requires Turkey to enact the asylum law, they have to make the necessary orientation about finding sources for meeting the economic burden that such arrangements would bring along.

According to the results of a survey carried out, women and children that are in the position of temporary asylum seekers, face difficulties in meeting their basic needs such as accommodation (shelter), food, health and clothing. Most of the asylum-seekers have hard times in earning their livelihood for perpetuating their lives. The resolution of these problems again depends mostly on new legal regulations.

In the transition period concerning new regulations, support should be expected from NGOs and it should be ensured that the organizations approach the issue with sensitivity and to this end, consultative meetings should be held with the repre-

sentatives of the organizations and a division of labor should be made. Assistance should be obtained from NGOs operating in the fields of “social assistance”, “legal support” and “education” to the extent of their capacity.

During their waiting period, asylum-seekers should be granted their social security. Social integration should be realized in the period preceding the issue of residence and work permits. Conditions of passing to a third country or voluntary return (to the homeland) should be investigated and the assistance of UNHCR should be sought for this.

Cooperation should be launched with the voluntary organizations operating in the field of education so that refugee women and children are taught the domestic language. The participation of the refugee women in occupational courses on the local scale should be secured. Necessary regulations should be made so that they can enjoy the same rights as the citizens to access to the health services. Through an “Asylum and Migration Unit” to be established and with the cooperation of UNHCR and relevant NGOs, the awareness of the public opinion on the “refugee issue” should be increased by way of radio and television programs.

2 – MAZLUM-DER REPORT “PROPOSED SOLUTIONS”

(This section has been excerpted from MAZLUM-DER’s report entitled, “Proposed Solutions for the Determination of the Psycho-social State of the Temporary Asylum-Seeking Women and Children and the Improvement of Their Living Conditions”)

1. PROPOSALS TO GOVERNMENT AND TURKISH GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

A. PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS

Even though the right to asylum has been described as a basic human right in Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and that UDHR has been accepted by Turkey without any reservation, it has not been described as a right in the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey. There exists no special legislative arrangement on the issue preceding the rules and regulations enacted in 1994. The exercise of this basic human right has been regulated since 1994 only under such rules and regulations in the domestic law that is very weak and insufficient, in our opinion, in terms of civil procedure and hierarchy.

According to her commitments about the issue under the heading, “Justice and Internal Affairs” in the National Program published in the issue of the Official Gazette dated



24th July 2003 and numbered 25178 concerning the assumption of the *Acquis Communautaire* of the European Union, Turkey formerly pledged to enact a special Asylum Law, at least stating the topics and arrangements that would be included in the law.

It is stated in the National Program that Turkey is a party to the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol, that it has accepted the geographical restriction in the convention. Reminding that the non-refoulement principle is "meticulously" complied with whether or not the case at hand is within the framework of restriction, the following is stated: "The issue of geographical restriction shall be taken up in detail and shall be removed at the stage of accession based on the realization of the necessary legislative and infrastructural changes so that an influx from the Orient is not encouraged and on the sensitivity to be shown by the EU countries about the share of the burden to arise."

After this, sixteen EU legislations are listed under the heading, "timetable for harmonization to the legislation". It is envisaged and undertaken that the whole of these legislations will be enacted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly and put into force in 2005, under an Asylum Law to be drawn up by the Ministry of Interior, by way of securing the approval of the relevant Minister or the decision of the Council of Ministers. Among the EU legislation on these sixteen topics, Dublin Convention provisions, many decisions of the committee set up in line with Article 18 of this convention, "Council Resolution dated 20 June 2005 on the minimum safeguards for asylum procedures" and "Council Directive dated 27th January 2003 indicating the minimum standards about the admission of the asylum-seekers" may be cited.

B. PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

1.1. Constitutional Protection Should be Provided

Even though one may indicate the existence of international conventions "as a legal arrangement above the domestic law" given the fact that Turkey has been a party to 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol on the matter and the latest amendments to Article 90 of the Constitution, this should not be deemed sufficient. The existence of a regulation in domestic law in line with this convention and the international commitments and, even before this, the description of the right to asylum in the Turkish Constitution as is the case in the constitutions of certain countries that attach importance to the subject would be very positive and meaningful for the sake of protection mechanisms to be offered in Turkey for the asylum-seekers.

1.2. A Legal Basis Should be Provided for the Right to Asylum
Providing a legal basis for the right to asylum can certainly be

eased with a special law. Apart from this, it is possible to consider different arrangements but we will mainly dwell upon the law pledged in this work. Above all, the Asylum Law that will be passed subject to the international arrangements should be very well-prepared. And for this, the law (as is the case for all the laws) should be prepared transparently vis-à-vis the public opinion in front of the NGOs and should really be open to criticisms and contributions. The issue should not be raised in terms of EU *acquis* only and should be drawn up taking as a basis, the humanitarian and asylum-seeker rights in line with Turkey's historical mission.

The following points should be found, as a minimum requirement, in the law to be enacted:

1.2.1. The Law should include an absolute respect and obedience to the protection of 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol. Even though this point is obvious in terms of the legal hierarchy given that, as stipulated by Article 90 of the Constitution, the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol are above the domestic law, taking care not to make arrangements in the special law contrary to or inconsistent with these texts is important and essential in the sense of precluding at the outset, possible legal debates that may arise in the future. In particular, the non-refoulement principle should be indicated in the law very straightforwardly and with a clearly delineated area of usage.

1.2.2. Definition of "refugee" should be widened. Even though the definition of "refugee" as it appears in the 1951 Convention is accepted to have a historically great meaning and importance, after this date, a more widened definition for "refugee" than the one included in 1951 Convention should be accepted, taking into account of the accumulation of the family of humanity concerning the widening, in line with the new needs, of the definitions included in the 1969 Charter of the Organization of African Unity, 1977 Declaration on Territorial Asylum of the Council of Europe, 1984 Cartagena Declaration and the 1994 Convention Governing the Situation of Refugees in Arab States.

1.2.3. Geographical restriction should be lifted. Undoubtedly, this issue that has been debated for as long time and that seems to be debated further constitutes an important point of the ongoing polemics on the matter and the decision to be taken on this issue has the potential of affecting all the subsequent plan of action. Importance and seriousness of the issue is accepted by everyone. It is obvious that, among the demands from Turkey as stipulated by the EU legislation is the removal of this restriction. The first reason of this is to prevent the refugees from Asia and Africa to proceed beyond Turkey. The reply given to this, i.e. "the issue of geographical restriction shall be



taken up in detail and shall be removed at the stage of accession based on the realization of the necessary legislative and infrastructural changes so that an influx from the Orient is not encouraged and, on the sensitivity to be shown by the EU countries about the share of the burden to arise." Though this is obscure, it aims at safeguarding the interests of Turkey.

The main emphasis in the reply is that the issue is evaluated in close relationship with the EU accession talks. What is understood is that Turkey does not want to lift this restriction-for rightful reasons on her part- unless her EU membership becomes definitive. And when EU membership becomes definitive, she will lift the restriction as an inevitable outcome of EU *acquis* but only if there will be a "share of burden", i.e. if she is to share the refugees who take refuge with her, with the EU countries in terms of economic cost and population and in the event that she sees counter-sensitivity and "commitments". How the geographic restriction will be lifted is put forth in a manner characterized by an unclear content, as seen in the following phrase: "... so that an influx from the Orient is not encouraged." However, this expression seems to contain a covert message to the effect that the restriction might be lifted but border and security walls in accessing to the asylum procedure would be elevated considerably. Indeed, demanding simultaneously from EU, satellite-linked border-security systems with budgets exceeding billions of Euros lend support to this view of ours.

What will happen when the geographical restriction is lifted?

One may find justified, Turkey's concern about the masses whose influx (into Turkey) is feared about once the geographical restriction is lifted for the reasons of the existence of a Turkish economy that wants to leave behind the periods of crisis and recover, her unemployed people who number millions, that a serious part of her population finding employment only for the minimum wage and that a great portion of her employees working without any work guarantee. However, once the issue is viewed only in terms of economic indicators, the human rights aspect of the issue, that the value that is intended to be protected is a basic human right and that this particular person (refugee) is fleeing from a tyranny (persecution) that, among other things, involves a vital threat are missed. Undoubtedly, the issue involves a serious economic cost and there is a responsibility for the "share of burden" in the protection of refugees not only on part of the EU countries but also the entire states in the world. As is the case in all the similar countries, the fact that Turkey shares border or neighbors with those countries where serious human rights violations occur does not lead to a necessity on the part of Turkey to endure such costs entirely alone. Turkey should lift this restriction by

obtaining safeguards about the "share of burden" not only from EU countries but also from UN, if necessary. Turkey's humanitarian history, her mission as being a haven for masses fleeing persecution and her humane responsibility require this.

In our opinion, the lifting of the geographical restriction would not lead to an increase in the asylum applications to Turkey. In fact, under the present legislation, many people of Asian and African origin who seek asylum in the European countries actually intend to attain this aim of theirs by seeking asylum in Turkey that they see closer and thus easier to reach than such countries. Because, they know that they cannot (will not) stay in Turkey because of the geographical restriction in Turkey and that in the event that their application is accepted by the UNHCR Office in Turkey they can be relocated in a third country. Upon the lifting of the geographical restriction, persons who are in such a position and intention will see that Turkey has ceased to be an intermediate country but has entered into the position of a "destination country", upon which they will resort to the searching for new routes to have access to the European countries.

A population that wants to benefit from the refugee protection but that does not come under the definition of "refugee" and that can only be defined as "displaced person" will actually be sorted out once a serious and effective asylum procedure begins to operate in Turkey. As the determination and control of this will be commissioned to a private organization attached to the Ministry of Interior under the new law, Turkey has no reason to beware of the masses whose abuse of such protection is feared.

After all of this, if the persons who flee owing to a vital threat for reasons included in the definition of "refugee" seek asylum in Turkey, they then should be accorded refugee protection regardless of the country they have fled from. Given that the right to asylum is a clearly-stated basic human right under Article 14 of the UDHR and that Turkey is a state that has already declared that "she respects human rights", as stipulated under Article 2 of the Constitution, then such a state is obligated to take hold of these persons. Human and religious responsibility contained in the customary also requires this.

1.4. In certain laws, amendments in compliance with the special law should be made.

Definition of "refugee" and a number of legal circumstances relating to the refugees in the 1934 Resettlement Law, 1950 Passport Law, and 1950 Law On the Residence and Travel of the Aliens to Turkey should be harmonized with the new Asylum Law that is the new law on the issue so that legal disputes that may arise in the future can be precluded and that



legal order is established. Fees collected from the asylum-seekers on different grounds that constitute a very heavy burden for most of the asylum-seekers and that compel them to work illegally should be lifted.

1.5. Necessary laws should be enacted so as to provide the legal infrastructure for local authorities and NGOs allowing them to carry out work on the issue.

Even though refugees and asylum-seekers have recently begun to benefit from certain social assistances due to a number of arrangements made regarding the local authorities, applications have not taken a general nature and have proven insufficient. Municipalities and NGOs are the greatest assistants of the State in the settlement of the social problems of the refugees. Necessary legislation should be created for the provision and support of such a ground.

1.6. Legislation to be drawn up on the custody and sheltering centers of the asylum-seekers should be arranged in compliance with the international law.

Certain spaces where certain asylum-seekers are kept nowadays under the status of custodial center or compulsory guest, and "hotels" in some instances receive criticism in many respects. Asylum-seekers have not committed a crime by seeking asylum in a country. They want to exercise a basic right. Therefore, they should not be treated as criminals and not kept in certain spaces in the position of a criminal.

1.7. Legal arrangements should be done allowing for the observation of the borders by NGOs.

Arrangements should be made similar to those that have come into effect as a very new practice in certain countries in Europe allowing for the observation of the borders by NGOs. Aim herewith is to observe the asylum-seekers' possibilities to access to the asylum procedure as well as their conditions.

2. PROPOSALS TO THE BAR ASSOCIATIONS

1. It is necessary to follow the benefiting from the services regarding the Criminal Procedure Code. Though such a service is given when the asylum-seekers are under 18, when the asylum-seekers are above 18 (as is the case for the citizens) they do not benefit in general from such a service if they are involved in criminal investigations in the capacity of a defendant. Such a case should be followed by the bar associations.

2. It is necessary to ensure and follow the benefiting from judicial assistance. It is necessary to grant judicial assistance in the case of being aggrieved by a crime outside the scope of criminal investigations, disputes of civil code and most importantly, in the follow-up of asylum procedure before the administra-

tive judiciary. Judicial assistance in the sense of the Civil Procedure Code should be provided regardless of the reciprocity principle.

3. Establishment and effective functioning of "Refugee Rights Commissions" working under Bar Associations should be realized. Refugee Law is a branch of law that is not so familiar to the law practitioners in Turkey that requires special attention and training. Commissions that will work under the Bar Associations will give serious support to the work in this area.

3. PROPOSALS TO RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AND NGOs

1. During the process that progresses until their procedures are completed and whose duration is not known beforehand, asylum-seekers have many social and humanitarian problems, primarily accommodation (shelter), food, and clothing. In general, many of such people who have fled the country of their original citizenship are in a very difficult financial position and almost none of them speak Turkish. They cannot judge from whom they should ask for help in Turkey. Accordingly, particularly the religious communities and non-governmental organizations should play a role in the provision of assistance in terms of accommodation (shelter), food, fuel, and house furniture firstly and urgently.

2. After this stage and as a secondary consideration, assistance should be extended about social issues that are equally of vital importance. From this point of view, even though fundamental solutions to the problems listed below should come from the state, civil society may carry out an easing and aiding mission in various stages of these problems.

2.1. Education: International commitments regulate that this education should be carried out in the mother tongue of the child and in accord with the religious preference of his family. Certain private foundation schools may opt to allocate quotas on this issue.

2.2. Health: Facilities should be provided for access to health services. Hospitals attached to certain NGOs should allocate quotas on this issue.

2.3. Work: Certain quotas should be allocated in certain business lines attached to NGOs and positive discrimination should be applied in this issue.

2.4. Culture: Possibilities for cultural activities in line with the religion, language, culture and ethnic structures pertaining to the asylum-seekers may be activated with the support and assistance of the civil society.

3. Public Opinion: It should be ensured that the public opinion



of a country does not regard the asylum-seekers as a problem spiral but as the subject of a humanitarian flee and NGOs should carry out awareness-enhancement efforts aimed at the public opinion so that the religious and humanitarian aspect of the issue is revealed.

4. In particular, the NGOs that especially work on the refugee issue and human rights associations should make reporting on the protection mechanism and this should be made known in various forms.

5. NGOs should carry out activities with the Government and local authorities for the introduction of international standards concerning the refugee protection.

6. Asylum-seekers should be offered legal and social counseling centers and effective programs at such centers.

7. NGOs should lend support to the relevant procedure mechanisms and judicial organs in terms of information regarding the country of origin through their reports.

8. There is need to carry out reporting and documentation work as to whether or not the asylum-seekers benefit from human rights in general and refugee protection in particular in line with international commitments, by following the entire asylum procedure.

4. PROPOSALS REGARDING THE WOMEN REFUGEES

1. Work can be carried out so that women asylum-seekers also benefit from the provisions of the Law on the Protection of Women No. 4320.

2. Most of the time refugee procedure of the women is set into motion in combination with their husband but one should not disregard and bear in mind the fact that certain section of women have got more special and powerful dossiers that entail them to benefit from the refugee status separately from their husband or family and an investigation and determination have to be executed in the light of this.

3. Bearing in mind the women within the asylum-seeker families need an additional and more special psycho-social support, necessary infrastructure should be provided on this issue.

5. PROPOSALS TO AND EXPECTATIONS FROM LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Local authorities, primarily the municipalities, may play important roles in the provision of accommodation (shelter) and employment possibilities to the refugees and meeting their urgent needs for health and food etc. In addition, following the example of the legislation about the women's shelters that have empowered the municipalities under the law on the local

authorities, similar shelters may be provided to the asylum-seekers or at least the refugee women and children.

6. PROPOSALS TO AND EXPECTATIONS FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND EU

Particularly after 11th September, considerably unfavorable developments have occurred in the legislation and practice on the asylum and migration of many developed countries, primarily the USA. The same negative process is observed in the EU countries too. However, it is obvious that the developed countries have got a significant share in the developments that cause people to leave their homeland and want to take refuge in another country and that they also have to allocate more sources to the refugees.

The greatest responsibility of these countries lies in contributing to the widening of the definition of "refugee" and the improvement of the asylum law. They should fulfill their commitments towards the intergovernmental agencies functioning on this issue, primarily the UNHCR and support and facilitate the work of UNHCR and relevant international and national organizations. Indeed, UNHCR, currently the most important agency operating in this field deals with the problems of a very small portion of refugees and it does not fully meet their needs either.

CONCLUSION

As the world globalizes migrations increase and besides this, war, conflict and political pressures push hundreds of thousands of people into the refugee position. Even though Turkey mainly serves as a bridge owing to her geographical position for refugees, it is a destination for some refugees. Refugees in Turkey encounter both legal and humanitarian problems. Once the points contained in the National Action Program are fulfilled, a significant part of these problems is expected to be solved. For the solution of the problems of the refugees, initiatives of the government and the Turkish Grand National Assembly and legal amendments are needed. Above all, an asylum law should be enacted and the legal basis should be strengthened. A sensitive approach is particularly needed in the cases of non-refoulement. As part of ensuring the minimum humanitarian conditions and life standards for refugees, humanitarian relief should be provided by way of Red Crescent and NGOs. Besides, it is incumbent upon the bar associations, religious communities and NGOs, as well as the local authorities and international agencies and particularly the European Union to assume important duties towards the solution of the problems of the refugees.



Aysem Biriz KARACAY

Koc University

Obtained two PhD Degrees on International Relations from Marmara University and Ankara University in 2000 and 2002. M.A. International Relations, Bilkent University, Ankara. Has got research experience with the Legal Unit of UNHCR between 2001 and 2001 and was invited as a researcher, to the Department of Research and development of the Ministry of Turkish Foreign Affairs in 1999. Her professional experience involves the organization of "Koç University's First Annual Student Conference of IR" (KUASC of International Relations) in 2004, Research Assistant at Graduate School of Business, Koç University, Istanbul between 2000 and 2004, organized 8 seminars on "Business Policy and Strategy in Turkey", assisted to the ILO Report 2004.

Irregular Migration Policies and Implementations in Turkey

Aim of this study is to examine what sort of problems/inconsistencies the policies of the states adopted to control the irregular migration and what sort of policy typologies they employ to tackle such problems/inconsistencies and evaluate the irregular migration policies pursued by Turkey within this framework. While the first part studies the basic historical bends that shape the migration policies of the nation-states, the second part reviews the development of the irregular migration in Turkey and policies regarding such migration. Later, the theoretical framework of the migration policies drawn up by Guiraudon and Joppke will be outlined and Turkey's applications within this framework will be assessed. In the conclusion part, proposals will be made for the development of this framework and the rendering of the policies more effective.

INTRODUCTION

Proposing an explanation for the increase in irregular migration movements only in terms of population movements that occur in order to acquire better life standards that are not present in the country of origin by benefiting from the mass communication/transportation possibilities provided by globalization would not totally suffice, given the multifaceted and complicated structure of the migration phenomenon. "Conceptualization" of the irregular migration as a threat against the "communal security" that has replaced the concept "military security" after the Cold War is one of the important reasons of the recent increase (Koslowski 2001). What underlies the formation of this threat is the perception of the migration as the only cause of unemployment, rates of crime, and radical political movements especially in the societies of the



member-states of EU. (Ibid). New policies adopted by transnational and international organizations such as EU and UN on migration, cooperation of the states with intergovernmental agencies such International Organization for Migration (IOM) that render consultancy and services relating to the various aspects of the issue on one hand and their tightening of border controls and taking a number of political and legal measures on the other, have triggered the irregular migration - contrary to expectations. (Guiraudon and Joppke 2001; Koslowski 2001).

In other words, control-based irregular migration policies have led to an increase rather than a decrease, in irregular migration. Moreover, such policies have compelled the refugees to cooperate with traffickers, and thus they were harmed by crimes, such as human trade and forced labor (before and after migration) (Koslowski 2001). Well, which historical bends have been passed to reach the present point? In the first part, main historical events that shaped the formation processes of migration policies are highlighted in an effort to establish a historical association between migration and politics.

I. HISTORICAL PROCESS FOLLOWED BY MIGRATION POLICIES

End of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century provided a powerful sense of society or a common consciousness with the current of nationalism and bore witness for nation-building that acted in line with the interests of the nation-state.¹ (Hobsbawm 1992). The nation-state rendered its borders more visible through practices such as levying taxes, enlisting to the army, issue of passports and applying visas. Some states pursued the policy of inviting refugees in line with the predetermined citizen profile. For instance, meeting the travel expenses by Australia in order to bring refugees from UK (Castless 2004)... Process of the transformation of monarchies into the nation-state joined with the manpower and sources provided by their colonies and thus, migration policies until 1914 had mainly been composed of flexible policies that were based on benefiting from the resources offered by the colonies.

In the aftermath of imperialism and WWI, there was an epoch when the nation-state created strict migration policies and tried to control the migration; in 1930s when the nation-state tried to strengthen the citizenship concept and borders the migration phenomenon took a political character in the wake of the formation of exiles and diasporas; with the prevalence or the likelihood of the prevalence of political ideas such as communism and anarchism led to the increase of the border controls thus to the restriction of the possibilities of migration and travel. (Hollifield 2004).

WWII was a turning point for the migration policies; asylum-seekers and refugees were brought under protection under conventions² signed within the setup of the United Nations (UN) and acquired a number of rights (such as the principle of non-refoulement). Even though admissions of guest workers that had started in line with the demand created by the industrialization and rapidly increasing economic activities in 1950s fell after 1973 Oil Crisis, the issue did not lose its importance, and integration problems, development of radical political movements, family unifications and crime rates fed the fury against the refugees particularly in Europe, thus causing the states to develop policies to assuage this fury (Hollifield 2004).

As from 1980s, regional initiatives came to the foreground. For instance, the European Union (EU) realized new legal and political arrangements relating to policies on asylum-seekers and migrations in Maastricht, Amsterdam, Schengen, Dublin or Tampere; such arrangements clearly demonstrated the effort of establishing a common policy under the roof of EU, and the effort of the states to protect their sovereign rights and interests through their own practices. When the wars, conflicts and pressures in the Balkans, Asia, Middle East and Africa in 1990s combined with the freedom of travel and communication/transportation possibilities in the aftermath of the Cold War, massive migratory waves became inevitable.

Communal security concept involving the rights and services such as retirement, health and unemployment insurances was raised once again once the migration phenomenon was turned into a matter of security (high politics) in the aftermath of 11th September; it was argued that such solidarity mechanisms that provide for the insuring of the risks of the refugees who were thought to be a threat to the European culture, induced them into laziness and that these social services that cost a lot were subjected by the refugees to political and individual abuse.³ (Insel 2004; Hollifield 2004, Guiraudon and Joppke 2001).

At the end of 1990s, globalization rendered the movement of goods, services and capital limitless, while it encouraged the refugees by the communication/transportation possibilities offered by it. Even though it is argued that the migration will drop with the extension of the free-market economy, international trade and investments together with the globalization, examples⁴ show that the case is different. According to Koslowski, the income generated by such investments has been turned into a "migration capital" that the refugees would spend for places that they hope to possess better possibilities. (2001).

With an increase in the rate of unemployment in 2000s, states used the negative stance developed against migration and refugees for creating new policies or coming to power and thus laws and measures aimed at blocking migration emerged.⁵ Such



policies also brought to the foreground, the claims to the effect that the nation-state that was trying to re-define itself against the profit expectation of the liberal economy and under the pressure of human rights, was losing strength; moreover, migration did not decrease, causing the refugees to use illegal ways and means and encounter with smugglers and traffickers in persons and leading to an increase of the irregular nature of migration. (Kyle and Koslowski 2001). However, among the opinions argued are that the nation-state has not collapsed with the advent of globalism as expected and claimed, and that it perpetuates its existence though by changing its form and that it will continue to do so in the future. For instance, according to Croucher⁶, if the nations are “an imaginary community each” this imagination is not one with an end but on the contrary, an endless one. The creation and the inability to create a common denominator experienced in the case of EU, i.e. the development by the states of their own practices despite the conventions and agreements signed, may be shown an example for this. Similarly, the migration policies have gained a character harboring inconsistencies in itself, since they are engaged in an effort to create a common denominator in the wake of the nation-state, free market economy, profit, human rights, law and electors’ expectations for services and since they have failed to meet the whole of the needs or have been created to meet only some of the needs.

Well, how is the situation in Turkey? In this part, the historical process followed by irregular migration in Turkey and the refugee typologies included in this process and the policies implemented will be highlighted first.

II. TURKEY AND IRREGULAR MIGRATION

A. HISTORICAL PROCESS AND IRREGULAR MIGRATION TYPOLOGIES

Examining the sort of the historical process the irregular migration in Turkey has gone through, İçduygu has divided the irregular migration movements directed to Turkey into three periodical segments, namely 1979-1987, 1988-2000/2001 and the aftermath of 2001, in his two reports drawn up for the International Organization for Migration (IOM).⁷ The main reason of migration in the first period that may be named as the birth period of migration is the change of regime in Iran that took place in 1979⁸ In the growth period between 1988 and 1993, three main migration movements that are different from each other have been encountered: (a) Refugees coming from Iraq and Bulgaria; (b) Migration movements composed of the asylum-seekers and displaced persons from the Eastern Bloc

having economic aspirations and also (c) Displaced persons who have come from Bosnia with demands of asylum and who want to be resettled in the Western countries. While most of the Kurdish refugees of Iraqi origin have left Turkey, almost half of the Bulgarian refugees of Turkish origin have been resettled in the country; Displaced persons coming from the Eastern Bloc, having stayed mainly in Turkey for a few months only, have commuted between their homeland and Turkey continuing their economic activities; a great part of the displaced persons coming from Bosnia have been resettled in the Western countries (İçduygu 1997, 2003).

The third period that began in 1994 with the introduction of new rules and regulations⁹ governing the issues of asylum and that continued until 2000/2001 is the maturation period. In this period, Turkey has begun to arrange her policies requiring stricter implementations, since she becomes the transit country for thousands of transit refugees and that parallel expectations have considerably increased within the EU accession process¹⁰. In the aftermath of 2001, even though efforts shown as part of the combat waged against the irregular migration have caused a certain drop, because of the institutionalization¹¹ of these movements, placement of the foreign illegal refugees in the manpower market in Turkey, therefore, this period has been the aging period of irregular migration and refugee policies. In this period, apart from an increased transit migration, 20 thousand Albanian asylum-seekers came to our country owing to the civil war that broke out in Kosovo and a great part of these people regarded Turkey as a temporary asylum country and returned their homeland.

When we view the refugee typologies that we encounter within this migration processes, along with the transit migration movements, there exist in Turkey four types found in the irregular migration: migration of asylum-seekers and refugees, transit migration, migration of illegal workers and registered migration of aliens through official channels. Transit refugees from Asia, Africa and Middle Eastern countries who, in the beginning of 1990s, have illegally entered into and exited from Turkey mainly for economic reasons, have generally cooperated with smugglers in persons and have not aimed to stay in the country, use Turkey as a bridge in passing to the Western Europe and try to obtain the necessary conditions in this “waiting room” for going to its destination country (İçduygu 1996, 2003; Erder 2000).

When an evaluation is made as to which countries the irregular refugees come from and as to whether or not they regard Turkey as a destination or transit country; the studies¹² carried on this issue reveal to us, the illegal refugees who come to



Turkey from the Middle Eastern countries such as Iran and Iraq for economic reasons, the illegal transit refugees from the Asian countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and the African countries such as Nigeria, Somali and Congo who, while aiming at immigrating illegally to the Western or Northern Europe, stay in Turkey for some time, the refugees from the former Eastern Bloc countries such as Russia, Romania, Moldova and Ukraine who have entered legally into Turkey, continue to stay in the country despite that their visas have expired and even work without permits and asylum-seekers from Iran and Iraq whose applications have been turned down by the authorities or still being processed (İçduygu 1997, 2003). What sorts of policies have been introduced in the wake of this historical process that irregular migration has been passing through in Turkey and the occurrence of different refugee typologies? Have varying migration movements and refugee typologies led to any change in irregular migration policies or are there different factors that are effective over these policies? Answers to these questions shall be evaluated in the second section of this part.

B. IRREGULAR MIGRATION POLICIES OF TURKEY

Turkey that has not confronted a serious irregular migration movement until 1980s, has, in the birth and growth periods of the irregular migration, been acquainted with the asylum-seekers and refugees who had to flee their homelands owing to the political chaos and economic turbulences experienced in Asia, Africa and the Middle East in particular. 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the geographical restriction placed in this convention- Turkey's abstinence from coming under any commitment for the asylum-seekers and refugees coming from countries other than the European countries- has established the backbone of Turkey's policy to determine the status of asylum-seekers and refugees and this therefore has impacted the irregular migration in Turkey as well.¹³ Limited political alternatives based on this reservation have been composed of activities by which mostly flexible and temporary measures have been taken and efforts have been exerted to turn the pressure of the international community into international cooperation (such as UNHCR and IOM).

Part of the Iranians who got asylum in Turkey in the aftermath of the 1979 Islamic Revolution have left Turkey with their own ways and means and without submitting any refugee application, while part of them have been relocated by UNHCR in the countries in the West, through the representations of these countries in Ankara. (İçduygu 2003). Even though no definitive figures are available as to how many Iranians have entered Turkey, it is estimated that about 500 thousand to 1 million

Iranians have passed Turkey transit, of whom about 10 thousand to 20 thousand are currently in Turkey. (İçduygu 2003). Namely, a course of action has been taken in compliance with the reservation included in the 1951 Geneva Convention and the residence permits for this group has been extended with regular intervals and they have been permitted to stay on the tourist status for a certain period of time (Ibid).

The most important migration wave that has occurred in the growth period is composed of the asylum-seekers and refugees coming from Iraq. The first asylum wave of the Iraqis who came to Turkey in three massive migration movements between 1988 and 1991 occurred in 1988 when the Iran-Iraq War ended; more than 50 thousand Peshmergas cornered by the Iraqi Army surged into Turkey, together with their families. (Ibid). Again, owing to the geographical restriction in the 1951 Geneva Convention, Iraqis who came to Turkey could not be granted the 'refugee or asylum-seeker' status and were regarded 'temporary visitors' and until mid-1990s, most of the Iraqis returned to the safe zone established in northern Iraq (Ibid).¹⁴ The second migration wave that came from Iraq to Turkey was composed of the alien workers who wanted to leave Iraq and Kuwait between 1990 and 1991, during the Gulf Crisis. Alien workers and their families that exceeded 60 thousand were settled temporarily at a camp near the Iraq-Turkey border and left Turkey as soon as their necessary passport procedures were completed by their Governments or international agencies (Ibid).¹⁵

The latest massive migration from Iraq to Turkey occurred in April 1991 when half million Kurds entered Turkey through the mountainous area separating Turkey and Iraq (Ibid). Advocating the idea of forming a safe zone in northern Iraq, Turkey initiated the program for the voluntary and safe return of the comers to their homeland (Ibid). As a result of the close cooperation between the Turkish officials and IOM, UN agencies, and the Allied Forces that were deployed in the area during the period in question, about half a million Kurds who had been stuck in the mountainous area between Turkey and Iraq were sent back either to their own villages or to Zaho camp (Ibid). Part of them was resettled temporarily at the tent-camp formed at Silopi District, located near the Iraqi border. A small number of Iraqis that remained behind returned to their homeland (Ibid). As in the experience of Iran, it is estimated that part of asylum-seekers (exact number unknown; it may be between 500 and 1000) out of the Iraqis stayed in Turkey. Even though the migration influx from Iraq has been described as an essentially Kurdish migration, among these who made entry into Turkey were a large number of Arabs, "Keldani"/Syrians and Turkmens (Ibid).



Yet another outcome that the Iraq-based massive asylum movements directed at Turkey has brought about is that many Iraqis have left their homeland in order to live personally in Turkey or use Turkey as a transit country for passing to the Western countries (Ibid). In a sense a chain migration influx has begun and unexpected massive migrations from the Middle East and the new state of affairs that has occurred as a result of rapidly increasing personal entries, have led Turkey to introduce new rules and regulations on the asylum-seekers on 30th November 1994 (Ibid).

In the growth period, yet another migration movement that has added to the irregular migration, apart from the asylum-seekers and refugees is "the shuttle trade"¹⁶. Such groups that have been activated in general by the loosened travel possibilities and transition to the market economy in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc, have come to Turkey through legal means. They have not intended to stay but to carry out trade and work (Erder 2000). In his article, Erder states that the difference of these groups in terms of the purpose of their arrivals/departures and entries/exits is not exactly an example for irregular migration, that in order to define them better, new concepts have been introduced such as "shuttle migration", "cyclic migration" or "so-called tourist"¹⁷. On his part, Yüksekseker emphasizes that with the advent of globalism, shuttle trade has been joined with the unregistered economy and has served as a source for the internationalization of the illegal manpower.¹⁸ One can say that, since mid-1990s, there has been a decrease in the volume of the shuttle trade occurring from Poland, the Balkan nations and the former USSR states but that "so-called tourists" coming from Africa have been engaged in such activities in Istanbul (Tahtakale - Eminönü)¹⁹.

In its 1994 Rules and Regulations Governing the Procedures to be Implemented to the Individual Aliens Who Seek Asylum from Turkey or Who Request Residence Permit from Turkey In Order to Seek Asylum From Another Country and to the Aliens Coming to Our Borders With a View To Seeking Mass-Asylum and to the Possible Population Movements, drawn up by Turkey for being on her own in the process of determining the status of the asylum-seekers and refugees, how the Government would evaluate the asylum requests and which ministry and authority would perform which duty during massive migrations are indicated. These rules and regulations have also revealed clearly the category of two types of asylum-seekers created by the reservation included in 1951 Geneva Convention: (a) Those coming from Europe and benefiting from the 1951 Convention (b) Asylum-seekers who are not Europeans and who request permanent residence permit from

Turkey (Kirişçi 2001). Difficulties and problems encountered in the application of the rules and regulations for the non-Europeans-inexperience and lack of knowledge of the officials, technical difficulties such as the absence of translator at interviews, weaknesses arising from application such as extradition of the asylum candidates who have failed to submit their application within five days and thus the breach of the non-refoulement principle-have occasionally led to an increase in the international pressures and thanks to the cooperation of the UNHCR, Ministry of Interior and Foreign Ministry, there has been an attempt to rectify the defects (Kirişçi 2001; İçduygu 2003).²⁰

2000's (aging period) has been one when the direct impact of process of Turkey's accession to EU upon the irregular migration policies is seen. "Accession Partnership Document" signed in the same year and the "National Program" announced in 2001 have turned the irregular migration policies into important building-blocks of the process of Turkey's accession. The section for the "Justice and Internal Affairs" included in the "Regular Reports Series" of the EU Commission is also the sign of high expectations concerning the matter; therefore, in order to comprehend the progress made by Turkey from 2000 to the present on the irregular migration policies, it would be useful to evaluate the 2004 Regular Report.

In the 2004 Regular Report of the EU Commission, there is a call on Turkey to continue to harmonize with EU's negative visa list continuation and, as far as the issue of the status of asylum-seekers and refugees is concerned, to lift the geographical reservation in the 1951 Geneva Convention. Among the most important changes realized in the visa applications and border protection applications regarding work and residence permits are the improvements made to the Law on the Work Permits of Aliens No. 4817. According these arrangements, exemptions imposed on aliens from certain professions are to be lifted, aliens may obtain independently their work permits that has been conferred upon the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and the fines to be imposed upon forced and illegal employment of the aliens are to be stated openly; for instance, because the aliens were not allowed to work in household chores under the previous legal arrangement, thousands of Moldovan women were employed in such chores under insufficient conditions and been exploited²¹.

As to the external borders, a unit composed of civilian specialists (Project Application Directorate on Integrated Border Administration) is expected to be established under the Ministry of Interior for the protection of borders. Even though no such unit as expected has been established at the moment, Coast



Guard Command has intensified its inspections in the entry points of the territorial waters of the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas and the number of ships of the Coastal Guard has risen from 52 to 83 and the number of staff from 2726 to 3396 (2004 Turkey, Regular Report).

As to the issue of migration, there is an expectation for the continuation of the negotiation of the readmission agreements and for the establishment of a civilian unit specialized on migration issues. Even though no civilian unit on migration has been established yet, the application of the National Action Plan on the Combat Against Trafficking in Persons endorsed in March 2003 still continues. In order to extend more assistance to the people aggrieved by the trade in persons, Ministry of Interior and Gendarmerie has signed agreements with the "Foundation on the Development of the Human Resource" and a shelter went into operation in August 2004 in Istanbul.

When we have a look at the new legal arrangements realized in association with EU and UN regarding the trade in persons and trafficking in persons, we see that Turkey has made much progress particularly from 2001. As stipulated by the Palermo Convention (The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime) and its protocols thereto, sections 201/A and 201/B were added to the Law No. 4771. Under these amendments, "trafficking in persons" and "trade in persons" were defined and were criminalized²². Under an amendment made on 4th June 2003 to the Section 5 of the Citizenship Law No. 403, aliens marrying the Turkish nationals can become Turkish nationals only after the third year of their marriage. Moreover, at the Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe held between 16th -17th May 2005 in Warsaw, the Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings of the EU Council²³ drawn up on 3rd May 2003 were opened for signature but has not been signed by Turkey yet.

To conclude; when we come to the present day from 1980s, flexible and temporary arrangements we see that flexible and temporary arrangements have mainly been replaced by activities mostly shaped by political concerns that have newly begun to be institutionalized with the influence and cooperation of primarily transnational and intergovernmental agencies and legal arrangements that are based on the prevention of irregular migration on the echelons of the State apparatus. When an evaluation is made within the theoretical framework developed by Guiraudon and Joppke in the light of the irregular migration and their policies developed against such migration, what sort of a picture shall emerge? This is the subject matter of the subsequent section (2001).

III. CONTROL DILEMMA IN IRREGULAR MIGRATION POLICIES AND

TURKEY'S APPLICATIONS

Guiraudon and Joppke summarizes the main problem or dilemma a democratically elected Government when forming its migration policies, as, besides meeting simultaneously both the economic and political expectations, the State's reluctance in waiving from its sovereign rights and interests within the framework of the possibilities and impossibilities offered by the institutional characteristics of the State.²⁴ In other words, the Government has to respond simultaneously to the fear of the society of the growing migration, pressure of the Opposition, the business world's demand for labor with lower wages in sectors such as tourism, textiles, food and agriculture on one hand, and professional qualified employees to work in the field of information technologies, such as computer engineers.

In addition, how the sovereign rights of the states would function vis-à-vis the legal norms such as human rights is yet another dilemma of the states that have become bound to the international agreements and the court decisions taken on the issue, when developing their migration policies. Yet another element determining the migration policies shaped within the framework of the harmony of the universal human rights with the legal arrangements and economic and societal expectations are the institutional characteristics that differentiate the states from each other.²⁵ Moreover, when one takes into account the fact that these policies are shaped by the differences brought about by the political and sociological structure of that particular society and its legal arrangements, this state of affairs reveals how difficult it is to create a universal migration policy. Well, what sort of migration policies such dilemma emphasized by Guiraudon and Joppke have brought about? In other words, what policy typologies have formed under the control dilemma in which the migration policies are found?

These two authors divide the policies that are being applied into two: visible ones and the remote control ones. Visible policies involve activities that are aimed at strengthening the borders and assuaging the fear and fury of the electors. The purpose is to persuade the electors and what is sought is to gain confidence and thus votes by raising the applications through media. -for example, increasing the number of border officers, elevating and thickening the fences on the USA-Mexico border, viewing in the press and media the caught illegal migrants and similar border control activities... or Spain's border control applications such as the thickening of the fences, or increasing the number of security officers. Not each country that acts with this policy resorts to activities like the elevation of the borders



or the thickening of the fences and, as in the case of Germany, more indirect policies are pursued in order to keep the same group at hand and not to resurrect fears such as xenophobia that is wanted to be forgotten.²⁶

Not having encountered any serious irregular migration movements until 1980s, Turkey has entrusted the massive migration movements first to the short-term and temporary policies and then has taken them up within the framework of new legal arrangements (1994 Rules and Regulations) and the cooperation she has developed, upon the pressure of the international community, with UNHCR and IOM. In this period, mainly the difficulties emanating from the limitation put in the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Determination of the Status of the asylum-seeker and refugee candidates have been encountered and, as explained in the foregoing sections, effort has been exerted to tackle this problem with political and legal arrangements. And when this issue was taken up within the framework of the irregular migration, difficulties faced in practice on the status determination inevitably caused these candidates to make illegal entries or stay and work illegally thus pushing them into the scope of irregular migration. In 2000s, Turkey's migration policies have been shaped in line with the explicitly expressed expectations in EU's Regular Reports. Therefore, Turkey is trying to respond to these expectations as the first thing, as a result of which other existing or ever growing problems are inevitably missed.

When one views Turkey's policies pursued within border controls, it is seen that the target audience is not electors at the outset and that topics like border control do not occupy much space in the agenda of the public opinion. It is thus understood that these policies target meeting EU's expectations rather than satisfying the public opinion. No matter how much Turkey tries to regulate the border controls- by way of visa, passport, work and residence permits- the absence in the Turkish society of an ever growing xenophobia in the EU countries shows that the Turkish Government cannot obtain the gain of votes that similar policy executions can bring to the EU countries and that such a concern actually does not exist. On the other hand, EU requires similar policies from the other candidate countries; for instance, Bulgaria²⁷ tries to apply such policies in order not to encounter with any negative decisions in the negotiating process. When we examine the 2004 Regular Report of Bulgaria, we see that EU has similar expectations both from Bulgaria and Turkey for the strengthening of borders (visa applications, admission-readmission agreements, increase of their contribution to the Schengen Information System). In Bulgaria, an independent single unit controlling the border, an

expectation from Turkey as well, has become operational and like Turkey, she has not avoided any expenditure for the provision of staff and technical materials and serious investments have been made.

Remote control policies suggested by Guiraudon and Jopkke may be summarized as entrusting the state Authority to a third person for keeping the limits of irregular migration beyond the borders and thus increasing the controlling capacity in this manner. What is aimed in such applications that are based on cooperation with the transit countries is the development of the corporations, organizations and policies on migration in such countries. EU's applying policies to candidate countries under the Agreements of Amsterdam, Dublin, and Tampere and Schengen Information System may be regarded from this point of view.

On its part, EU has consolidated its cooperation with Turkey for the prevention of the irregular migration and for this purpose, asked for the formation of a civilian migration unit. In particular, through admission-readmission agreements, candidate countries like Turkey have become a "waiting room" for illegal migrants²⁸. It is seen that the same agreements have been signed with Bulgaria as well and the independent civilian migration unit, expected from Turkey, has become operational in line with these policies.²⁹ Thus, EU tries to protect its castle (external borders) with a shield- the turning of these countries into a "waiting room" for the transit migrants-.What is aimed by such policies is to reduce the irregular migration and transfer the burden to the third states and control the migration before coming to their own borders; on her part, Turkey is in the position of a third country that meets or promises to meet, EU's expectations for the sake of meeting the pressure and pressure expectations brought about by the negotiating process.

And when the position of Turkey is evaluated from the angle of the institutional differences that are effective in the formation of these two typologies and the clash between human rights and sovereign rights, we mainly see activities that are based on the cooperation between the Ministries of Interior, Foreign Affairs, Labor and Social Security and the General Directorate of Police on one hand and UNHCR, IOM and ILO and that organizations such as The Foundation for the Development of Human Resource (İKGV) and Anatolia Development Foundation (AKV) have begun to make their voices heard. In other words, there exists a structure on the state echelons on which the projects, action plans and briefing activities are carried out mainly by the cooperation of international organizations and NGOs and that is being institutionalized newly.³⁰



It is possible to evaluate the clash between human rights and sovereign rights, put forward by the authors as another factor affecting the migration policies, in line with the judgments passed by the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). In the *Jabari case*³¹, stating that she had committed the offence of adultery in Iran and had had to leave the country before criminal proceedings had been initiated against her, and that Turkey had rejected her application for asylum on the grounds that she had not submitted her application within five days and had decided to deport her, alleging that this was in contravention of the third and 13th articles of the Human Rights Convention.³²

Judgment passed by The Great Office, the appeal court of the European Court of Human Rights, to the effect that 'Abdullah Öcalan's right to a fair trial' had been violated is yet another example like the *Jabari case*. The ECHR's reasoned judgment based on the violation of articles 3, 5 and 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights, advised Öcalan's re-trial or the re-opening of the pleadings. On their part, the sources of the Council of Europe the negotiations on the inspection process concerning the implementation of this decision would start at the meeting of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg in July but that no decision would be taken on the issue and that they would continue to watch the developments in Turkey.³³

Finally speaking, judgments passed at the end of these cases against Turkey have both constituted an example for the coming cases, shown that the decisions taken in Turkey could be heard by such courts and have clearly demonstrated that deportation acts carried out without taking into account the position of the asylum-seeker clearly constitute a violation of the non-refoulement principle. In other words, ECHR judgments that can considerably be effective on Turkey's policies have become a door through which the irregular migrants can raise objections against applications and decisions.

In this section, I have endeavored to evaluate the irregular migration policies of Turkey, applications and policies of Turkey concerning the irregular migration phenomenon in general within the framework of the control dilemma outlined by Guiraudon and Joppke and policy typologies. However, thinking that these typologies created by the two authors do not fully reflect the picture and that the existence of other factors should also be considered, I will try to carry out a debate in the conclusion section in this framework.

IV. CONCLUSION

When we view the migration policies of Turkey, which takes in and gives out migration and which is a transit country at the same time, neither remote control policies nor visible policies provide a full explanation for these policies. The reason is that the two authors have created these two typologies by conceptualizing the migration policies pursued by members-states of EU. As indicated above, the difference in expectations from the EU policies on the part of the candidate countries causes to the birth of different policy typologies, which include the applications of the candidate countries. In my opinion, candidate countries respond to the remote control policies of the member countries with in-advance/allegiance policies and the problems of irregular migration encountered in the country are overshadowed by the allegiance offered before membership, by meeting the expectations of EU- such as the insufficiency of the arrangements concerning the unregistered economy and illegal manpower. And while the visible border policies are being implemented by the member-states towards persuading their own societies, candidate countries target to influence the people by trying to persuade EU; in other words, they apply indirect persuasion policy against EU's visible policies. Turkey's policies are of the nature of a response of the candidate countries.

Moreover, this discrepancy in the expectations of the candidate countries and member countries does exist in the migration policies among the member countries too, even though on a different level. No matter to what extent a common migration policy is being formed within EU, it is not so much possible to say that these policies are designed in the same manner for all the member-states; therefore, one can say that a certain hierarchy or an unequal structure has been formed among the member-states themselves as well.³⁴ That decisions have been taken in Poland, which has quite a long border and where the unemployment and labor migration are perceived as a potential problem, restricting the labor migration for seven years after the membership is a good example for this issue (*Ibid*). Therefore, Evaluating and conceptualizing separately, within the theoretical framework formed by the authors, the migration policies of the member countries in the center, new member countries encircling the center and the member countries encircling these countries may be more explanatory, given the differences of these policies and expectations from such policies.

The turning of migration into a security concern, regarding the migrants as potential offenders and policies to keep away the migrants within EU have led to failing to duly questioning the main factors drawing migration to these countries, the disregard of the demand for the cheap manpower offered by the



illegal migrants in sectors ranging from the prostitution sector to construction/building sector and the effect of forced labor or the unregistered economy and the forgetting of the humanitarian needs of the migrant, the subject of migration, and thus to their increased dependence on smugglers, in other words, to the working of the measures in favor of the smugglers and traders. Looking at the issue from a general angle, even though Turkey's policies on irregular migration, coupled with numerous legal arrangements, that are shaped in line with EU's expectations, are a clear indication of the fact that the migration phenomenon is taken into consideration by Governments, one should bear in mind that EU also has responsibilities towards Turkey on the issue and the officials should state that the steps taken necessitate more financial support and share of burden, given the limited financial possibilities.

To conclude, irregular migration policies that are shaped by the mutual expectations of both EU and Turkey should offer solutions instead of further complicating the existing problems. As indicated by İçduygu in his ITO Report, regularity (experiencing a regular migration), protection (protection of the migrants and those affected in the migration process), getting integrated (of the actors joining in the migration process, nation-states, and transnational organizations) and cooperation (of the actors joining in the migration process, nation-states, and transnational organizations) constitute the basic framework for the alternatives for settlement.

ADDENDUM 1

Section 201/A "Smuggling of migrants" means the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry into or illegal stay in Turkey of a person who is a national of a foreign country or who is stateless or whose permanent residence has not been permitted by authorities or who is not a national or a permanent resident or the procurement of the illegal departure from the country of such persons or the Turkish nationals from Turkey. Perpetrators of the offence of smuggling of migrants or, regardless of whether or not they have perpetrated such an offence, those taking out illegally of the country, illegal migrants who have previously been smuggled or have gone into the country, those who enable them (illegal migrants) to stay in the country without complying with the legal requirements or those who prepare counterfeit ID cards or travel documents for such persons or those who attempt to commit such offences for obtaining financial or other material benefit shall, even though their acts constitute another offence, shall be sentenced to imprisonment with hard labor for a term up to five years or given a heavy fine no less than one billion Turkish Lira; vehicles used for the commitment of the offence and the financial gain obtained from this offence shall be confiscated. In cases when offences written in the paragraphs above endanger the lives and bodily integrity of the illegal migrants or subject them to inhuman and injurious treatment, the penalties shall be judged by increasing by half; if deaths have occurred, penalties shall be judged by one time. When offences written in the paragraphs above are committed in an organized manner, penalties shall be judged by increasing by half.

Section 201/A Those who procure, smuggle, take or send from place to another, shelter somewhere persons with the aim of forced labor or service, subjecting them to slavery and similar practices, procuring the giving of their body organs by way of employing threat, pressure, coercion or violence, abusing the influence, deceiving or obtaining their consent

by taking advantage of their controlling possibilities over such persons or their desperation, shall be sentenced to imprisonment with hard labor for a term between five to ten years or given a heavy fine no less than one billion Turkish Lira. In the event of the presence of acts committed with the aims indicated above that constitute an offence, the consent of the aggrieved party shall be deemed non-existent. In cases when children under 18 years are procured, smuggled, taken or sent from one place to another or sheltered for the aims indicated in the first paragraph, even if none of the acts have been committed, the perpetrator shall be given the penalties indicated in the first paragraph. In the event that the offences written in the above paragraphs are committed in an organized manner, the penalties shall be judged by increasing by half.

Footnotes:

1. For more detailed information about nationalism and nation-state building, please see, Anderson B. (1995) *Healy Cementer Milliyetçiliğin Kökenleri Ve Yayılması*, İstanbul: Metis; Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992) *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, New York: Cambridge University Press; (2003) *Devrim Çağı 1789-1848*, Ankara: Dost; Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers; Gürses, E. (1998) *Milliyetçi Hareketler ve Uluslararası Sistem*, Ankara: Bağlam; Oran, B. (1997) *Az gelişmiş Ülke Milliyetçiliği*, Ankara: Bilgi; Özdoğan, G. G. (2001) "Turan" dan "Bozkurt" a Tek Parti Döneminde Türkçülük (1931-1946), İstanbul: İletişim; Yıldız, A. (2001) *Ne Mutlu Türkü Diyebilene*, İstanbul: İletişim.
2. For the text of "1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees" please see <http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/protection/openedoc.pdf?tbl=PROTECTION&id=3b66c2aa10>
3. It is seen that, as stated by Max Frish, as from 1950s, the European states in fact wanted manual power; but the comers were humans, different from goods, services and capital and the rights they acquired began to disturb the society. (Yumul 2004; Hollifield 2004).
4. Sassen stated that large-scale investments made in South Korea, Taiwan and China did not prevent migration. See Sassen, S (1998) *The Mobility of Labor and Capital*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. And the report submitted by Sheldon Zhang and Ko-lin to the Justice Department in USA in 2003 show that great portion of those who have immigrated to USA from China come from Fujian that has developed rapidly and received quite a lot of investments in the recent years, thus demonstrating that market economy whose way is opened by globalism has not hindered the migration, on the contrary, the income generated thanks to it has been spent for migration. See Sheldon Z. ve Ko-lin, C. (2003) *Characteristics of Chinese Human Smugglers: Cross-National Study*, Final Report, and (Report of the Department of Justice No. 200607).
5. Activities of Le Pen, Pasqua in France and Haider in Austria are among the right examples. For detailed information see Guaridoín, V. ve Joppke, C. (der.) (2001) *Controlling A New Migration World* Florence, KY ABD: Routledge.
6. See., Croucher, S. (2003) *Perpetual Imagining: Nationhood in a Global Era*, *International Studies Review*, vol. 5.
7. These periodical segments have been determined considering the changing features of the number of refugees and refugee density in Turkey, taking also into account the changing migration policies and implementations of Turkey. See., İçduygu, A (1997) *Transit Migration in Turkey*, Geneva: IOM Migration Research Series, (2003) *Irregular Migration in Turkey*, Geneva: IOM Migration Research Series ve (2004) *Kaçak Göç Yabancı İşçi İstihdamı ve İşsizlik Perspektifinde Türkiye İşgücü Piyasası*, report submitted to the Chamber of Commerce of İstanbul, (31st July).
8. Most of the refugees coming from here have stayed in Turkey for a temporary period and left the country to go to Europe or North America. See İçduygu, A. (2003) *Irregular Migration in Turkey*, (2004) *Kaçak Göç Yabancı İşçi İstihdamı ve İşsizlik Perspektifinde Türkiye İşgücü Piyasası*, Kirişçi, K. (2002) "UNHCR and Turkey: Cooperation for Implementation of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 13: (1/2).
9. For details of: 1994 Türkiye'ye İltica Eden veya Başka Bir Ülkeye İltica Etmek Üzere Türkiye'den İkamet İzni Talep Eden Münferit Yabancılar ile Topluca Sığınma Amacıyla



INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SYMPOSIUM

Sınırlarımıza Gelen Yabancılar ve Olabilecek Nüfus Hareketlerine Uygulanacak Usul Ve Esaslar Hakkında Yönetmeliğin see Kirişçi, K. (2002) "UNHCR and Turkey: Cooperation for Implementation of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees".

10. See Erder, S. (2000) "Uluslararası Göçte Yeni Eğilimler: Türkiye 'Göç Alan' Ülke mi?"

11. What is meant by "institutionalization" is that the network composed of the illegal workers, human traffickers and human traders have become functional in a self-sufficient position. (İçduygu 2003).

12. See İçduygu, A. (1995) Transit Migration in Turkey, Geneva: IOM Migration Research Series ve (2003) Irregular Migration in Turkey Geneva: IOM Migration Research Series.

13. A large number of asylum-seekers who failed to enter Turkey pass through the border mostly with the assistance of the traffickers and stay and work illegally and are turned into irregular refugees. Geographical restriction brought by the 1951 Geneva Convention continues.

14. About 2500 of the Iraqis passed to Iran and Syria and 3000 Iraqis went to the Western countries (Ibid).

15. International Organization for Migration (IOM) has met the cost to return to their homeland, of these 60 thousand 'Third-Country Citizens' who left the region to flee from the Gulf War (Ibid).

16. See Erder, S. (2000) "Uluslararası Göçte Yeni Eğilimler: Türkiye 'Göç Alan' Ülke mi?" Mübcecel Kıray için Yazılar (içinde), F. Atacan (der.) İstanbul: Bağlam.

17. For instance, in a news report published in the issue dated 9 October 1999 of the Radikal newspaper under the heading, "Beat Up the Romanian workers", it is emphasized that Romanian workers employed with low wages, without any insurance or social security have rendered the Turkish workers unemployed. See Erder., S. (2000) "Uluslararası Göçte Yeni Eğilimler: Türkiye 'Göç Alan' Ülke mi?"

18. See Yüksek (Yenal), D. (1999) "Enformel Ekonominin Uluslararasılaşması: Bavul Ticareti ve Laleli Örneği", Deter, 12:35.

19. Erder, S. (2005) "Uluslararası Göç" ders notları, Marmara Üniversitesi.

20. Of the aliens who have come to Turkey as asylum-seekers or who request residence permit from Turkey in order to become an asylum-seeker in another country, those who have come through legal channels will have to submit their applications to the Governor's Offices located in the place where they are found and those who have come through illegal channels will have to submit their applications to the Governor's Offices in the place of their entry, within 10 days the latest; as to the applications, after the procedures carried out by the Governor's Office, such as the determination of identification, taking photo and finger-prints and after all this, interviews are held and the dossier goes to the Ministry of Interior, together with the opinion of the Governor (UNHCR Ministry of Interior 2003). Decision is reported in writing to the person whose request has been turned down. If the person applies to the Ministry of Interior within 15 days—by indicating the review of the decision once again under section 6 of the rules and regulations dated 1994, the application is examined and concluded by the superior of the official that has given the decision of extradition (Ibid). Thus, temporary protection is accorded to the non-European asylum-seekers and if their applications are put into process and approved by UNHCR, their departure from the country will be awaited to be resettled in a third country and if their applications are not approved, their departure from the country will be awaited to be returned to their homeland. For more detailed information please see Kirişçi, K. (1996) "Is Turkey lifting the 'geographical limitation'?: The November 1994 Regulation on Asylum in Turkey" International Journal of Refugee Law, Vol. 8 and (2001) Justice and Home Affairs, Issues in Turkish-EU Relations, İstanbul: TESEV Yayınları, İçduygu, A. (2004) Kaçak Göç Yabancı İşçi İstihdamı ve İşsizlik Perspektifinde Türkiye İşgücü Piyasası..

21. See., İçduygu, A. (2004) Kaçak Göç Yabancı İşçi İstihdamı ve İşsizlik Perspektifinde Türkiye İşgücü Piyasası.

22. Signing in the same year, the additional protocol of the Convention on the Rights of the Child which she is a party, Turkey undertook to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse and take all appropriate national, bilateral and mul-

tilateral measures to prevent the child from being induced and coerced into any illegal action and prevent their exploitative use in pornographic performances and materials or their selling or use in any other way. (Article 34 and 35).

23. This convention emphasizes that the trade in human beings occur in both national and international borders and the aggrieved are not only the women and children and, though at a lesser degree, men face such a situation; also, it is underscored that this convention shall be implemented without discriminating among the unfavorable conditions that the aggrieved parties are exposed to (whether or not this is a trade in women or forced labor), and that a convention upholding the human rights shall be implemented. Through a commission to be formed with the aim of developing the cooperation between EU and member-states and would-be member states (GRETA), reports would be drawn up evaluating the policies of the member-states and would-be members states on trafficking in persons and trade in persons and important sanctions. (this information has been compiled from the paper submitted by Ayşen Önen, the Vice President of the Federation of Women Lawyers at the "Conference on the Prevention of the Trade in Women" held by Medecins Du Monde based in Greece and the International Blue Crescent Foundation Humanitarian Relief and Development" under the sponsorship of EU Commission on Turkey. For the text of the Convention see http://www.coe.int/T/E/human_rights/trafficking/PDF_TrafConv_E_August2004.pdf

24. Takes the work of Guiraudon and Joppke as a basis.. Guiraudon V. and Joppke C. (2001) Controlling A New Migration World, Florence, KY, ABD: Routledge.

25. For instance, decisions taken by the autonomous courts in Germany about the aliens or the presence of various lobbies and interest groups protecting the migrants in USA may be shown as examples for the fairly effective institutional bodies in the policy formulation process of the countries. See Guiraudon and Joppke (2001) Controlling A New Migration World.

26. Ibid. In encouraging the incoming migrants for realizing cyclical rather than unilateral migrations, Germany grants legal work permit to the Polish migrants for instance, upon the condition of their return to their homes after their work, thus trying to legalize the irregular migration. In this manner, she is trying to render her policies invisible rather than visible.

27. Bulgaristan'ın 2004 Düzenli Raporu hakkında daha ayrıntılı bilgi için bkz., http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/report_2004/pdf/rr_bg_2004_en.pdf

28. These agreements are based on the return of the migrants who enter the EU countries to the country they come from and the provision of financial support in the aftermath of such return. However, an increase in the number of migrants, that applications concerning the financial support have not yet been established fully and keeping the incoming migrants waiting in this country for a long time has already begun to shake up the effectiveness of the agreement. See. Erder, S. (2003) Global Flows of Huddles: The Case of Turkey, Migration and Labor in Europe (içinde), E. Zeybekoğlu and B. Johansson (der.), İstanbul: MURCIR.

29. See., 2004 Bulgaristan Düzenli Raporu.

30. Göçten Sorumlu Türk Makamlarına İltica Alanında Destek Sağlama Projesi (completed), Göç Eşleştirme Projesi (in force), Mülteci/Sığınmacılarla İlgili Alanlarda Polis Kapasitesinin Geliştirilmesi Projesi (in force), Menşe Ülke ve İltica Bilgi Sistemi Projesi (in force)

31. For Jabari case see

<http://www.ug.bcc.bilkent.edu.tr/~oserter/Turkish/Uluslararasıihuk/AIHMKarar.htm>.

32. Article 3 of the Convention on Human Rights: No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Article 13: Everyone whose rights and freedoms as set forth in this Convention are violated shall have an effective remedy before a national authority notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity.

33. The issue has been included in the agenda of the ordinary periodical meetings of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe under the theme, "Human Rights" scheduled for 5*6 July. See <http://www.ntomsnbc.com/news/326998.asp>

34. Örnek, C. (2005) AB ve Göç hakkında doktora dersi sunumu, Haziran 17, Marmara Üniversitesi.



Raif KAPLANOGLU

Bursa Studies Foundation

Born in 1958 at Orhangazi. Completed his higher education at Education Institute in Bursa. Taught history in various high schools of Istanbul. In the meantime, he graduated from the History Department of Arts and Sciences of Istanbul University. At the moment, he writes research-related articles in the local Bursa newspaper Hakimiyet.

Migration that Continues in Tents: Bursa Example

Thank you, Mr. President. I come from Bursa, the city of migrants. Of course, you may say that all the cities were actually established with migrations. But Bursa has a special position. Bursa did not grow from migrations from the countryside; it is a city that grew with migrations from the outside of the country and was established successively. If an example is to be given, in 1920s, 20 thousand out of its 60- thousand population went to Greece and people as many as its own population, i.e. 40-45 thousand people came to Bursa. Thus, this is the most important that has affected the city.

At the symposium, the plights, and dramatic stories of people coming from the outside of the country, namely, Crimea, the Far East, Greece, Eastern Turkistan were described in general but I think that there is also another aspect of this as well. The reason is that once those migrants massively crowd together on a certain point, they affect both that point and that city and can hurt it. Therefore, one should look at that aspect of migration as well.

We know that the first migration to Bursa was from Crimea in 1860s. Many villages were established. Then there are more than migratory villages established as a result of 93 migrations. Again there are more than 110 Caucasian migratory villages. There are at least 50 Georgian villages. Our friends from Ahıska narrated their stories; they may know or not.: there are villages of Ahıska population who migrated in 1880s in Bursa. There are separate villages where the Albanians, Bosnians, and Pomaks live together.

Bursa is the center where the Ottoman State was established. Great migrations occurred from Rumeli to Bursa. Sultans residing in Bursa were settled in Rumeli. When the empire was shrinking in 17th and 18th centuries, the first city that people who remained outside its borders was Bursa. For this reason, Bursa is like the miniature of the empire at present. Mr. President narrated this for his own city but I can say that this holds truer for Bursa.

We see that groups who came from nearly all corners of the



imperial epoch lived in separate villages and quarters in Bursa and neither Bursa nor migrants tried to change each other. This was referred to hereto. It was called the integration of migrants. Not much effort was exerted for this and no plans or programs were drawn up for this but even though the city was established over and over again, it successfully dealt with these migrations.

Man-made problems with internal migrations; unemployment, clashes, educational issues... However, those coming in 1897, migrants of 93, and the Balkan migrants of 1912, exchange migrants from 1923 to 1929 (there are 72 exchange migrant villages in Bursa) then the migrants of 1951, those coming from Macedonia in 1968, and then those coming freely from 1970 to 1976 and finally the migration of 1989... Bursa got the largest population.

During these migrations, difficulties suffered in Diyarbakır or Dolapdere cases were not experienced. Why not? This is a problem that has to be resolved by the sociologists. A migrant coming from Bulgaria to Bursa is looked down upon when he says he has no house on the second year of his arrival. Even though Bursa is not a province that is in demand of too many workers, migrants in Bursa or so industrious that they possess a house at least within year and develop their educational conditions.

Today, there are three holdings in Bursa and 10-15 thousand workers work in each of them. The founders of the holdings are the families of the migrants who came 30-40 years ago. The proprietors had started as salesmen. 80% of the businessmen registered at the records of the Chamber of Commerce are Rumeli migrants. We see that they tackled their difficulties very rapidly and got integrated into the city very rapidly. Bursa is a very fortunate province in this respect.

Well, why do the migrations from Rumeli not create problems and why does arrival of people from various corners of Anatolia create problems? This is a sociological phenomenon that I cannot explain.

We altogether felt deep inside the pains caused by the migrations and cried when hearing about the stories from the mouths of speakers or audience who were present. But not all the migrations are dramatic and painful. Because I am the last speaker, I do not want to relate a sad story during the final ses-

sion. Let us close the symposium with a nice story. The Anatolian lands on which we live today were established as a result of migration story. I wish to narrate the account of this migration.

Nomads who broke off from the Central Asia appropriated these lands to themselves, during the journey they launched in search of a homeland. Soon after the Malazgirt Battle, Anatolia was turkicized up to the Aegean coastline. There were no people that pushed or chased them on this matter. Centuries before America, a founding migration experience occurred on the Anatolian territories. In this respect, just like the first Turkish states (Gazneliler, Karahanlılar, and Seljuqs), Ottoman Empire was also a nomadic state at the outset. It is not a state of 400 tents, as it is said, but as all the historians state, Osman Ghazi was a nomad. Indeed, according to the statements of Ibn Bhatuta or Priest Palamas, Orhan Ghazi lived in a tent though he had two palaces in Bursa.

The reason for this is: the Turks were already nomads. The Turks had nomadism in their character. Steppes of the Central Asia forced them into nomadism socially. But when they came to Anatolia, when they reached this fine land, they decided to settle here. When they came to Bursa, they formed hundreds of villages. Within the boundaries of Bursa are more than one hundred settlements bearing the names used by the Oghuz tribes.

They say that we cannot claim that the Ottoman Empire was fully nomadic but there were people who were insistent about nomadism as well. The Ottomans created a settled empire in a short time and donated the Anatolian land to the Turks, but some nomads insisted to live in the mountains. I personally saw that some persons from the Karakeçili tribe at Uludağ Mountains..

I asked some experts how many Caucasian or Pomak villages there are, how many migratory villages there are. This is not known. In my opinion, a map for the migrants should be drawn up. Coming to my second proposal... I heard during the symposium: I did not think that the Turkish world suffers so much. I remember the pressures of the Europeans for our sending into exile the Armenians during the war. They do not know this. I propose that, in some form, the papers of this symposium be given to all the diplomats in Europe so that the pains suffered by the Turks are shown.



Dr. Suleyman GUNDUZ

Chairman of the Session

Born in 1958 at Orhangazi. Completed his higher education at Education Institute in Bursa. Taught history in various high schools of Istanbul. In the meantime, he graduated from the History Department of Arts and Sciences of Istanbul University. At the moment, he writes research-related articles in the local Bursa newspaper Hakimiyet.

Closing Speech of the Ninth Session

This completes the final session of our Symposium. In this session, the speakers mainly dealt with their proposed solutions. We can evaluate these proposed solutions in three categories: 1) Issues that have to be resolved through political will, 2) Issues that have to be resolved by the local authorities and 3) the mission that has to be assumed by NGOs. Also, responsibilities placed on Turkey by the institutions that Turkey is in a global relationship and proposed solutions concerning Turkey's demands from such institutions were also highlighted.

Finally, it was said that Turkey is a migration-exhausted country but that it has shifted to the settled form of life for millennia. That the people of this country gave a friendly reception to a migration until very recently and the settlements were opened to migrants, as in the Bursa example. If a migrant possesses a house in two years from his arrival in Turkey this is a very meaningful example. This also shows the extent of social solidarity shown by the country to the comers.

President of the previous session and my dear friend Prof. Dr. Hüsamettin Arslan made a point: The Republic changed the system but not the people. Therefore, humanity had to assume this century and carry on with whatever the issues of the civilization established before were. Mainly proposed solutions

were mainly discussed but one should not forget this: Turkey is not concerned only by her own experiences but also very closely interested in the migration movements occurring beyond her borders. Concern is about those in Bosnia, Albania or Kosovo. Why? Reason is that we are relatives with these people in one way or the other. Therefore, we have to take interest in the problems of the people who are within the area of concern of the entire civilization.

Master poet Necip Fazıl Kısakürek writes the following in his poem below:

"Only a bitter bolus, from the food cooked with poison

And separation from mother, homeland, friend

Where are your brothers, generous Nile, green Danube;

The outgoing glorious raider, when will he return to his homeland?"

That is to say, all our history has been dented with pain. It has been based on constant goings and comings.

Maybe this is one of the important elements that bind me to the Balkans. When the Bosnia-Herzegovina drama broke out in 1992, the Serbs probably occupied 60% of the Bosnian territory probably within the first month. We heard so dramatic stories about this occupation that I felt that I was the culprit of all



these events. For this reason, the people of this country also have direct connections with every narrated story even though it might have occurred very far away. They stories about themselves: in Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Chechnya, Ahuska, Eastern Turkistan, or Africa. I wish to relate to you a few headings very rapidly, before I proceed with the closing session:

We were taken to a camp at Elizan. That time, we were distributing the relief of the Sakarya Municipality. There was a woman at the camp who was constantly crying and not accepting any relief. I asked what the problem was with her. They told us, "This is a woman from Foça. When the Serbs attacked Foça, she had given birth newly. We took this woman just after childbirth with us, we started out in order to reach southern Macedonia through Sancak, and more secure areas. It was midnight and all the villagers had to proceed without creating a noise. We knew that if our place was discovered, we would be annihilated by the Serb aggressors. We kept hearing stories about massacres. During the walk, the child of that young lady begins to cry. The woman reflexively pushes the baby on to her chest so that the voice of the child is not heard. When they reach a safe area, she sees that the child was breathless and dead because of suffocation.

There are so many similar stories. I had a friend whom I met in London. We were attending the same course. When I opened the door and entered, he introduced me as: "*I am Patricia Halil, I am Brazilian.*" When we got introduced with her at the end of the lesson, we learned that she was the member of the third generation of a Turkish family who had been forced to flee in

1947 from the Palestinian lands. When I was preparing to fly back to Turkey from the airport in Bosnia, there was a huge man in front of me. I spoke to him in Bosnian words telling him to hurry up. He returned telling me: "*I do not understand Bosnian; why don't you speak with me in Turkish?*". I asked who he was. He replied: "*I am Armenian from Adana living in Lebanon. I am flying to Erivan now*". All I related to you was examples concerning my own geography.

In September last year, I visited a refugee camp in Niyala owing to domestic unrest in the western part of the Sudan. I was taking to them relief, organized by our parliament, prime ministry and foreign ministry. We came across with a tribal meeting. We told them at length that we had brought them relief and that they had to be in unity and togetherness. An old tribal leader held my hand and said, "*When fought during the First World War and you fought them, we did not let the British in here. Our faithfulness to you continues.*"

People are the owners of a geography that is so wide that it may hold you responsible at a camp Niyala. Such people have organized such a symposium on migration I thank those who have contributed and those who have granted us the opportunity to speak. I hope that this symposium constitutes a first step and brings along benefits. I also take this occasion to remind that we should not just discuss the problems of internal migration and that we shoals never ignore the mobility in our moral geography outside and our human potential. Thank you.



X. SESSION

Evaluation and Closing



X. SESSION

EVALUATION AND CLOSING
11 December 2006 Sunday

Chairman of the Session

Murat AYDIN

Mayor of Zeytinburnu

Prof. Dr. Nilgun CELEBI

Evaluation of II. Session

“A General Overview to the Fact of Migration”

Prof. Dr. Mustafa AYKAC

Evaluation of III. Session

“Migration Movements in the World”

Prof. Dr. Sabahattin ZAIM

Evaluation of IV. Session

“Migrations from Turkey”

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Timur KOCAOGLU

Evaluation of V. Session

“Migrations to Turkey”

Prof. Dr. Kemal KIRISCI

Evaluation of VI. Session

“Migration, Refugee, and Refuge Practices from a Legal Point of View”

Prof. Dr. Ali Riza ABAY

Evaluation of VII. Session

“Migration from Rural Areas to Cities and Urbanization”

Prof. Dr. Husamettin ARSLAN

Evaluation of VIII. Session

“Preventing Internal Migrations and New Horizons”

Dr. Süleyman GUNDUZ

Evaluation of IX. Session

“Perspectives for Solutions”

Murat AYDIN

Evaluation of X. Session

“Evaluation and Closing”

REPORT ON FINDINGS



Murat AYDIN

Mayor of Zeytinburnu

Evaluation of the I. Session

Finally, we have come to an end to the International Migration Symposium, held by us as the Zeytinburnu Municipality.

I have listened to all the 67 speeches delivered during the four days of the event with great enjoyment.

We have witnessed once more that migration:

Is political,

Is Economical,

Is ecological,

Is a crime in some places,

Is power in other places,

Is fertility in some other places but

Is compulsory everywhere,

Bears life with it,

Scatters seeds,

In brief, it is a humanitarian issue in all its aspects.

We have been pleased that our wish to the effect that our outcry launches an avalanche has already begun to come true as a result of the intensive interest of the participants and public opinion.

Having been expressed in all its aspects and having shown everyone a different aspect of its, migration has formed a whole with the views and knowledge of our speakers.

We can say that disorderly convictions on the issue of migration constitute a whole now.

Disorderly squares have been joined together.

We now can see the photo of the migration more clearly.

At the end of the symposium I can readily say that "migration is beautiful".

As Mr. İlber Ortaylı has stated, "communities that do not migrate, are culturally weakened and even die."

We have been saddened, amazed and excited by the migration stories narrated in every session..

Migration is not the issue of a specific region, person or society.

As the speakers have confirmed:

Migration is an urgent and important issue.

UN and Amnesty International say that migration is a right.

NGOs raise the dramas suffered by people.

Refugee associations indicate what sort of a meaning migra-



tion to Turkey has taken in the Turkish World.

The most general conclusion we can arrive at here is this: No matter from or to where it takes place, it is a humanitarian issue.

And it concerns everyone.

It is related with humans.

It is the situation of humans.

It is the problem of humans.

It is the remedy of humans.

As indicated by Abdulkadir Aksu, our Minister of Interior, problems can be solved only on global level.

Our distinguished Minister has also been kind to share with us the endeavors of his Ministry regarding solutions.

He has indicated that Turkey has hosted the three forms of migration, as a country that receives and gives out migration and as a transit country.

Our Minister of State Mr. Mehmet Aydın has said that Turkey is a successful model for integration.

He has underlined that the place that should take notice of and see this model is Europe. We totally agree.

He has drawn attention to the experiences of France that has not learned a lesson from this example. In my opinion, these were quite right conclusions.

In the meantime, our respectable guest Anne De Loisy has supplied us first-hand information based on her own experiences and researches.

Other participants have also shared very invaluable views with us.

We are all indebted to all of them ...

Migration is not a simple event of displacement.

It is a very important even in terms of the migrant's needs in the country of destination...

It is a very important even in terms of his integration into the country of destination...

It is an important even in terms of how he is perceived by the society of the country of destination.

It is a very important even in terms of his competence to establish a balance between what it has left behind and what it has gained anew...

It is an important as identity problem...

It is an important even in terms of the maintenance of peace...

Bear mind that the instinct of preserving its liveliness that is inherent in every organism exists in cultures as well.

Thus, how the migrants would perpetuate their changing but not dying cultures is also an important event...

The perpetuation of the cultures of migrants is a guarantee for the colorfulness and richness of the world culture.

This is what I would like to remind my European friends.

We believe that, with this symposium we have torched a light for the comprehensive understanding of the migration phenomenon.

We believe that we have given a meaningful voice.

I deeply express my gratitude to all participants that have been generous in their support to us, the public opinion and press that have always been interested in the issue and to all my friends and associates who have worked for this symposium.

It is known by now that Turkey, a candidate member of EU, has presented an example of a successful cultural integration.

I would like to convey a very meaningful message to the European public opinion that is afraid that Turkey would occupy Europe by producing migrants.

On this occasion, I would like to conclude my remarks with a famous Latin saying that is suitable with the philosophy of Mevlanâ: "I am a human being and nothing related with human beings is strange for me." I express my respect to all...



Prof. Dr. Nilgun CELEBI

Chairman of the II. Session

Evaluation of the II. Session A General Overview to the Fact of Migration

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to share with you the most striking sentences from the speeches of the speakers that have been imprinted in my mind. Our first speaker is Prof. Dr. İlber ORTAYLI. The most remarkable statement in his speech, in my opinion, was that 'migration is life'. He said, 'Migration is inevitable, will happen, is part of life and that no one should be afraid of it.' Our second speaker was Lect. Dr. Ayhan KAYA, director of the center for refugee studies. On his part, he also said that it would be more beneficial to dwell upon the causes rather than the consequences when studying the issues regarding migration.

Even though he is not a scientist, Mr. Cengiz ÇANDAR expressed, in my opinion, one of the most scientific suggestions and proposed the examination of the migration phenomenon with interdisciplinary efforts. I will call it trans-disciplinary. And I think that this how people work in centers such as Bilgi and Koç Universities.

Our fourth speaker Dr. İbrahim SİRKEÇİ gave us a very important piece of information, telling us that three percent of the world's population has migrated that amounts to about 170 million people. But he also said something else: 'we should not put up a barrier to this.' I have got a more traditional viewp o i n t about these that I am going to mention after a while. As a Turk from the Western Thrace, Dr. Mehmet MÜEZZİNOĞLU recounted a small section of his life story in a very brief and emotional manner. Mr. MÜEZZİNOĞLU used a sentence that I will never forget. 'People migrate when they lose their dreams and hope to establish their lives'. This was the most noteworthy sentence. Certainly, finer things were said as well but this was what I remember.

Coming from the field of sociology, I wish to emphasize one thing. Migration should certainly be examined. But I wish that it has to be examined in three dimensions: macro, mezzo and micro-dimensions. When speaking of 'macro-dimension' we start with the wind called 'globalization'. All the international



policies, manpower planning, resettlement planning, population explosion, present and future situations of people that we share the common language and religion (Mr. ORTAYLI said that intensive migrations to Turkey should be expected from this sector. These are issues that require planning on a macro-level.

I do not find reactions against the winds of globalization very meaningful. Globalization is a fact of life. Our defying it with slogans does not sound very meaningful. Its effects may be controlled. We have to know that this is a fact and have to formulate policies to transform its effects for a more livable world. Therefore, we have to determine a vision and make a strategic planning in macro examinations about migration.

Above all, being settled is essential. This may be a migration symposium but I am opposed to extolling migration. O.K., we will get to know the 'other' but I think that to abandon our homes and houses and attempt to get to know the 'other' in a state of starvation and thirst is not something to be extolled. What is imperative is to be settled. Culture is settled. But globalization drags people from one place to another and perhaps this rate will increase geometrically. In particular, I think that an intensive migration current will be orientated externally and sent on to Turkey as well.

We said, 'Above all, being settled is essential and we should not extol migration very much'. This is a very important decision that should be given on the macro-plan. Because, migrations that are intensified under the influence of globalization, sever our connection with the space. Such migrations subject us to time. I am speaking of being subjected to a time without any space. Because, a time severed from space is hollow and rotten and pushes you around like a pale leaf in front of the wind.

What is important is to establish cities, not towns. What is important is to establish settled cities with its history and cul-

ture rather than places where they are merely accommodated. That's why, when experiencing the impacts of globalization, we should not act as if saying, 'how nice, there is migration in the meantime, let us migrate' but that migration should be planned. Who is coming, who is going, why they are coming, who is getting gains from the incomers, to what extent the incomers obtain gains... When making macro plans, I believe that all sorts of sentimentalism should be left aside and reason should dominate the actions.

Secondly, migration has an institutional plane: medium-scale or mezzo plane. Municipalities are here, security section of the issue is here, housing sector is here, and work life is here, education of youth and women is here. All of these should be put in an order. I think this issue has not been taken up. What is the position of municipalities in the wake of municipalities? This should be talked on at specific meetings. What will be the arrangements vis-à-vis present and possible migrations, e.g. vis-à-vis situations that we will go through after the relations with EU progress? I think that migration will not only come from places where we have a unity of language and religion but also from the entire Africa with all its diseases. It is necessary to think from now of how all these will be solved on medium-scale plane. This is a security issue at the same time.

On the micro-level is the individual aspect. It has got reflections on to literature, art and human pains. We have to know that migration is a pain that create traumas and cannot be wiped off from our memories so easily lingering on for generations to come. In my opinion, what is imperative is to motivate people to stay in their homeland. Providing jobs and food to people in their homeland and the economic support by target countries of source countries for example, is thought as a solution. That's all I wish to convey. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.



Prof. Dr. Mustafa AYKAC

Chairman of the III. Session

Evaluation of the III. Session Migration Movements in the World

Thank you very much. In the session I presided over, migration movements were taken up. In this framework, two of our speakers were unable to attend but as a result of a change, a participant from Azerbaijan recounted his migration story in the example of Nagorno-Karabakh. Papers that generally dealt with the migration movements in the world and the speech delivered by our paper-presenter that narrowed down the frame and evaluated the migration movement in France as well as the latest developments were very efficient presentations of our session.

As part of my intention to make a general evaluation, I wish to state a number of points. First of all, I wish to express yet another aspect of the issue mentioned by Mr. Hüsametdin. International Migration Symposium did not suffice itself by taking up the internal migrations within Turkey nor did it confine itself to migrations from and to Turkey. Transcending all of this, migrations of communities that Turkey shares something in common with, either in terms of historical back-

ground, common cultural heritage or civilization within the framework of this Symposium and, as Mr. Süleyman GÜNDÜZ indicated, migration movements in geographies apart from us were also raised whether we want it or not and a correct thing was made. In this aspect, an important gap was filled and a duty that can be described as a novelty was fulfilled.

As indicated throughout the Symposium, particularly by our Acting Speaker of parliament, besides its negative aspects such as the pain, suffering, destruction that it brings to our minds in the first stage, it was repeated on certain occasions migration has an aspect of a renewal and a new start. One should bear in mind how migration sharpens a person for getting prepared for a new life by subjecting him to a number of difficulties and how it forces a person to demonstrate great success stories. I believe that Bursa example explained by a participant in the ninth session is a fine proof of this. I think we can see similar results if we look at the migration movements in other regions.

On the occasion of this symposium, we have recalled anew



what sort of an experience the Ottoman Empire that reigned on three continents for six centuries and established a great civilization on this expansive geography went through in the wake of migrations. As put by Aytunç ALTINDAL in a very nice manner, we have remembered how these people who were compelled to migrate were welcomed as a sign of great humanness.

Certainly, taking this as a starting point, Turkey has gone through and may go through in the future, various migration events in this period in the capacity of a transit country. Therefore, lessons should be learned and benefited from this historical buildup and progress should be made to this end by completing the arrangements and regulations and taking the necessary steps. This would mean a change of understanding that would allow us to perform better our historical mission in this period.

We know that, as for many different factors, globalization movements play a role in the activation of the manpower as well. People take part in migration for numerous reasons, one of which is to seek and find employment. Based on the speech delivered, at the session in which I participated, by Ms Selin ŞENOCAK from Paris on the example of EU with particular reference to Paris, one can say that mobility on labor set in motion by globalization is going to maintain its importance as a very significant factor in Turkey's relations with EU in the near future.

However, EU has adopted and implemented a policy that excludes migration. EU should rack its brains about Turkey's past experiences even though not of labor nature and the liabilities arising from this.

If it wishes to get rid of turning itself into a union that is not harmonized with and has no tolerance for other cultures and into an exclusive Christian club, it should, above all, formulate and implement clear and frank policies for peoples coming from different cultures, races, colors and geographies, protecting their human rights. However, we can admit that especially with the coming to power of Christian Democrat parties, EU's problems to this effect would continue.

Migration that Turkey experiences vis-à-vis her close neighbors is mostly based upon political and other pressures. So long as the political turbulences and chaos in our region continues, it is possible to say that a conviction has arisen to the effect that Turkey is not very effective against migrations coming from its periphery. All sorts of instability in the Middle East and the Balkans would mean a migration wave directed to Turkey. We have to think of instability in these regions as all sorts of confusion, opposition to the system, political clashes and economic reasons. Unfortunately, expecting an advent of stability in these regions in a near future seems impossible.

A great majority of the speakers here were academicians. All the friends expressed their gratitude about the holding of such a symposium. This is not an indication of a simple courtesy. Inadequacy of our universities to be among the architects of such large-scale organizations makes to be further thankful to the organizers of this event. We wish and hope that universities become a bit more active in the realization of such large-scale organizations. I wish to thank everyone who has worked in the realization of such a large-scale event that should have been created by universities, on behalf of Mayor of Zeytinburnu Murat AYDIN.



Prof. Dr. Sabahattin ZAIM

Chairman of the IV. Session

Evaluation of the IV. Session Migrations from Turkey

Bismillahirrahmânirrahim. Distinguished guests... All the nice things in life have an end. We have held a meeting here and come to its end. Of course, everything has been said and we all know them. However, based on the belief that it would be beneficial to repeat nice things, we will say a few words as we are instructed to do.

As I indicated in my first speech, the main meaning of migration is emigration (hicret). And the word "hicret" or emigration goes together with "foreign or unfamiliar land" (gurbet) in our language. There are stories and poems on emigration and foreign land in our history and literature. When examining the issues, one should not forget these literary concepts as they are sources that reanimate all our historical and literary memories. This is the first point.

Secondly, various phases of emigration have been examined. And they have been generally divided into two: goings and comings. As I have stated above, goings generally started with expansionist movements in our Turkish-Islamic history. If we take up the Turkish world, movements starting in Kashgar, Urumçi, Eastern Turkistan passed through the area called Turkistan extending from the Central Asia, Horasan,

Maveraünnehir, Fergana Valley towards the west, i.e. from the northern and southern parts of the Black Sea towards Anatolia. Before this, it moved from the northern part of Africa up to Spain.

What is the main point of mobility in these expansionist movements?

At this point, the expanding motivation of the Western Civilization and that of the Turkish-Islamic motivation are quite different from each other. The main point of mobility on our part, in terms of Mehmet the Conqueror, is "to convey the Word of God". When doing this they abided by a certain rule which reads as "there is no forcing in religion". Our duty is to communicate. It is up to the person to have faith or not. Everyone lives freely with his own faith. He is under our mercy and therefore there is no concern for exploitation.

However, the underlying aim of the goings of the West is to spread their own religion but they resorted to force on doing this. Using, among other things, the religion; they resorted to exploit the people economically too. As an African said, "They came here with their bells at hand. They had their bells and we had our fields. Then they gave us those bells and they were



leaving, they possessed fields and we had our bells." Thus in the exploitation of the West is the aim of economical abuse. And they resorted to force to realize this. Here lies a basic difference in the goings of the two sides.

Aim of the Ottoman State's goings had always been to communicate (the Word of Allah). There is the duty to communicate but there is no forcing and they have preserved the cultures where they have gone in full freedom. For the Ottomans, any issue of assimilation or integration is out of the question.

But of course, one should divide goings into two phases. During the era of rise goings had been as we have mentioned but once the territories began to diminish and when the Western World began to dominate the world economically and did not change the exploitation policy but because they made their abuses through finance and capital rather than with weaponry, income gap between the poor and rich countries in the world became increasingly widened.

By the end of WWI, the Islamic World had been finished. When the Republic of Turkey was established, only three Islamic States remained: Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey. When WWII broke out, the Western World was split into two as Capitalist and Socialist. Islamic World benefited from this confrontation, took a sigh and developed. Those three countries became 57 and the income gap was greatly diminished. But later, with the vigilance of Kissinger, the Capitalist and Socialist Systems reached a deal. They said, "Are we stupid? We clash with each other but they get out from under. Let us achieve co-existence. You stay as a Communist and I as a Capitalist but let us not fight with each other. Then, despite an increase in the income gained by the Islamic countries on oil, after 1980s, particularly, when they became the sole power upon the collapse of the Soviet Union, they began to abuse other countries with finance and capital through their exploitation policies. They acquired all of them by granting loans.

Today, the difference between the wealthy and poor countries has been widened on a scale that is unprecedented in history. Squandering and misery are being experienced at the same time. And this state of affairs has given rise to migrations. Uneven income distribution has caused a speeding up of migrations. The main problem in this is the uncertainty in income distribution. Proprietor of the wealth and income in the world is a small group. Well, how have they become rich? By breaching two principles... According to our faith God tells His servants: 'Earn lawfully, do not resort to what is forbidden by religion, do not accept interest gain nor deal with any business with interest.' Secondly, 'those obtaining wealth should know that the poor has a right in this wealth and give their due

share in the form of obligatory alms.'

Today, those groups who hold the wealth of the world in their hands do not fulfill these two duties. They do not give the poor their due share and gain income from interest from the seat they are sitting on and without working and exploit the world. That is to say, operating in an interest-based system lacking obligatory alms-giving, the gargantuan economies of today's world are responsible for the uneven income distribution in the world.

Are these remarks a figment of imagination? No, they are not. I do not go into details of this but there are remedies and are being applied. Well, can there be an interest-free system? Yes, there can be and there already is.

Today we call our age the Age of Science which means the Age of Computers. The center of the computer industry in the world is the Silicon Valley, to the north of California, in the western part of the USA. People like Bill Gates have developed their businesses here. Gentlemen, the entire computer industry here have been established with the interest-free system. Do you know this? The reason is that no entrepreneur has wanted to take risks by getting capital with interest for a new enterprise. Upon this, the Americans adopted the 'mudarebe' (commerce) system in Islam. They spoke of 'risk capital' and investment companies were established, which were granted to the entrepreneurs bringing projects. By way of profit partnership system they became rich. Today, this system is in use in the world and it is not mentioned much so that the world is not awakened about it.

And this uneven income distribution is also one of the causes of migration. Turkey also suffers from this problem of unequal income distribution since the same corrupt system operates here as well. The wealthy do not give obligatory alms and earn money with interest and without working to earn it. Please pay attention: the State pays six quadrillion TL interest each year, 60-70% of the budget is earmarked for the payment of interests and nothing is left for the people. So what we say are not figments of imagination but a world reality. We all have to know about these. Certainly there are remedies provided that you want to know and use them.

Because of the injustice created by this improper income distribution, people who become unemployed in their village go to towns. If they fail to find a job in towns they proceed to the cities. But those countries who act with their self-interest-related concerns, try to shut their borders. They not only cause the misery of the people but also do not allow people to come there for some food.



We now go to those countries not as a member of a ruling nation but for finding a job or for some food. Of course, they face difficulties there too. As Mr. Mehmet AYDIN has put it quite nicely, we have to pursue a general policy on this issue. First of all, each people have to be at peace within themselves and should not be on loggerheads with each other. In short I mean a union in faith. Secondly, they should not be split into communities in the country they are found and should cooperate with each other. Thirdly, they should develop cooperation with their coreligionists. Only after this, they should seek ways and means of integration as a whole, to the extent the country they are found permit it and by preserving their personality; provided that these States do not abuse the issue. These are important in the sense of identifying the issue.

Migration phenomenon is a world issue. It is a problem encountered by the Western Civilization. Let us remember the Ibn Khaldoun's philosophy: Civilizations are like humans. They are born, grown up and then decline. Islamic World was born, developed, empires were established and then when the time came they declined. Today, the Western Civilization rose and reached its apex. They have now begun to fall. Falls do not start in the military or economy. Falls begin in the culture and family and finally the enterprises. Today, the families collapse in the Western World and they have entered into a trend of decline.

When I went to the USA in 1991 I asked an old lecturer of mine, 'What is your problem?' We have one material and one moral problem. Our material problem is the AIDS Disease and moral problem is one-parent families. A child does not have a mother or a father. All the criminals come from among these. Breakup of families, homosexuals etc prevail in the western world. Unfortunately, these problems are coming to us as well. We have to be vigilant against all these.

Migration phenomenon is an event that concerns the whole of the world. We cannot resolve it only with local remedies. Even when taking up the issue locally, it is necessary to look at the whole and determine its position in this whole and take the measures harmoniously. Of course, our state there also has an important duty.

In the present world, there is championing for freedom, human rights and democracy, but the actions lack any sincerity. They say that colonialism is over but it actually continues behind the closed doors. Even though many nations in the present world have outwardly won their independence, part of the Turkish world is under captivity. E.g. Eastern Turkistan is under the occupation of China. The world does not raise its voice against this. There are numerous Turkish states in the

Central Asia but they are not independent. Their Constitution does not permit this but they have remained as autonomous republics, because oil reserves and various riches are in those republics. Thus, we have got brethren living under captivity in the Turkish World.

What is the remedy then? There are no military or political remedies any longer. But there are two ways: cultural and economic cooperation. No one can hinder cultural cooperation. Who can prevent us from taking an interest in and loving them? Is there a limit for love? No. So we have to try loving these brethren of ours. In order to love getting to know is essential. People do not love the things they do not know. Therefore we have to get to know our brethren.

While I was a lecturer at the university, an institute for European studies was established for each department. On my part, I established a center for studies of the Turkish world. Most of them do not have this (Applauses). Is there any hindrance in the way of establishing such a center? That means that one should want something. If we try to learn each other, we can find means and ways of jointly solving our problems. In this case, cultural cooperation comes first.

Gentlemen...Today, we do not have a world map in Turkish. When we say, 'bring me the map of the Islamic World' the TV Channels say they do not have it. Names of our historical cities of the countries we have abandoned are changed and the youth do not know anything about this. You go to Macedonia and they call the "Manastır" city "Bitola". Historical "Kalkandelen" has become "Tetova". Our birthplace "Köprülü" does not exist and they call it now "Veles". They even call Yahya Kemal's "Üsküp" "Skopje". Now they use these names but can we not indicate the original Turkish names on our maps? We do not have them. In Turkey we do not have maps that mention these countries in Turkish. I requested our president the publishing of such maps in Turkish at the back of books to be published about this Symposium so that youth do not forget their history. Thus, there exist no impediments at present for cultural cooperation. We can do it and we have to do it.

Second remedy is economical cooperation. Is increasing prosperity not a principle adopted by the United Nations? Is regional cooperation for economic development not a principle in the UN's Declaration of Human Rights? Therefore, we have to proceed towards this. Who can obstruct this? Provided that we want it... regional organizations should be established to this end and actually they are being established. Here is the Organization of Islamic Conference to which Turkey is a member.

Today, the world is dominated by great powers. Central Asia



is in a vacuum. And Central Asia is the richest region in the world. Oil, natural gas, uranium and ore are available here. All the powers of the world are engaged in a fight with each other for sharing this region. If we do not achieve cooperation exploitation here will be increased further.

Is our cooperation not possible? Of course it is possible. When I went to Kazakhstan a Russian Director of the Police Institute told me: "We see that you, the Turks, will cooperate sooner or later. But you should know that we are going to struggle until the end in order to obstruct this. Here, Russia, USA and China have interests." We can establish balances here by cooperating and may even create possibilities through this way.

Cultural and economic cooperation are two significant targets towards the prevention of migrations and the development of the Turkish-Islamic World. We all have to pull together to attain this. There is a possibility for this.

State has to take measures in accordance with this target. But the Organization Foreign Affairs Service of Turkey has not been designed for this. It has been designed according to "Misak-ı Milli" (National Border). But today, Turkey has been face to face to the heritage of the rich Turkish world and the Ottoman State. This organization is not sufficient for finding solutions to all this and thus should be re-designed.

I went to Macedonia, and Kosovo. NGOs are on the job. Hüdayi Foundation distributed one lorry of foodstuff and clothes in one night. Officials and foreign affairs services of our state should be re-organized accordingly. Then the local authorities should be more active on this issue, an example of which we have witnessed here.

We all congratulate Mayor of Zeytinburnu for assuming such a fine event. So certain things can be done and very nice things do transpire. Right and fine things should be said.

One day, an elderly, who had listened to my lecture, told me: "Continue with your lectures. Because our Prophet said: 'There magic in statements. Nice words said are like stones thrown into the water. They are scattered like rings and only God knows where they go to.'" And there might arise certain cases some of the listeners may exceed the purpose of the speaker. Therefore we all have to say or make the other say and organize the nice things we know. In the meantime, it is incumbent on NGOs to assume great duties. Either in relations with EU or within the world organizations, the scope of mobility of the States is limited and restricted. But NGOs enter into every field and continually work. If we also become more active in this field we can achieve good things and begin to learn loving and learning each other. I hope that this event will be beneficial and fruitful. I respectfully greet the audience.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Timur KOCAOGLU

Chairman of the V. Session

Evaluation of the V. Session Migrations to Turkey

Speakers who submitted papers at the session entitled, "Migrations to Turkey", emphasized that migrants coming from various countries and belonging to various cultures and ethnic elements, who had been settled in Turkey, added cultural richness to the cultural diversity existing of Anatolia. During the session entitled, "Migrations to Turkey" ten speakers submitted papers.

In his capacity as the first speaker, Acting President of the 500th Year Foundation Naim Gülerüz referred to the Migration of the Jews who had come from Spain 500 years ago and got settled in Anatolia; Counselor of the Prime Ministry Sait Yusuf referred to the migration of the Turks who had gotten settled in Anatolia from the Balkans and the situation of the Turks in the Balkans and Hızırбек Gayretullah and Hamit Göktürk referred to the migration phenomenon from the Eastern Turkistan that is currently under the control of the Chinese Government to Anatolia. On his part, Ali Çağrı submitted a paper entitled, "Migrations from Afghanistan to Turkey". While Akif Atlı, an expert from the UN High Commission, sought answers to "how many more migrations

Turkey expects", Dr. Raşit Gündoğdu, from the State Archives of the Prime Ministry, made an analysis on "the Crimean and Circassian migrations to Anatolia based on the State Archives". Ahmet Muratlı, representative of the Turkmen Front in Iraq, referred to the Turkmen Migration from Iraq to Turkey and displayed the drama suffered by the Turkmens in light of the latest events. Taking the situation of the Chechen refugees as his starting point, Lect. Dr. Fethi Güngör raised the issue, "Migrations from Caucasia to Anatolia". Güngör's presentation was followed by the paper submitted by Hakan Kırmılı from the Bilkent University entitled, "Tatar Migrations from Crimea to Anatolia".

The most important point emphasized by all the speakers who submitted papers at this session is that "migrations from various regions such as Caucasia, the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Balkans first to the Ottoman state and then to the Republic of Turkey after 1923 are politically motivated" and it reflects the reality.

Political confusions and unbearable pressures in various places cause people to migrate to other places. In this second stage,



the main elements that play a role in the choice of the place to which emigration will take place will come into play. The leading element is the issue of whether or not there are historical and cultural ties with the local people of that new area, as well as that of whether or not the area will provide the necessary amenities to the migrants. Thus, these elements (factors) have been the main determinants in migrations from the Balkans, Caucasia, the Middle East and Central Asia to the Ottoman Empire and then its heir, Republic of Turkey.

When we make an evaluation of the collapse of the Ottoman State, the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, political, military and economic crises in the Balkans as well as the regime problems in the Central Asia, we can say that the

migrations towards Turkey as from the beginning of the 20th century have increased depending on the political changes in these regions.

Yet another point on which those who submitted papers agree is that migrations to Turkey have arisen from the cultural, religious and political pressures. Political and economic pressures in the Balkans, cultural genocidal acts in Caucasia, the Middle East and Central Asia and pressures of dictatorial regimes have caused our kith and kin here to migrate to Anatolia.

One other common point in all papers is the human aspect of the migration phenomenon. Thus the migration movements are a humanitarian issue, a global problem.



Prof. Dr. Kemal KIRISCI

Chairman of the VI. Session

Evaluation of the VI. Session Migration, Refugee, and Refuge Practices from a Legal Point of View

Mr. KİRİŞÇİ has summed up Gesche KARRENBROCK's speech as follows:

He explained and underlined the fact that Turkey and the Ottoman State had a long tradition of asylum-seekers and refugees. In addition, he dwelt upon and underlined the importance of, the non-refoulement principle, one of the main principles of the refugee law and the 1951 Geneva Convention that involves the non-return of the asylum-seekers and persons who have been granted the refugee status to the third-countries or their own countries where they would probably be subjected to persecutions, pressures and mistreatment. He explained that Turkey did not apply the Geneva Convention only to the asylum-seekers from Europe with reference to a geographical restriction and that for this reason, the protection of asylum-seekers and refugees coming from Europe was

directly dealt with UNHCR; however, he added, in the EU process, Turkey would be in a position to prepare the necessary legal and institutional infrastructure for the welcoming of such asylum-seekers, the evaluation of the applicants and the integration into the society of those whose applications were accepted. He added that when preparing this infrastructure the traditional hospitality and generosity of the Turkish society should not be forgotten and that in order to incorporate this into the infrastructure a close cooperation with the civil society was needed.

Consul Laura DOĞU, the second speaker, explained that USA was a country of immigrants, that adults of her family had immigrated into this country in 1950s and that she had taken advantage of the benefits offered by her country in order to reach her present position. She briefly cleared up the refugee



admission system of the USA. She stated that around three thousand applications for migration from Turkey per annum were accepted.

On his part, Mehmet TERZİOĞLU, a member of the Police Force, described the areas of mission of the Aliens Department. He presented data concerning the asylum-seeking and migration movements starting from the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. He summed up the legislation on the issue of migration and asylum-seeking in the Republic of Turkey and work carried out as part of the EU accession process.

Taner KILIÇ, an official of the Amnesty International, underlined that, despite the presence of fine examples on the admission of asylum-seekers and refugees, it would be hard to say that the current practices were suitable for the refugee law. He gave the legal definition of a "refugee" on the basis of the 1951 Geneva Convention. He also referred to other legal instruments that Turkey was bound with under this convention.

Participating in the Symposium from France, Anne de LOÏSY explained with examples that there were a number of practices in France that imposed restrictions on the rights of the asylum-seekers and refugees. Demet GÜRAL, an official from the Foundation on the Development of the Human Resource, narrated a touching story about a Russian woman who had come to Istanbul with the hope of working and then had fallen in the

hands of human traffickers who had forced her into prostitution. She explained their work carried out for combating the human traffickers and the saving of the mistreated women. Again, she gave examples regarding the cooperation in this field between the State and civil society. In addition, LOÏSY expressed her support to the shelters opened by the Municipalities of Istanbul and Ankara for the mistreated women.

On his part, Veysi Bulut, President of Beşiri Yezidis Association, narrated the history of Beşiri Yezidis in detail and dwelt upon the injustice of having negative biases about Yezidis.

At the end of the evaluation panel, Mr. Kemal KİRİŞÇİ indicated that, as a participant, he agreed with the vision developed by Prof. Dr. Mehmet AYDIN, Minister of State, for the Government for the integration of the Turks living in Europe into the societies they are found in. KİRİŞÇİ expresses his sorry to the participants for his absence at the evaluation panel for the reason that he was at the final stage of a piece of work on the integration of the refugees living in Europe and the migration phenomenon and demographic dynamics that make arise at the end of the EU accession.

Note: The evaluation notes of Mr. Kirisci is presented by Prof. Dr. Ali Riza ABAY since Mr. Kirisci could not participate in the evaluation session due to his excuse.



Prof. Dr. Ali Rıza ABAY

Chairman of the VII. Session

Evaluation of the VII. Session Migration from Rural Areas to Cities and Urbanization

Thank you. Reason of my presence here is to make an evaluation concerning the Session on Migration from Rural Areas to Cities and Urbanization. However, before proceeding with the evaluation of the session, I would like to underline a few points. This international symposium has taken us to the past, really old past. It has reminded us that we really have an old civilization and the marks of this civilization still survive at faraway places. Furthermore, I say this in my own name: When listening to the migration stories, I was startled and got the shivers. I told myself, "My God, where are we? People far away have pinned their hopes on us and expect our help and we are crossing swords with each other." That's what I thought and felt.

This Symposium has been an occasion for us to encounter a vision. We live in a global world and in geography where we cannot preserve even the Misak-ı Milli (National Border). And we have all confined ourselves into that Misak-ı Milli.

There was a song memorized during our childhood as a means of consolation, as referred to by Hüsamettin Bey: "There is a

village over there, far away from here...Even though we do not go to and come from it, it is our village." I re-thought about it and told myself: "People in the Far East, China, Eastern Turkistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan as well as various parts of the world expect a helping hand from us." As stated by Dr. Süleyman GÜNDÜZ in one of the preceding sessions, we actually recall the existence of our civilization. Survival of a society that does not cherish distant ideals, in other words, a society that does not have a Red Apple (Panturkist) ideal cannot possibly survive. This Symposium reminded me of my high ideals and Red Apple ideal so I thank the President for creating an occasion for this.

Now, I wish to share with you my evaluations concerning the session that I presided over.

One thing has been overstated and become a stereotyped remark. Migration is an ancient and social phenomenon and coeval with the history of mankind. It occurred to me that some sort of an understanding transpired more or less like this:



as if we arrived when Anatolia was in the process of formation and occupied it. However, when evaluating history, one should evaluate it within the circumstances of that particular age. I do not believe that turning back and thinking on these things this way would be very beneficial. Boundaries have been delineated; international law has drawn everything; therefore, just as the fact that Europeans are the owners of Europe and that Far Easterners are the owners of the places they live in, we are today the real owners of Anatolia. That is to say, we are not guests in Anatolia but the real owners.

Another point is that whatever type a migration is, it certainly brings along the psychological, economic and sociological problems with it. This is a fact. Because so many migration stories have been narrated, it would be a candid criticism to say that we have turned this session into a crying wall. This is what has come to my mind. However, besides their negative aspects, migrations are a cause for a societal mobility by which people share their knowledge and experiences. In this respect, new business opportunities and professions are born. Therefore, we should not see only the negative aspects of a phenomenon and should also be able to see its positive sides.

One point was mentioned in the previous session. People who migrate exert more efforts in order to be able to cling on to the place they migrate to and be more productive. Gentlemen... Almost all the migrants who arrived from the Balkans at the end of 1980s and the beginning of 1990s have got a job, enough food and a house. But unfortunately, after they get settled, the settled people become somehow lethargic and become content with their situation. Maybe one can say that there is life in migration at the same time.

Whatever its reason or type is, that compulsory migration should be accepted as a crime of humanity in the world. When dwelling upon the consequences caused by the migration phenomenon, it would be incomplete to evaluate the consequences only and arrive at a conclusion. It is necessary to take up the consequences of the migration phenomenon together with its causes.

One of the speakers of the session I have presided over particularly stated that realistic approaches have not been put forth on migrations from the Southeast, a hot issue of our country today. This can be debated. But we have to look at the migration phenomenon from a wider perspective. We have to consider that when we take up a cause it can at the same time be a consequence and that that consequence can have other causes as well. If we do not think that way and assess the state of affairs only in light of the circumstances we are in we may

arrive at false conclusions. This should not be perceived in the way that we underestimate compulsory migration. Never... But I believe that we may be mistaken if we make our evaluations taking practical consequences as our starting point.

Another point is about the need to carry out work involving the other problems brought along by migration and all the echelons of the society. For instance, when discussing, during the session I have presided over, the contribution of the fellow-citizen associations to their city, it has been said that this was social and cultural capital. Given this, we have to understand that people who have come to a city cannot just go back anew, that migration is certainly from the village to the city, that migration in the reverse direction is hard and that everyone that comes to a city should be regarded as a city-dweller...

Such a statement has been aired during my session: "In fact, it is not the migrations but the degenerated city-dwellers that render a city unlivable." Perhaps this statement may be offensive but we have to agree with one aspect of it: We know that that are people who have arrived in cities, who are actually looked down upon and despised by the city-dwellers. For this reason, I believe that people who regard themselves as city-dwellers should be hospitable towards and show ways and means to the new incomers.

There is an architectural perception imposed on us by modernity. There is one type of city, one type of house. Plans have been drawn in millimeters and we are told, 'this is the street, this is the quarter, the area of your house 105 sq. meters.' Thus you have to live in here. Well then, when the culture of the country a migrating person has come from and the possibilities offered to him here are compared, can he adapt to the new conditions? Thus, he tries to form an understanding himself on one side of the city. In this respect, instead of mentioning a single type of a city or a city-dweller, we have to speak of new cities, cities with a personality. We see that there exists an urbanization conception in Konya or Kayseri. It would be a wrong approach to turn Kayseri or Konya into Ankara or Istanbul. I think that those people should establish their own city there under those conditions.

Let us make some self-criticism. We see that while they conceptualize in their scientific works, academicians and intellectuals occasional behave in a despising, belittling and degrading manner. For instance, when dwelling upon urban sprawl, all the responsibility is place upon the migrants! Because, when they began to arrive in 1950s, it was thought that they would immediately be urbanized with the possibilities offered to them. Then we began to abuse their poverty. As if all this



were not enough, we began to brand them 'those from ghettos', 'those from suburbs' after 1990s. Studies show that those who live in slums are terribly annoyed by being called, 'those from suburbs'. This means that we exclude them. However, we have to admit that people coming to a city are certainly within the urbanization process.

At the session I have presided over, Cornelia REINAUER, a mayor from Germany, has made a very nice presentation that I fully endorse. She said, "We, the Germans, thought that they (immigrants) would return one day. So we did not take them seriously. We tried to integrate them. We said "integration" but what we meant was "assimilation". We could not do it either. What should we do then? We have to establish the conditions for co-existence all together.

Certainly, the direction of migration is not towards the pushing party but towards the pulling party, i.e. towards cities. The more we increase the number of centers of attraction the more we can change the speed and direction of migration. In this respect Mr. Mustafa ILICALI, MP from Erzurum, said, "We have introduced two projects: Firstly, the construction of a center for winter sports and secondly, the development of organic agriculture." I said, "If you can succeed in these, we congratulate you." Should we complain about migration, we have to dwell upon the causes of migration very seriously.

We now have to get rid of dichotomous viewpoints. I believe that we have to use a more integrative, fusing styles and methods. In the urbanization of migrants, we have to believe that they will certainly be urbanized. We have to think over on our assumptions on other issues, wondering if there are any problems on these ...

Descartes has a methodical approach that I value very much. Let me state it briefly. What is important is not to possess a mind but to use it well. When carrying out a scientific activity, there are factors that make us make mistakes. Prejudices we form during our childhood, being in a state of mental idleness, and meanings we ascribe to words and concepts make us make mistakes. According to Descartes, we have got masters that prevent us from accessing the open knowledge and that dominate our intelligence. He classifies the masters into two: External masters are the words said by great persons. We accept them as they are. Internal masters are our own prejudices. From time to time, we get rid of our external masters but it is more difficult to get rid of the internal masters.

Papers have published it: None of the administrators of Istanbul come from Istanbul. Mr. Mayor, are you from Istanbul?

Mayor: No, I am from Zeytinburnu. (Applauses)

Now, all of us are city-dwellers. This is a fact. We have to feel ourselves as city-dwellers. When looking from this angle, both the great majority of the administrators of Istanbul and the administrators of Turkey are the first and second generations who have come from the rural areas. I now ask you: Do those governing Turkey govern it badly? I have a request from Mr. Mayor. I wish we prepared the Symposium in advance of one year, during which we could have carried out a detailed survey on Zeytinburnu and presented its results here. That would have been very nice. Thank you.



Prof. Dr. Husamettin ARSLAN

Chairman of the VIII. Session

Evaluation of the VIII. Session Preventing Internal Migrations and New Horizons

What I am going to say will be somewhat stereotyped but I am going to say it any way: Holding such a meeting on this date when so many events are taking place in the region where Turkey is located is very meaningful. In my opinion, being a Middle Easterner is a difficult task. No matter what ethnic group or social echelon you come from, one of the most important things in today's world is to be a Middle Easterner. When regarding the issue from this angle, I think that the way the topics of the Symposium are arranged is right. For instance, if others had held this Symposium in another way, they would have confined it to migration from the countryside to the cities: Migration took place from the cities to Anatolia; urban sprawl being the focal point, etc. For years, we have been hearing such stories from the social scientists and universities of Turkey. But this meeting has a more different aspect. For the first time in a meeting held on migration, migration from the countryside to the cities has not been the only topic of concern. It included the

historical aspect of migration and associations were formed with migrations from Rumeli and the Central Asia and other migrations that our society has gone through.

When I was at the primary school, I had been a pupil like all others who acquired the classical education of the Turkish national education. I love my primary teacher very much. I believe that I owe my academic career to my primary school teacher. I have not forgotten one of the poems that he taught us. Now I wish to read out this poem to you: From Edirne to Kars / I have a unique homeland/ May it be in war or peace / I do not give even one inch of it. (Applauses)

It is a nice poem that really deserves applause. But this poem has a handicap. Turkish national education has taught people to look at the problems of Turkey from a perspective between Edirne and Kars and imprinted this into our sub-consciousness. When we grew up (I mean 1970s) I got involved in ideological movements. I was thinking in the same manner that



time; I believed that Turkey's problems had to be resolved in a space between Edirne and Kars. Because, my primary school teacher and my secondary school teachers taught this to us. But when a revolution occurred in Iran, when a crisis broke out in Bosnia, when Iraq came under the occupation of USA, and when events started in Chechnya, I saw that the problems of a particular country could not be seen as problems within the confines of that particular country. These events have taught us a fact that cannot be taught by books or teachers. Problems of a country cannot be understood without taking into consideration the hinterland or periphery of that country.

In my opinion, here lies the meaning of the way this Symposium is organized. Given that there are migrations in Turkey; for instance, migrations from the countryside to the cities; for instance, the Anatolians have come and occupied Istanbul in a way and that Istanbul has belonged to Anatolians this extent for the first time in history; for instance, as speakers have mentioned, there are migrations from Eastern Anatolia to Mersin and Istanbul and that Istanbul has become the largest Kurdish city in Turkey and for instance, there is potential for more migrations, even though all this occurs within the boundaries of our country, it cannot be evaluated only with a perspective falling between Edirne and Kars. In fact, I believe that this is the most important factor that differentiates the founders of the Republic from the present politicians.

You may criticize the founders of the Republic and the gener-

ation of İttihat. For instance, you may criticize them over the Armenian genocide or for other reasons. But just as we have borne witness to migrations today, generations that founded the Republic saw the collapse of the Empire in three continents and certainly, their vision was not one confined between Edirne and Kars. They were thinking with an imperial mentality.

If we are to consider Turkey's problems and the migration issue with a perspective between Edirne and Kars we cannot solve any of our problems. There is a way of not being confined to this perspective: Looking at Turkey's problems from Istanbul and not Ankara. If you look at them from Ankara, you may not see Turkey's pre-1923 connections. But if you look at the problems from Istanbul, this city readily gives you an imperial vision. And in order to think with an imperial vision, one should be in Istanbul.

I believe that, just as during the Byzantine and Ottoman eras, Istanbul is the model city of Turkey. Istanbul will guide other cities in Istanbul. Organization of this Symposium by one of our municipalities is meaningful. If adequate importance is shown to Istanbul and if the latter becomes a model city for the cohabitation of numerous peoples, this can set a model for the Balkans and the Middle East as well. This is what our historic mission entails.

Cutting a long story short, I express my respect to you for having listened to the papers submitted in the Symposium and me. Thank you.



Dr. Suleyman GUNDUZ

Chairman of the IX. Session

Evaluation of the IX. Session Perspectives for Solutions

Thank you, Mr. President. First of all, I would like to start by adding to Ms. Nilgün's remarks. Cities and settled life has been a heated issue debated by historians, sociologists, and city scientists. Which one creates a civilization: settled or those coming with migrations? As far as we can see it, the existence of the mankind on Earth rests on the migration phenomenon. Books of theology mention about such a phenomenon. Anthropology refers to different phenomena. At the basis of clashes between sociology and anthropology and between sociology and city culture lies whether or not these migration systems have constituted a civilization or not. For instance, our lecturer said that, 'we have to construct cities as culture is based on cities'. But we see that in the whole of the world all the civilizations have been shaped with migrations. Creation of a great civilization in Anatolia by the Turks is an example of this. In all centuries, the end of civilizations started at times when they stopped receiving migrations.

I agree with Ms. Nilgün's words to the effect that we have to construct cities. As a matter of fact, this was one of my pronouncements when I was joining politics. We should construct

new cities rather than producing housing fields. What we are doing now is producing housing fields only. Producing housing fields is tantamount to the witnessing the death of a city. I will not mention about Paul Valery or the death of civilizations. Producing housing is always tantamount to bearing witness to the death of an existing city. Definitely, we should produce new cities. New cities would mean the building of a new civilization.

For instance, we speak of globalization. No problem in this world is new. Globalization did exist in the 10th century too. It is a phenomenon that began with the adventure of Mankind on Earth and that is experienced in every age with different dimensions. There had been unfair distributions in the past too. One of the most important remedies towards halting the migration phenomenon is fair distribution. A couple of weeks ago, I opened a photo exhibition in Ankara, where I displayed photos I had taken in various settings in the world and I realized a meeting with people. The theme of my exhibition was lamentations and monuments. And what I said was "Lamentations of the East and the South are the Monuments of the West and the North." When I say 'monuments' I do not



mean only the statutes erected. A city life and the outcome it has brought about are a monument. I intended to ask the question of confronting with a world that we imitate.

I wish to reply to the question, "Where are you from?" asked in this age in some sense making a reference to Mr. ABAY. There is no one-section reply to it. Mayor was asked this question. I am an MP from Sakarya. If I was asked if I am from Sakarya, I would reply, "My father was born...., my father was born..... And I was born" There is no one-section reply about your birthplace on Earth. Thank God that there is not; because, I think a bit differently from our lecturer. I believe that Mr. Sabahattin ZAİM also mentioned about this: emigration, migration, establishing a new civilization... Settled life is the course of gradual death. A person switches to a settled life when he is dying. If there is migration there is dynamism, carrying culture there and confronting with the cultures where you go to. The nation that has succeeded most in the migration phenomenon is the Turkish Nation.

Undoubtedly, personality examples have come to my mind under this migration phenomenon. For instance, Mehmet MÜEZZİNOĞLU, one of the speakers here, is a fine politician. He is from Western Thrace. He is a refugee. Ahmet İhsan KIR-İMLİ is a Cabinet Minister and a politician. He migrated from Crimea. Doğan GÜREŞ is a Chechen. Carlos Menem El Turco... His family migrated to Argentina at the beginning of this century. He is a person who served as the Head of State in Argentina. Aliya İzzet BEGOVIÇ is from Üsküdar from his mother and served as the Bosnian President. Ömer RODRIGUEZ, is the Foreign Minister of Venezuela. He is an Afro-Islamic man. We have got MP friends in Europe: Celal AYGÜN, Lale ATAMAN, Vural ÖGER, Ozan CEYHUN etc. We have so successful politicians over there.

As far as Turkey is concerned, there are differences as to the look at the internal and external migrations compared with the other countries. Countries adopt two approaches regarding migrations. One permits the migration phenomenon for the maintenance of the past ideals and establishes contacts with them. In terms of regional relations, the Balkans, Caucasias and the Middle East carry the same meaning for such a country. For instance, we are closely related with Bosnia. Why? The reason is that one of my neighbors is Bosnian. Another neighbor of mine is Chechen. We have got close ties with Chechnya. Therefore, Turkey has permitted certain of migration from here. Purpose is not evacuation. Purpose is to form a fresh tie. The second migration phenomenon has to do with gaining new areas of interaction, applying pressure and increasing the

manpower. The West, for example, has concentrated on the second category. It does not have any meaning in the sense of establishing ties with older cultures as it has established it itself on the European Continent. But England, for example, had established relations with the other regions in the world through colonialism. Ours is different. We had reigned on a basin of civilization. Thus we have to be set up a liaison with all these in some manner.

The professor has mentioned about Red Apple (Pan-Turkism). But the West is not like this. They use the migration to gain new areas of interaction and apply pressure through the status of political refugee. There are such examples in Turkey-Europe relations, as well as to increase their manpower, of course. Mr. İlber ORTAYLI said there is a gradual tendency towards aging in Turkey owing to the birth control. Thus, he indicated, Turkey needs to receive external migration. But touch wood; there is not a more fecund country than Turkey on earth. There is not any such country in the world, my friends. We are speaking of a country that can receive one million refugees at a time, not on the status of refugee but as guests; because the position of this country is different.

For instance, all of the people who fled the Balkans during the war in Bosnia and went to the West are on the refugee status. UNHCR pays a certain amount of daily allowance to these people. But none of those coming to Turkey has refugee status and all of them have the guest status. Why? If you accord a refugee treatment to those who will come to this country then you will be offending him and his relatives.

One of the speakers here has referred to the mistreatment accorded to the Chechens upon their arrivals in Turkey. But we do not call them refugees. We cannot grant such a status to them and cannot benefit from international funds. We have got such naïf aspects.

The biggest migration was the wave from Iraq. But it did not shake up the economy of this country; because, the values of this country rests upon a different concept. For instance, a similar refugee movement occurred in 1996 from Albania to Italy. About three hundred thousand people wanted to cross into Italy and the Italians started to open fire on to the people sailing in boats. Despite the arrival of 600-700 thousand people at a time no such events have taken place in Turkey.

Westerners have done an interesting thing, which I want to refer to. They have immediately received the Bosnian refugees. However, they have not been so willing in receiving the Albanian refugees, because, the whole of the Bosnians were very well-educated. They received them and did not send



them back. There are two reasons of their non-return: First, the westerners did not send them back. Second, they do not go back to their lands as their security has not been provided yet. Some countries do not give any importance to taking services to the countryside towards solving the problems in the countryside. Therefore, the cities are rendered very attractive. If these are programmed, they may carry a great meaning in consideration of the participation of the people in the countryside in production.

I do not wish to keep you busy with too much sociological data. Indeed, during the session that I presided over, three of my friends made a truly successful presentation. Dr. Ayşem Biriz KARAÇAY made a presentation in which she gave all the processes in categories. Mazlum-Der representative expressed the proposed solutions of NGOS on the refugee law and its applications. Mr. Raif KAPLANOĞLU gave the Bursa example and argued that the internal migration can surely be deeply meaningful.

Municipality of Zeytinburnu has demonstrated a very serious performance. This should not be left off here. I think that the mechanisms that would allow for the channeling of the buildup created here to other local authorities and the Central

Administration have been formed. I congratulate them. They have achieved a great job.

When finishing, I wish to refer to two more subjects here. One is the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. An Azerbaijani friend has touched on the issue. The second one is the Eastern Turkistan example. Some countries increase the internal migration phenomenon in order to change their demographic structure. We are face to face with such an example in Eastern Turkistan. As a representative of politicians, I can say that our MP from Izmir Zekeriya AKÇAM in a way shared with you the refugee law that is before us. Besides this, an area that was formerly planned to be turned into an E-type prison in Ankara will be converted into an area for the refugees. Government has extremely serious efforts on this issue. There is a political understanding that is conducive to all forms of cooperation both on the local and global levels. Enacting such laws in the parliament is extremely easy as there is a powerful Government. I believe that the politics fulfill every responsibility that is incumbent upon it. It is time to restructure this country together with her art historians, sociologists, city scientists and migration experts. One should bear in mind that we do not view the issue as "migration equals refugee". Refugees are our guests.



Murat Aydın
Mayor of Zeytinburnu

Evaluation of the Closing Session

I thank our distinguished members of parliament. Friends have just reminded me that there is a program in the hall. And I have got seven minutes the most. I have actually thought of speaking longer. But views close to the contents of my planned speech have been expressed here.

Distinguished friends... For four days, sixty nine speeches, including this speech of mine, were delivered in this place. 60 people spoke in total. Migration phenomenon was discussed at length. We saw that Turkey is a country of refugees. Both the internal and external migrations have been managed without many problems. Even though our country seems to be in the position of giving migrations to Europe, we have seen that our country has received about seven million migrations. It is clear that no noteworthy events have occurred. There is a recent event in France. No such event has taken in Turkey.

The fact "Turkey is a country that not only sends out but also receives migrations on serious levels" should be known by all especially the EU member-states. How we manage this process has been discussed here in detail and our European friends have listened to what has been said.

Turkey has not received migrations only from related communities or in other words, their kith and kin in the same cultural

basin. Distinguished journalist Aytunç ALTINDAL stated that four Christian communities had also come to Turkey.

A few years ago I went to Australia. We were walking around in a bazaar in Sydney. Somebody asked us where we were from. We said we were from Turkey. He embraced us from the neck. When I asked him where he was from he told me that he was a Greek from Greece. He was as happy as a person who found a brother he had missed for many years. Again, I went to Jerusalem in 1999. A few friends were accompanying me. It was an incredible event. Jews showed a very warm interest in me. The same held true for the Arabs as well. It was the Ramadan and on one hand, the Arabs insistently invited us to the breaking of the fast and on the hand, the Jews called us for a cup of tea. Certainly, this event has a historical background. President of the 500th Anniversary Foundation Naim Güleriyüz was here; he explained how the Ottomans had treated the Jews coming from Spain. When looking back to the past, we see that the Ottomans, that great empire that lived on these lands had done this job very well. Of course there are defective ways as well.

Finally speaking, we can say that the migration phenomenon has historically been managed very well.



Yes, I told the professor that I am from Zeytinburnu. I came here 32 years ago in order to study and became the Mayor of Zeytinburnu. My parents were born in Giresun but my children were born in Zeytinburnu. With the reminding of our distinguished MP we can introduce us only in this manner. I felt content for having come to Zeytinburnu and for having lived and still living here. I got to know the world and Turkey, thanks to Zeytinburnu. I got to know our brethren belonging to different sub-cultures. We got to know our brethren from Rumeli, Eastern Turkistan and different parts of Anatolia. First we became neighbors and those coming from the Black Sea and Rumeli shared their cabbage and pastry with their friends. Those coming from Eastern Turkistan shared their tea with milk with everyone. I am really content for having arrived in Zeytinburnu and having known these people in Zeytinburnu. For this reason I am a very happy person.

Distinguished academicians and participants...I wholeheartedly thank you on behalf of the inhabitants of Zeytinburnu.

We have been together with you for four days. Everyone taking the floor thanked me both at the beginning and the end of his speech. If you allow me, I would like to thank both the people of Zeytinburnu and my colleagues.

Let me indicate this promptly: My distinguished MP said that this work should not be left off here and be kept active. There are many things that can be obtained from the migration phenomenon. This does not have to be confined within the boundaries of Zeytinburnu. Results obtained from here need to be shared at home and abroad. Collecting the speeches made in a book here will be realized as soon as possible. A secretariat within the Center for Local Development and Relations with EU attached to our Municipality will execute activities. I thank you very much once again. May God protect you and help you maintain your unity and togetherness. This world has enough possibilities to let everyone to live in peace. That's what I have seen.



An Evaluation of International Migration Symposium

"International Migration Symposium" held by Zeytinburnu Municipality between 8-11 December 2005 at Cemal Reşit Rey (CRR) Concert Hall in Istanbul, with the participation of local and foreign researchers and experts, was among the important activities in 2005.

"International Migration Symposium", held by Zeytinburnu Municipality, has been recorded in the annals of history as the most comprehensive symposium on the issue ever held in Turkey in terms of the form and content and the diversity and integrity of the symposium topics.

69 papers and speeches were submitted at the sessions during four days.

That part of the participants was composed of those coming from abroad and the examination and debating of the migration phenomenon in broad lines gave an international dimension to the organization.

The following high-level officials took part in the Symposium by submitting papers:

- UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees) Representative in Turkey,
- Secretary General of UNPO (Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization),
- Representation on the consular level of the U.S. Embassy in Ankara,
- Mayor of Berlin Krausberg.

Also, the following foreign experts on the issue attended the event by submitting papers:

- Prof. İbrahim Tatarlı from the Sumnu University in Bulgaria,
- İşıl Arkan from the Near East University College in TRNC,
- Dr Selin Şenocak from the Sorbonne University in Paris,
- Dr. İbrahim Sirkeci from the European School of Business Management in London,
- Prof. Dr. Veli Kamil Nerimanov, former Deputy Prime Minister

in Azerbaijan, from the State University in Azerbaijan,

*Safer Çınar, Leader of the Turkish Community in Berlin and the Holder of the Award of Merit granted by the German President of Republic,

•Anne de Loisy, journalist from France and

•Dr. Metanet Azizkızı Aliyeva from the Azadlık Organization from the Nagorno-Karabakh Region of Azerbaijan.

Such a distinguished participation shows the importance of the Symposium in terms of both content and form.

At the same time, academics listed below submitted their papers on the subject: *Prof. Dr. İlber Ortaylı, Prof. Dr. Kemal Kirişçi, Prof. Dr. Ali Rıza Abay, Prof. Dr. Mustafa Aykaç, Prof. Dr. Sabahattin Zaim, Prof. Dr. Nilgün Çelebi, Prof. Dr. Hüsamettin Arslan, Lect.. Dr. Ayhan Kaya, Lect.. Dr. Timur Kocaoğlu, Lect. Dr. Hakan Kırımlı, Lect. Dr. Nazife Güngör, Lect. Dr. Mahzar Bağlı, Lect. Dr. Fethi Güngör, Dr. Ayşem Biriz Karaçay, Dr. Yusuf Adıgüzel, Dr. Raşit Gündoğdu, Member of letters and writer Edebiyatçı yazar Latife Tekin, Expert on refugees Akif Atlı, Columnist Cengiz Çandar and Researcher and writer Aytunç Altundal Expert On Refugees Adv. Taner KılıçExpert on migration Adv. Halim Yılmaz.*

Representatives of the relevant associations listed below contributed by supplying papers, photos, and documents:

Göç-Der,

Victims Foundation

Foundation for Improvement of Human Resources

Prime Ministry Government Archives

500th Year Foundation Associate

Beşiri Yezidis Organization

Children of Hope Foundation

Turkish Intelligence Foundation

Istanbul Chamber of Commerce

Bilgi University Center for Migration Research



Bursa Studies Foundation.

Furthermore, the following refugee associations made similar contributions to the Symposium: *Eastern Turkistan Refugees Association, Kazakh Turks Foundation, Nagorno-Karabakh Azadlık Organization, Eastern Turkistan Foundation, Türkmeneli Human Rights Association, Solidarity Association for the Iraqi Turks, Representative of the Turkmen Front in Iraq, Ahiska Foundation and Congregation, Western Thrace Turks Solidarity Association, Crimean Turks Association, Caucasian Foundation, Afghanistan Turks Association, Bayir-Bucak Turks Association.*

Politicians and the Government also showed a great interest in the Symposium with the participation of: *İsmail Alptekin, TGNA Deputy Speaker, Prof. Dr. Mehmet Aydın, Minister of State, Abdulkadir Aksu, Minister of Interior, Muammer Güler, Governor of Istanbul, Dr. Sait Vakkas Gözlügöl, Governor of Karabük, Zekeriya Akçam, Member of Parliament from İzmir, Mustafa Ilıcalı, Member of Parliament from Erzurum, Süleyman Gündüz, Member of Parliament from Sakarya, Dr. Mehmet Müezzinoğlu, President of AK-Party in the Province of Istanbul and, Abdurrahman Kurt, President of AK-Party in the Province of Diyarbakır, Mehmet Terzioğlu, President of the Office of Aliens under the General Directorate of Police, Sait Yusuf, Counsellor of the Prime Ministry.* They expressed their views and proposals on the migration phenomenon.

Furthermore, the following sixteen universities were represented at the "Migration Symposium": *Uludağ University, Koç, University, Boğaziçi University, Marmara University, Sakarya University, Bilkent University, İstanbul University, Sumnu Bishop Constantine University, Paris Sorbonne University, Bilgi University, Baku State University in Azerbaijan, TRNC Near East University, Dicle University, Gazi University, School of Business Management in London and Galatasaray University*

One of the most important points that has to be emphasized as to the "Migration Symposium" is that the session topics and the subject-matters of the papers have been in harmony and integrity. An effort has been exerted to take up the migration phenomenon almost in all its aspects and care has been taken to get participation from almost all the branches of social sciences (ranging from literature to history, sociology and law).

Papers submitted at the symposium have been grouped under the following ten sessions:

Opening and Protocol Presentation

A General View of Migration Phenomenon

Migration Movements in the World

Migrations from Turkey

Migrations to Turkey

Applications Concerning, Migration, Refugees, and Asylum-Seekers from a Legal Point of View

Migration from Rural Areas to Cities and Urbanization

Prevention of Internal Migration and New Aspects

Perspectives on Migration

Closing and Evaluation

1ST SESSION:

OPENING AND PROTOCOL PRESENTATIONS

Making the opening speech of the Symposium in his capacity as the host, Zeytinburnu Mayor Murat AYDIN emphasized that the migration phenomenon is a global event" inviting the entire mankind "to give contributions to those who have lost their dreams towards creating a peaceful world as well as to the effort of igniting some light to the displaced persons and refugees who are in a difficult position."

On his part, Governor of Istanbul Muammer GÜLER stated that "Istanbul is a city that has been nested with the migration phenomenon", emphasizing that "humanitarian, legal and deterring remedies should be sought and applied for the prevention of compulsory migrations".

In his speech, Minister of Interior Abdulkadir AKSU noted that "migration is not the concern of Turkey only but that it closely concerns the region and the entire countries as well" adding that "necessary measures have been taken for finding solutions to the problems" and that "there are ongoing efforts for the preparation of better living conditions in compliance with EU standards."

The following points were briefly underlined in the opening session of the Symposium:

- a) That the migration phenomenon is a global issue that concerns the whole of the world in terms of security in particular, and economy,
- b) That Turkey has become the destination country in its capacity as the country receiving migration owing to her geographical position,
- c) That healthy living conditions have to be created in the rural areas in order to prevent arbitrary and economic migrations to major cities such as Istanbul.

2nd SESSION:

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE MIGRATION PHENOMENON

At the 2nd Session entitled "A General View of the Migration Phenomenon" administered by Prof. Dr. Nilgün Çelebi from the Ankara University, Prof. Dr. İlber ORTAYLI from Galatasaray University, Lect. Dr. Ayhan KAYA from the Migration Studies Center of Bilgi University, Researcher-Columnist Cengiz ÇANDAR, Member of the European School of Business Management in London Dr. İbrahim SİRKEÇİ and President of AK Party in the Istanbul Province Dr. Mehmet MÜEZZİNOĞLU delivered speeches, emphasizing the following in brief:

- a) That intensive migrations shall bring along the security issue...



b) That forms of equal political representation should be developed; that on the point of seeking solutions to the structural problems that the refugees who suffer from the disadvantages of being a minority and similar minorities and various cultural groups encounter, the realization of legal arrangements of the representation of all these similar formations and demands on a legitimate political plane would assuage tension and violence in societies and prevent xenophobia and terror...

c) That unnecessary land speculations trigger the internal migration, that unplanned migration forced the capacity of cities, and that arbitrary and compulsory migration should absolutely be forestalled...

d) That the evaluation of the migration phenomenon in the same category with trade in persons, trafficking in persons and terror, on the contrary its humanitarian aspect, should not be overlooked. After the presentation of papers, President of AK Party in the Istanbul Province Dr. Mehmet Müezzinoğlu, in the section entitled "A Migration Story", explained the drama of migration, relating the story of migration from the Western Thrace to Anatolia, and the events he had lived through as well as his memoirs.

3RD SESSION: MIGRATION MOVEMENTS IN THE WORLD

Taking the floor at 3rd Session entitled "Migration Movements in the World" administered by Prof. Dr. Mustafa Aykaç from the Marmara University, researcher/writer Aytunç ALTUNDAL, Dr. Selin SENOC AK from the Sorbonne University in Paris, Prof. Dr. Veli Kamil NERİMANOV from Baku State University, Secretary General of UNPO (Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization) Marino BUSDACHIN and Işıl Arkan, Headmaster of the Near University College in TRNC made their presentations, giving their evaluations on the "Migration Movements in the World".

The presentation emphasized following points in brief:

a) That mechanisms that cannot control migration in terms of humanitarian considerations would not succeed in their anti-terror and security efforts,

b) That manpower needs and industrial security of certain countries, particularly Europe and USA, Canada and Australia orientate migration movements and that by way of implementing a selective migration policy, they use humans like a machine and that such a case, as in the example of France, discriminative socio-political policy practices and racist attitudes against refugees would cause social explosions,

c) That the West intends to create internal chaos through political migrations based on ethnic reasons in Turkey, which has embraced Mennonite, Amish, and Jewish groups that the West has ousted or even subjected to genocide,

d) That innocent people in countries like Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Iran, Iraq, China have been subjected to ethnic cleansing and

genocide and thus have been forced to emigrate, that around human rights of 2 million Azeris who have been subjected to forced emigration have been violated despite the resolutions of the UN Security Council and that the discriminative positions have been turned a blind eye.

e) In the section entitled, "A Migration Story", Işıl Arkan from TRNC related the plight of the Turks who were forced to migrate from south to the north owing to the Greek persecution in Cyprus.

4th SESSION: MIGRATIONS FROM TURKEY

At the 3rd Session entitled, "Migrations from Turkey", administered by Prof. Dr. Sabahattin ZAİM, Prof. Dr. İbrahim Tatarlı from Sumnu Bishop Constantine University in Bulgaria, President of the Turkish Community in Berlin Safer Çetin and Governor of Karabük Sait Vakkas Gözlüğü submitted papers. Representative of Ahıska Turks İbrahim Gazigil contributed by relating their migration story.

At the Session:

a) The historical course of the migration movements from Anatolia towards the Balkans, Caucasia and the Middle East, parallel to the expansion of the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, during the era of the empire that had established a sovereignty in three continents for six centuries and that had formed set up a civilization on an expansive geography, were taken up.

b) Concrete information was given about the reasons of the labor migrations from Turkey to Europe, particularly Germany in the Republican Era and the current situation.

c) It was indicated that differences in lifestyles, religious beliefs and conservative traditional cultures and the psychological approach of the Turkish workers to the effect "after all, we are workers, we are temporary here and we will return" had caused those who had migrated from Turkey to Europe to experience an adaptation problem for a long time. It was emphasized, however, that upon changing their lifestyle after 1990s and the mutual application of an adaptation policy, improvements had been observed.

e) In the section entitled, "A Migration Story", the migration plight of the Ahıska Turks was expressed and İbrahim Gazigil contributed by relating their migration story and the demand of the Ahıska Turks to return to Turkey was expressed and call was made for finding a solution to the problem.

5TH SESSION: MIGRATIONS FROM TURKEY

Speakers who submitted papers at the 5th session entitled, "Migrations to Turkey", administered by Lect. Dr. Timur KOCAOĞLU from Koç University, emphasized that migrants coming from various countries and belonging to various cultures and ethnic elements, who had been settled in Turkey, added cultural richness to the cultural diversity existing of Anatolia. 11 speakers submitted



papers in the session entitled, "Migrations from Turkey".

In his capacity as the first speaker, Acting President of the 500th Year Foundation Naim Güleriyüz referred to the Migration of the Jews who had come from Spain 500 years ago and got settled in Anatolia; and Counselor of the Prime Ministry Sait Yusuf referred to the migration of the Turks who had gotten settled in Anatolia from the Balkans and the plight of the Turkish refugees in the Balkans and Hızırбек Gayretullah and Hamit Göktürk referred to the migration phenomenon from the Eastern Turkistan that is currently under the control of the Chinese Government to Anatolia. On his part, Ali Çağrı submitted a paper entitled, "Migrations from Afghanistan to Turkey". While Akif Atlı, an expert from the UN High Commission, sought answers to "how many more migrations Turkey expects", Dr. Raşit Gündoğdu, from the State Archives of the Prime Ministry, made an analysis on "the Crimean and Circassian migrations to Anatolia based on the State Archives". Ahmet Muratlı, representative of the Turkmen Front in Iraq, referred to the Turkmen Migration from Iraq to Turkey and displayed the drama suffered by the Turkmens in light of the latest events. Taking the situation of the Chechen refugees as his starting point, Lect. Dr. Fethi Güngör raised the issue, "Migrations from Caucasias to Anatolia". Güngör's presentation was followed by the paper submitted by Hakan Kırımlı from the Bilkent University entitled, "Tatar Migrations from Crimea to Anatolia". President of the Session Lect. Dr. Timur Kocaoglu submitted his paper entitled, "Migrations from the Central Asia and Turkey".

Under the section entitled, "A Migration Story", Hızırбек Gayretullah related the migration drama from Eastern Turkistan to Anatolia he personally experienced lived through.

What the speakers related at the saddest session of the symposium, migration and exile stories that pricked the consciences caused the prevalence of a gloomy atmosphere in the hall. Particularly the migration dramas suffered by those from Eastern Turkistan and the Chechens were both thought-provoking and shameful. The plight of the Jews was once again a lesson to be drawn as it demonstrated the greatness and humane position of the Ottoman Empire.

As particularly emphasized by all the speakers who submitted papers at this session; "migrations from various regions such as Caucasias, the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Balkans, first to the Ottoman state and then to the Republic of Turkey after 1923, are mainly politically motivated and this reflect the truth.

It was stated that when we make an evaluation of the collapse of the Ottoman state, the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, political, military and economic crises as well as the regime problems in the Central Asia, we can say that the migrations towards Turkey as from the beginning of the 20th century have increased depending on the political changes in these regions.

Yet another point on which those who submitted papers agree is

that migrations to Turkey have arisen from the cultural, religious and political pressures. Political and economic pressures in the Balkans, cultural genocidal acts in Caucasias, the Middle East and Central Asia and pressures of dictatorial regimes have caused our kith and kin here to migrate to Anatolia.

One other common point in all papers is the humanitarian aspect of the migration phenomenon. Thus the migration movements are a humanitarian issue, a global problem.

6th SESSION: APPLICATIONS CONCERNING MIGRATION, REFUGEES, AND ASYLUM-SEEKERS FROM A LEGAL POINT OF VIEW

At the 6th Session administered by Prof. Dr Kemal KIRIŞÇI from Boğaziçi University:

Representative of Turkey of UNHCR Gesche Karrenbrock submitted a paper entitled, "International Organizations in Turkey and Asylum Perspective";

Consul from the U.S. Embassy submitted a paper entitled, "Regular Migration Programs: USA Example";

On behalf of the Directorate General of the Police Mehmet Terzioğlu submitted a paper entitled, "Turkey As a Country of Migrants: Legal Structure and Applications";

Researcher and writer Anne de Loisy submitted a paper entitled, "European Union: Expectations and Migrations";

On behalf of the Foundation on the Development of the Human Resource, Demet Gural submitted a paper entitled, "The Aggrieved People of Trade in Persons";

On his part, President of Beşiri Yezidis Association İleri Veysi Bulut, in the section entitled "A Migration Story", submitted a paper entitled "Being a minority and local in Turkey".

In brief, the speakers made their contributions by referring to legal applications on migration, refugees and asylum in Turkey and other countries.

Also, Minister of State Prof. Dr. Mehmet AYDIN made a presentation at the end of this session pointing out that no one can speak of an issue of integration or a migrant population in Turkey that possesses a successful past regarding migration, as there is fusion. Mr. Aydın stated that people migrate for a better and finer life and not only for satiating their stomach but also for enjoying their freedom, therefore it would be right to approach the migration phenomenon as a lab rather than as an issue.

In brief, the need for carrying out serious work that "would examine the integration of the refugees living in Europe and a migration phenomenon and migration dynamics that might occur in Turkey in the aftermath of EU membership" was underlined at the session. The need for a determined combat with traders in persons and the importance of the adoption of asylum demands of the countries by prioritizing their humanitarian aspect, were emphasized.



7th SESSION: MIGRATION FROM RURAL AREAS TO CITIES AND URBANIZATION

At the 7th Session administered by Prof. Dr. Ali Rıza ABAY:

Mayor of Germany's Krossberg Cornelia Reinauer submitted a paper entitled, "Contributions to Urbanizations of the Foreign Refugees: Berlin Example";

Dr. Mustafa Ilıcalı, MP from Erzurum submitted a paper entitled, "Prevention of Migration from the Eastern Anatolia: Project on the Winter Tourism and Organic Agriculture";

GÖÇ-DER President submitted a paper entitled, "Problems Brought by Migrations from the Countryside to the Cities";

Lect. Dr. Mahzar Bağlı from Dicle University submitted a paper entitled, "Becoming A City Dweller and Urbanization in Turkey and the Future";

A member of letters and writer Latife Tekin submitted a paper entitled, "Moods of the Urban Migrant";

Lect. Dr. Nazife Güngör from Gazi University submitted a paper entitled, "Migrant Culture and Arabesque";

Researcher and writer Dr. Yusuf Adıgüzel submitted a paper entitled, "Fellow Citizen Associations' Contribution to the Cultural Capital of Istanbul". Briefly speaking, the speakers expressed their views relating to migrations from the countryside to the cities and the resulting problems about becoming city-dwellers and urbanization, adding that with the increase of centers of attraction, the speed and direction of migration could be altered. On his part, President of the Foundation for the Children of Hope Yusuf Kulca, in the section, "A Migration Story", expressed the difficulties experienced in the process of migration from the countryside to the cities and becoming city-dwellers.

In brief, it has been emphasized at this session that:

Whatever type a migration is, it certainly brings along the psychological, economic and sociological problems with it;

Whatever its reason and type is, compulsory migration should be accepted as a crime of humanity in the world;

People who have come to a city cannot go back all the way; that migration is certainly from the village to the city, a reverse migration is very hard and that it should be understood that everyone that comes to a city should be regarded as a city-dweller...

8th SESSION: PREVENTION OF INTERNAL MIGRATIONS AND NEW ASPECTS

Following presentations were made at the 8th Session entitled, "Prevention of Internal Migration and New Aspects" administered by Prof. Dr. Hüsamettin ARSLAN:

President of the Turkish Intelligence Foundation Emrehan Halıcı, in his paper entitled "Sustainable Development, Informatics and Brain Drain", stated that it would be increasingly inevitable to perceive the migration phenomenon as a more legitimate mobility.

Member of the Executive Committee of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce Şekib Avdagiç, in his paper entitled, "Economic and Social Problems Created By the Internal Migration", put forth the reasons and outcomes of social and economic problems caused by the migration in Istanbul.

Provincial President of AK Party in Diyarbakır Abdurrahman Kurt, in his paper entitled "Migration Movements in Southeast Anatolia: Diyarbakır Example", put forth the reasons and outcomes of the voluntary and compulsory migrations occurring in the region, adding that the problem should be solved in line with the social structure of the region.

In his speech, Neşe Erdilek from the Migration Studies Center of Bilgi University introduced the "the Rehabilitation Project that will be implemented in the Tarlabası quarter in Istanbul", stating that a model involving a fusion between different ethnic, religious and social groups and rehabilitation for the children and youth should be targeted.

Submitting a paper entitled, "Turkey's Migration Policy at the Doorstep of EU: What Should be New Aspects?", Zekeriya Akçam, MP from Izmir, said that Turkey, due to her geographical position, will always be subjected to intensive refugee and migration movements in every period, adding that during the transitional period, EU should continue to admit refugees from Turkey and share Turkey's burden.

In the section, "A Migration Story", the refugee artist and teacher Sabriye Sayın who got settled in Zeytinburnu, related the experiences of her family during migration.

9th SESSION : PERSPECTIVES FOR A SOLUTION

At the 9th Session administered by Dr. Süleyman GÜNDÜZ, MP from Sakarya, Adv. Halim Yılmaz submitted on behalf of Mazlum-Der a paper entitled, "Migration Law and Its Application in Light of New Developments";

Dr. Ayşem Biriz Karaçay from Koç University submitted a paper entitled, "Irregular Migration Policies and Turkey's Applications"; Raif Kaplanoğlu from Bursa Studies Foundation submitted a paper entitled, "Bursa: A City of Migrants".

In brief, the speakers explained that, besides rectifying the deficiencies of the Turkish law on asylum, necessary humanitarian conditions should be provided for the refugees and the legislation on refugees should be renewed and relevant units be institutionalized. They added that taking up the irregular migrations in a planned manner during the EU development process would bring healthy results and that the allocation of education, health and work in their place and in an equal manner would forestall the migrations.

Deputy Speaker of TGNA İsmail ALPTEKİN made a speech before



re the session presidents gave their evaluations in the closing session, emphasizing that "Any campaign to be conducted by a country by itself, without regarding the migration phenomenon as the common issue of the entire mankind, would prove insufficient".

10TH SESSION: CLOSING AND EVALUATION

Symposium, which started on 8th December, ended at 18.15 on 11th December 2005 with the closing and evaluation speech delivered by Zeytinburnu Mayor Murat Aydın, following the evaluation of the session presidents.

Having assumed his post as the Mayor by getting to know, and living together with the people who came from Giresun and got settled here, the Kurds, Albanians, Bosnians, Rumeli people and those from Turkistan, made a rather emotional but realistic speech in the closing session of the Symposium. He said, "I have acquired one of the greatest gains of my life by following this Symposium", adding, "Migration will exist as long as life continues; migration carries life thus it has thoroughly got humanitarian aspects."

Following the end of the International Migration Symposium, the following "final communiqué" was drawn up by Murat Aydın, Ömer Arısoy, Mustafa Aydın, Akif Atlı, Ali Çalışır, Osman Özsoy and the symposium coordinator İsmail Cengiz and the public opinion has been informed of it:

FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SYMPOSIUM

"Migration Phenomenon Is a Global Fact"

"Migration phenomenon" does not concern only the countries that send or receive migrations; instead, it is a social fact that concerns the entire world and affects the economic, social, political and even military policies of the countries. Therefore, "the migration phenomenon" is a global issue that has to be taken up globally and be analyzed in all its aspects.

Whether it is from one country to another, or from the countryside to the cities or a compulsory migration arising from causes such as war, massacre, or terror, it is not right to interpret the "migration phenomenon" as peoples' resettlement from one region to another. Because, what underlie the "migration phenomenon", that is as old as the start of the human history are the behavioral forms that make up the societal setup, such as the quests, needs, of an individual, his instincts of an individual to protect and perpetuate his traditions, his desires for a psychological change and even marketing things he produces.

"Peaceful Policies Should Be Put into Practice"

International peaceful policies should be put into practice aiming at taking measures that would ensure that peoples and communi-

ties, whatever ethnic origin they may belong to, can lead a tranquil life in their locations and at satisfying their needs. Because, we believe that "migration movements" would not constitute a "problem" in a place where tranquility and peace prevails, in regions where economic development occurs, and in spaces where the level of education and health services is high and displacements would decrease.

"Deterrent Legal Measures Should Be Taken Against 'Illegal Migrations'"

Serving as a bridge between the continents of Asia and Europe, Turkey is located geopolitically in the center of the migration routes belonging to both continents. This strategic feature of Turkey has rendered her today the status of "target country" or "source country". In particular, regional measures should be taken for the prevention of "illegal migrations" to Europe through Turkey that is seen as a "transit country"; contacts should be established with the countries in the region for the application of legal sanctions, within the framework of EU standards, for the prevention of inhuman illegal migrations and "trade in persons".

"Families That Are Divided By Migrations Should be Re-United"

Steps as to reuniting the first-degree relatives of those families that are divided by various causes such as war, compulsory migration, torture, exile should be speeded up, or at least, temporary/permanent remedies should be applied for easing the problems of the aggrieved and victimized people/refugees/the homeless by way of meeting, within the legal framework, the demands of such people about residence permits, visa, citizenship that would ease their commutations to and from those regions/countries where their first-degree relatives are found.

"Common Life Spaces Should be Created in the Cities"

As the migration movements will be lasting so long as the humanity exists, cities should be equipped as the spaces of the co-existence culture.

"Undersecretariat for Migration Should be Established"

When we look, for instance, at the number of the foreigners who traveled to and from abroad between 1995 and 2005, we see that around 130 million people came, of whom about 125 million returned. When we evaluate these figures, about five million people stayed in Turkey in the last decade for reasons like work, education, trade and health. That's to say, Turkey has abandoned her position of "a country giving out migrations" and became a country receiving migrations" as a stable country.

Internal migration movements in Turkey are a process that heads from the traditional societal structure to a modern societal structure, thus bringing along structural changes with it...

The migration phenomenon that heads from the backward regions (countries) to developed regions (countries) is a dual process that brings along with it structural and cultural changes both in the co-



untryside (backward countries) and the cities (developed countries) in all its aspects. The lagging of the industrialization, educational and health services as well as the transportation facilities behind the speed of urbanization and the appearance of shanty houses in the meantime, as a ruining effect of migration from the countryside to the cities...

As a result of migrations that began in 1950 and that were mainly economically-motivated, about 20 million people migrated from the villages to the cities. While 20% of Turkey's population in 1950s lived in the cities, today 65% of Turkey's population lives in the cities. These figures show that one-third of Turkey's population has lived through an internal migration.

internal migrations that concern our country closely and that has extended up to this day since 1950s were combined with the external migration movements, causing radical changes to the urbanization and life standards of Turkey. This has led to "urban sprawl" and the process of building shanty houses. Thus, "the migration phenomenon" should be taken up on the national level, an "Undersecretariat for Migration" should be formed under the Prime Ministry and a "Migration Studies Commission" to be composed of the officials of NGOs and experts that are specialized on the issue should be activated.

Driving Factors Should be Eliminated

Causes such as unemployment, decrease of cultivable fields, higher standard of education and health services in the cities in Turkey and reasons such as the economic development and industrialization have caused an increase in migrations from the villages to the cities. When five-year migration statistics for the period between 1965 and 1985, are examined, it is seen that about three million people have migrated by way of displacement every five years. "Driving Factors" that orientate the people from the countryside to the cities such as blood feud, deficit in the number of teachers and doctors and the events of terror that have recently increased should be eliminated.

Living Conditions Should be Improved

It has become apparent that most migrations are from the regions of Eastern Anatolia, Southeastern Anatolia and Black Sea Regions to Marmara, Aegean and Mediterranean Regions. According to observations and studies carried out in the regions that give out migration:

- If people are not satisfied by the spaces they live in, if they are unemployed and if the income they earn cannot meet their expenses ...
- If an increase in the prosperity level of those who migrate is seen...
- If there is no possibility for preparing a sound future for their children...
- If there is not sufficient number of doctors and village clinics for

people to care for their patients, people, with a view to preparing a better future for themselves and the generations to come, migrate to the cities where they can find these possibilities. Social justice should be taken into account at a maximum level for the prevention of internal migration; particularly, cultural and social activities that would help increase the feelings of being a city-dweller and belongingness and living conditions should be improved.

Regional Imbalances Should be Removed

Migration movements that cause the divergence of the differences on a common point and ensure the fusion by way of sharing emerge as a problem before us in the wake of interregional imbalances and unplanned and rapidly progressing urbanization lacking any infrastructure... It is necessary to develop and extend nationwide in a balanced manner, projects such as GAP, Techno-Cities, organic agriculture, Köy-Kent etc, created with a view to minimizing interregional imbalances; put into effect projects that would remove interregional imbalances such as land reform, organized industrial zones and take measures, with an understanding characterized by possessing full command of these problems and the willingness to respond to the expectations of the people, that would provide better jobs, more income possibilities to all our people living in all corners of the country, from the east to the west and from the south to the north, and taking as the basis the territorial integrity of the country, and that would elevate the standards of education and health.

Social Needs Should be Met

"Economic development" and "security issue" are two important points in the formation of the "migration phenomenon". In this respect, eradicating terror and ensure that people live in their habitations in security is the duty of the Government. In addition, once the economic development is realized, i.e. if the needs of the local people concerning jobs, health, and education are met, terror would be forestalled and migration intercepted. Thus, improving the living conditions in rural areas, namely taking measures that would remove the negativities such as unemployment, security, terror and landlessness would not only eliminate the negativities brought along by migration but would also lead to the narrowing down of the rift between the countryside and the cities and thus would forestall the compulsory and intensive migrations.

Migrations to Major Cities Should Be Restricted

Istanbul had a population of one million in 1950s. Today it has a population of 12 million according to the unofficial figures. Today the incomers constitute 75% of the Istanbul inhabitants. Therefore, deterring legal measures have to be taken to forestall the arbitrary and illegal migrations towards major cities.

We wish to complete our "Symposium Evaluation" with a saying of the Latins quoted by Mayor Murat Aydın:

"I am a human being and nothing related with humans is unfamiliar to me."

