

Contemporary World

Policy, Politics and International Relations



Edited by

RAHMAT ULLAH

Co-Editor

SABBIR HASAN



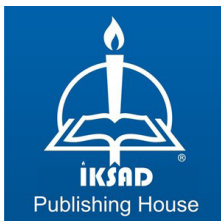
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Editor's Notes

We are living in a world village where countries are highly connected to their internal and external issues. Nowadays, different issues such as democracy, human rights, women empowerment, freedom of speech and intra-state conflicts have become important parts of international relations and world politics. On the other hand, the war in Syria, the crisis in Palestine and Arakan, refugee crisis in the Middle East and Asia are describing as the burning issues of the world politics in the last decade. All these issues of international relations and world politics should be researched and analyzed and should find the appropriate ways of implementation and correct solutions for making a livable world. Considering the importance of these matters, we have placed important issues of policy, politics and international relations of the contemporary world in this book. It is a collection of 17 published research papers and articles of some prominent researchers covering policy, migration, history, military, conflict and international relations. These articles will explore important issues of the contemporary world with positive solutions and constructive guidelines.

Saeyd Rashed Hasan CHOWDURY focuses on women's empowerment in Muslim communities in his paper "Empowerment of women in Muslim communities, a practical observation: a case study on the Republic of Turkey." He tries to show that the concept of Women Empowerment in Islam is wide and quite comprehensive and includes men and women are moral equals in Allah's view and are prospective to fulfill the equivalent duties of adorations. His work highlights women empowerment in Muslim Society especially to the Republic of Turkey with focusing upon international standards mentioned by United Nations Women (UNIFEM) and explained the Islamic view related to this issue.

In his paper on 'Good Governance and its Challenge in Bangladesh' Md. Mostafa FAISAL focuses on good governance situation in Bangladesh. He explains that the main aim of independence of Bangladesh was the economic and social freedom. But it still remains a dream because of the political instability and lack of long-term planning and implementation. Now the country is crisscrossed by various problems such as overpopulation, widespread terrorism, political crisis,

bureaucratic corruption, economic recession, serious widespread poverty, and an increasing danger of environmental pollution. He evaluates that a number of factors seem to positively work for the slow and steady growth of democracy; there are strong depressing elements that also pose threats to achieve sustainable development.

Abu Saleh Md. Mahmudul HASAN in his paper ‘Human Rights Situations Regarding Right to Information, Media and Health in Kosovo and Expectations from Turkey’ focuses right to health, media and information and their significance and present situation of Kosovo. He discusses particular suggestions for Turkey regarding these sections which are expected by the people of Kosovo. He shows that the human rights situations, particularly in the health sector, media and administrative institutions related with the right to information are not up to the marks and it’s deteriorating gradually. He shows that the deep and integral relations of Turkey and Kosovo are historically recognized and famous within the countries. Particularly after the independence of Kosovo, the relations are increased; especially in commercial and cultural arena.

Sabbir HASAN in his paper ‘Towards the common challenges of Migration in Turkey: A Literature Review’ analyses the challenges of migration in Turkey. The author argues that Turkey is accommodating more than 2.5 million refugees that are the highest number than accommodation provided by any other country. He discusses the Law on Foreigners and International Protection of 2013 regulate the asylum of Turkey which only grants full refugee position to the European Union member states citizens, not to the other nationals. He mentions that a conditional refugee status has given position to the Non-European citizen those who could fulfill the requirements needed to be considered as a refugee. This conditional position provides fewer rights with an absence of offer that ensures long-term legal assimilation in Turkey.

The research paper entitled ‘Yasadışı Göç: Türkiye’ye Gelen Bangladeş’lilerin Üzerindeki Etkilerinin Bir Analizi’ by Rahmat ULLAH explores the impacts on Bangladeshi illegal migrants to Turkey. The study discusses the problems faced by illegal migrants and shows various impacts on their life. He illustrates that il-

legal migrants came to Turkey from Dubai through Oman and Iran. They faced different kinds of torture by the traffickers and paid thousands of dollars. The writer mentions that poverty, illiteracy, greed for higher income and lucrative proposals of the human traffickers encourages Bangladeshi migrants to cross different borders illegally.

Sabbir HASAN discusses different types of austerities of borders, the role of non-state actors in these situations in his research titled on ‘Austerity Borders for Refugees; Impending Destiny by Elide Decretal’ He also focuses on how laws are being outcome less during this era. He mentions that civilized society of today’s world are making the global region and making common laws for them but unfortunately those laws can’t go in favor of homeless peoples either. One of the elite parts of these lawmaking groups makes themselves benefited by these laws and regulations.

In the paper entitled ‘The Formation of Bengal Civilization: A Glimpse on the Socio-Cultural Assimilations through Political Progressions in Bengal Delta’ by Abu Bakar SIDDIQ and Ahsan HABIB explore the formation of Bengal Civilization in Bengal Delta. The two authors show that the Bengal Delta is a place of mass migrations, cultural transformations, invasions and religious revolutions since prehistoric time. They demonstrated that there were multiple waves of large and small scale socio-cultural assimilations but every socio-political change did not bring equal formidable outcome in the Delta. The majority of cultural components were formulated by Indigenous-Aryan-Buddhist assimilations in the early phase, whereas the Buddhist-Aryan-Islamic admixtures in relatively forbearing and gracious socio-political background of medieval period contributed the final part in the formation of Bengal Civilization.

Abu Saleh Md. Mahmudul HASAN in his article ‘Osmanlı Devleti ve Hint Alt Kıtası Arasındaki İlişkilerinin Uluslararası Hukuk Çerçevesinde Değerlendirilmesi’ analyses the relations between Ottoman Empire and Indian Subcontinent till 1924. He examines the status of this bilateral relation on the basis of international law. He shows that the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Mongol Empire in the Indian subcontinent started at the time of Sul-

tan Mehmed. The correspondences between the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV and the Emperors Shahjahan, Sultan Suleyman and Sultan Abdul Mejid, and other Emperors of the Indian subcontinent were important for international law and diplomatic relations at that time. The author also explains the diplomatic relations between Ottoman and Colonial India under British rule.

In the study ‘Arakan’da İslam ve Rohingya Müslümanları: Arakan Tarihine Kısa Bir Bakış’ Abdur Rahman FUAD explores the history of Rohingya Muslims in Arakan a land of Myanmar which is bordered with Bangladesh-Myanmar. He elucidates that the Arakanese who were lived freely in Arakan from B.C. 2666 to A.C. 1700; had put their appearances which is an unforgettable history from the perspective of cultural diversities and political traditions. With the help of neighboring Bengal region, they were able to build a region which is different from Myanmar in terms of economic, social, cultural and administration. But now it seems a dream as a citizen of Myanmar rather than ruling Arakan where Muslims managed to leave this place.

In the research paper on ‘The Myths and Realities of Turkish Civil-Military Relations: A Quest from the Case of FETO’s July 15th Failed Coup Attempt’ both of the authors Yılmaz BINGÖL and Md. Nazmul ISLAM mention that although Turkish military has interest and influence on mainstream politics and civilian political powers AK Party’s influences and identical political parties’ role on civilian politics since 2002, make a space for strong political environment hindering the political interest and influence of the military. They mention that the night of July 15th is the great example of unprecedented developments of civilian political powers over military political powers in Turkey. They explicate why Turkish military is interested in interfering with civilian politics by interpreting and analyzing the July 15 failed coup attempt.

Abdur Rahman FUAD in his paper on ‘Turkey and the Media: A Historical 15th July’s Role behind the Coup Attempt’ tries to draw the scenario of the 15th July Coup from the perspective of media and digital platform’s role and the factors worked from behind to protect this heinous FETO coup attempt. He mentions that the Turkish media was used as a tool for communicating, motivating and

disseminating reliable information throughout the world. The media had played a vital role both in the strategy development for the security units and mobilizing the Turkish people to stand against the coup. Besides the media, digital platforms also had kept its contribution for the prevention of 15th July's coup attempt.

In his paper entitled 'New Dimension of the Military Intervention: Bangladesh Example' Rahmat ULLAH shows the nature of the recent military intervention of Bangladesh and its differences to the past interventions. The author focuses on the historical background of Bangladesh military and different military coups from 1975. He tries to find the causes behind the coups of Bangladesh and analyses the activities of 2007 military-backed caretaker government led by military officers and bureaucrats. This research finds that the political instability, lack of political cultures among the political parties of Bangladesh and the conspiracy of the foreign powers give scope military to directly interfere in politics in 2007.

In the article on 'Prehistoric Arab-Israel Conflicts and Myriad Factors: A Critique to the Contrivances of Optimistic Conflict Resolution' Md. Nazmul ISLAM focuses on root causes of Arab-Israel conflicts and tries to find possible solutions to these bloody conflicts. In this paper, the author analyses the issue and recommendation in five stages. The first stage describes prehistoric conditions from three religious points of views (Jews, Muslims, and Christians) in the construction of conflict. The second section deals with the four major Arab-Israel wars in 1947, 1956, 1967 and 1973 in the Middle East. The third stage deals with the processes of the declaration of war of independence by Palestinians through the Intifada (mass uprising) in 1987 and 2001 under the leadership of Hamas (a political organization). Fourth stage of this paper deals with major factors of war eruption in 2014 between Israel and Palestine following previous political complexities. And in the last stage, several kinds of optimistic solutions have been proposed by the writer in resolving this conflict.

Saeyd Rashed Hasan CHOWDURY highlights the role of Islam in promoting world peace and stability in his paper on 'The Role of Islam in Promoting

World Peace and Tranquility: A Case Study on the Middle East Crisis'. He shows that Islam has given whole the peace and tranquility to the world. Islam introduced to the world noble values and principles intended to promote peace among countries and people even during eras when war and conflict prevailed. His research tries to show that the role of Islam in promoting world peace is broad and quite comprehensive and includes moral, spiritual, and component dimensions at the same time. For this reason, it can easily be separated from other religions.

In the paper titled 'Soft Power in Indian Foreign Policy' Hafijur RAHMAN addresses that India has a lot of Soft Power capabilities with an old civilization, glorious history, significant culture, large diaspora and many other resources. He shows that India boldly implements its soft power resources in its foreign policy and it tries to extend its image all over the World. The writer focuses on the major tools of Indian soft power, its challenges as well as implementation strategy and its impacts.

Ehteshamul HAQUE in his paper 'The Role and Effectiveness of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Today: A Case Study on Syria' examines the role and effectiveness of UNSC in the context of the Syrian crisis. He mentions that although the UNSC is considered to be responsible to maintain world peace and security, its effectiveness is questionable due to its today's visible failure in many cases. The author analyses UNSC's role and effectiveness in three parts. Firstly, he examines how United Nations Charter has given responsibility it to maintain world peace and security. Secondly, he refers its role from the beginning of Syrian conflict till today. Finally, this study evaluates that UNSC has failed to maintain peace and security in Syria.

In the paper entitled 'How the Relations between NATO-Russia Carries on after Ukraine Crisis' Mamun BILLAH mentions that during 2014-2015, the Russian position in the world politics has changed dramatically. The history of the relationship between the NATO and Russia could be interpreted as one full of "problems, mistrust, and misperceptions". The Ukraine conflict has carried the Russian-West relations to the borderline of confrontation. NATO has been

seeking a new strategic vision since the end of the Cold War. In this article, the writer tries to underline general strategy between NATO-Russia, formalizing NATO-Russia ties and shows new and changing strategies after the Ukraine crisis.

This book is a collection of 17 published research papers and articles. The individual authors are responsible for the opinions, information, and explanations expressed in their papers. I am thankful to my Co-Editor Sabbir Hasan for his idea, support, and dedication. I also gratefully acknowledge the help of Saeyd Rashed Hasan Chowdury and my beloved wife Masoma in proofreading. I also wish to thank Mr. Yusuf Ibn Cıvık and Mr. Ali Bilgehan Barak for their kind assistance. I extend my sincere thanks to beloved Labib Faisal for his assistance to design the book. Finally, I am grateful to respected Mr. Mustafa Latif Emek for his ready support to publish the book.

Turkey
February, 2018

Rahmat Ullah
Editor

Önsöz

Ülkelerin bir birbiriyle iç ve dış meselelerine büyük oranda bağlı oldukları bir dünya köyünde yaşıyoruz. Günümüzde demokrasi, insan hakları, kadının güçlendirilmesi, konuşma özgürlüğü ve devlet içi çatışmalar gibi farklı konular uluslararası ilişkilerin ve dünya siyasetinin önemli bir parçası haline gelmiştir. Öte yandan, Suriye'deki savaş, Filistin ve Arakan'daki insan krizi ve Ortadoğu ve Asya'daki mülteci krizi, son on yılda dünya siyasetinin en sıcak konuları olmuştur. Uluslararası ilişkiler ve dünya siyasetinin tüm bu konular araştırılmalı ve analiz edilmelidir. Ayrıca yaşanabilir bir dünya düzeni kurulması için bu konuların uygun uygulama yolları ve sorunlarının uygun çözümleri bulmak gerekmektedir. Bu bağlamda, bu kitapta çağdaş dünyanın politika, siyaset ve uluslararası ilişkiler gibi önemli konulara yer verilmiştir. Bu kitap politika, göç, tarih, ordu ve siyaset, çatışma ve uluslararası ilişkileri kapsayan yayınlanmış 17 makalenin bir eseridir. Bu makaleler, olumlu çözümler ve yapıcı yönergelerle çağdaş dünyanın önemli konularını inceleyecektir.

Saeed Rashed Hasan CHOWDURY "Empowerment of Women in Muslim Communities, a Practical Observation: a Case Study on the Republic of Turkey" başlıklı makalesinde Müslüman ülkelerde kadınların güçlendirilmesine odaklanmaktadır. Araştırmasında İslam'da kadın kavramının oldukça geniş kapsamlı olduğunu ve erkek ve kadınların ahlaki eşitlik içinde bulunduğunu göstermektedir. Araştırmacı Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ndeki kadınların güçlendirilmelerini; özellikle Birleşmiş Milletler Kadın Birimi'nin (UNIFEM) belirttiği uluslararası standartlara bakarak bu konuyla ilgili İslami görüşleri açıklamaktadır.

Md. Mostafa FAISAL "Good Governance and its Challenge in Bangladesh" başlıklı araştırmasında Bangladeş'te iyi Yönetişim Durumunu araştırmıştır. Araştırmacı Bangladeş'in bağımsızlığının ana amacı, ekonomik ve sosyal özgürlük olduğunu; ancak siyasi istikrarsızlık ve uzun vadeli planlama ve uygulama eksikliği nedeniyle bunun hala bir rüya olarak kalmaya devam etmekte olduğunu göstermiştir. Yazara göre şuan ülke kalabalık nüfus, yaygın terörizm, siyasi kriz, bürokratik yolsuzluk, ekonomik durgunluk, ciddi yoksulluk ve artan çevre kirliliği gibi çeşitli sorunlarla karşı karşıyadır. Yazar Bangladeş

demokrasinin yavaş ve istikrarlı bir şekilde büyümesinde bir takım faktörlerin pozitif yönde çalıştığını; ancak sürdürülebilir kalkınma için tehdit oluşturan güçlü iç karartıcı unsurların bulunduğunu da vurgulamıştır.

Abu Saleh Md. Mahmudul HASAN ‘Human Rights Situations Regarding Right to Information, Media and Health in Kosovo and Expectations from Turkey’ başlıklı makalesinde Kosova’daki sağlık hakkı, medya ve enformasyonun önemi ve mevcut durumuna değinmiştir. Yazar Kosova halkı tarafından beklenen bu konularda Türkiye için belirli önerilerini tartışmıştır. Araştırmacı Kosova’daki insan hakları durumu, özellikle sağlık sektöründe, medyada ve idari kurumlarda bilgi edinme ile ilgili insan hakları durumlarının işaretlere kadar olmadığını ve kademeli olarak kötüye gideceğini göstermiştir. Türkiye ile Kosova’nın derin ve tarihsel ilişkileri köklü bir geçmişe sahiptir. Özellikle Kosova’nın bağımsızlığından sonra ilişkiler özellikle ticari ve kültürel alanlarında daha da artmaktadır.

Sabbir HASAN yaptığı ‘Towards the common challenges of Migration in Turkey: A Literature Review’ başlıklı çalışmasında Türkiye’ye göçün zorluklarını araştırmıştır. Yazara göre Türkiye 2,5 milyondan fazla mülteciyi her türlü imkanlarıyla ağırlıyor ve Türkiye’nin barındırdığı mültecilerin sayısı herhangi bir ülkede yaşadığı mültecilerden çok daha fazladır. Araştırmacıya göre 2013 Yabancılar Kanunu’nu ve Uluslararası Koruma Kanunu’nu sadece Avrupa Birliği üyesi devlet vatandaşlarına tam mülteci statüsü tanımıştır. Öte yandan Avrupalı olmayan Birleşmiş Milletler üyesi diğer ülke vatandaşlarının mülteci olarak düşünülmesi için bazı şartları konulmuştur. Bu koşullu pozisyonda olanları Türkiye’de daha az hak verilmektedir.

‘Yasadışı Göç: Türkiye’ye Gelen Bangladeş’lilerin Üzerindeki Etkilerinin Bir Analizi’ başlıklı çalışmasında araştırmacı Rahmat ULLAH Türkiye’ye yasadışı yoluyla göç eden Bangladeşli göçmenlerin karşılaştıkları sorunları ve üzerinde olan etkilerini araştırmıştır. Yazarın ortaya koyduğu verilere göre yasadışı göçmenler Dubai, Umman ve İran üzerinden Türkiye’ye giriş yapmıştır. Dubai’den çıktıktan sonra Türkiye’de yakalanana kadar büyük işkence görmüştür ve insan kaçakçılara binlerce dolar ödemiştir. Yazara göre yoksulluk,

eğitimsizlik, yüksek gelirli iş için açgözlülüğü ve insan kaçakçılarının teklifleri Bangladeşli göçmenlerini yasadışı yoluyla göç etmeye teşvik ettiğini belirtmiştir.

Sabbir HASAN sınırlardaki birbirinden farklı durumlar ve bu durumlardaki devlet dışı aktörlerin rolünü ‘Austerity Borders for Refugees; Impending Destiny by Elide Decretal’ başlıklı araştırmasında bahsetmiştir. Yazar, yasaların bu dönemde nasıl daha az sonuç verdiğini göstermiştir. Günümüz dünyasının uygar toplumları küresel bölge oluşturmuştur ve onlar için ortak yasalar yapmıştır ancak maalesef bu yasalar evsiz insanların aleyhine gelmektedir. Yasayı oluşturan grupların elit kısımlarından bazıları kendilerini bu yasa ve yönetmeliklerden yararlanmaktadır.

Abu Bakar SIDDIQ and Ahsan HABIB ‘The Formation of Bengal Civilization: A Glimpse on the Socio-Cultural Assimilations through Political Progressions in Bengal Delta’ konulu çalışmada Bengal Deltasında Bengal Uygarlığının oluşumu üzerinde çalışmışlardır. Araştırmacılara göre Bengal Deltası, tarih öncesi çağlardan beri toplu göçler, kültürel dönüşümler, istilalar ve dini devrimlerin bulunduğu bir yer olmaktadır. Büyük ve küçük ölçekli sosyo-kültürel asimilasyonların bir çok dalgaları olsa da, her sosyo-politik değişim Delta’da aynı dereceli sonuçlara yol açmamıştır. Bu çalışma, kültürel bileşenlerin çoğunluğunun ilk evrede Yerli-Aryan-Budist asimilasyonları tarafından formüle edildiği ve Ortaçağ döneminin hoşgörülü ve zarif sosyo-politik arka planında yer alan Budist-Aryan-İslam harmanının Bengal Medeniyet oluşumunun nihai görevlerini yaptığını göstermektedir.

Abu Saleh Md. Mahmudul HASAN yaptığı ‘Osmanlı Devleti ve Hint Alt Kıtası Arasındaki İlişkilerinin Uluslararası Hukuk Çerçevesinde Değerlendirilmesi’ başlık altında 1924 yılına kadar Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Hint Alt Kıtası arasındaki ikili ilişkilerini uluslararası hukuka göre incelemiştir. Osmanlı Devleti ile Hint Alt Kıtası arasındaki ilişkiler Sultan Fatih Mehmet döneminde başlamıştır. Osmanlı Hükümdarı Sultan IV. Murad ile İmparator Cihangir ve İmparator Şah Cihan arasındaki mektuplaşmalar, Sultan Süleyman, Sultan Abdul Mecid gibi Sultanlarla Hindistandaki İmparatorların yazışmalar, iletişim ve

yardımlaşmalar o dönemin uluslararası hukuk ve diplomatik ilişkileri hususunda önemli bir yer teşkil etmektedir. Yazar ayrıca İngiliz egemenliği altındaki Hindistan ile Osmanlı arasındaki diplomatik ilişkilerini de açıklamıştır.

‘Arakan’da İslam ve Rohingya Müslümanları: Arakan Tarihine Kısa Bir Bakış’ konulu çalışmasında Abdur Rahman FUAD Bangladeş sınırına yakın olan Myanmar’ın bir bölgesi olan Arakan’daki Rohingya Müslümanlarının tarihini açıklamıştır. M.Ö. 2666’dan M.S. 1700’e kadar özgür bir şekilde yaşayan Arakanlılar, kültürlerinin farklılığı ve siyasi gelenekleri açısından tarihte unutulmayacak bir şekilde yer almaktadır. Komşu Bengal bölgesinin yardımı ile ekonomik, sosyal, edebi, kültürel ve idari olarak Myanmar’dan farklı bir bölge inşa etmişlerdir. Ancak şimdi Arakan’da Rohingyaların yönetmesi değil onların Myanmar vatandaşı olmaları bile hayal olarak gözükmektedir.

Yılmaz BINGÖL and Md. Nazmul ISLAM birlikte yaptığı ‘The Myths and Realities of Turkish Civil-Military Relations: A Quest from the Case of FETO’s July 15th Failed Coup Attempt’ konulu çalışmada Türkiye’de ordunun siyasete ve siyasal iktidara güçlü bir ilgi ve etkisinin olduğunu ancak AK Parti’nin ve benzer şekilde diğer önemli siyasal partilerin kararlı ve etkili politikalarıyla ordunun sivil siyaset üzerindeki etkisi 2002’den itibaren büyük oranda engellenerek sivil siyasal alan genişletildiğini açıklamıştır. Onlara göre Türkiye, 15 Temmuz 2016 gecesi sivil siyasetin askeri güç karşısında dirayetini gösteren muazzam bir gelişmeye sahne olmuştur. 15 Temmuz başarısız darbe girişimi temelinde Türkiye’de sivil-asker ilişkilerinin teorik çerçevesi çizilmeye çalışılacaktır. Yazarlar, 15 Temmuz başarısız darbe girişimini yorumlayıp Türk ordusunun siyasete müdahale etmesi konusunu analiz etmiştir.

Abdur Rahman FUAD ‘Turkey and the Media: A Historical 15th July’s Role behind the Coup Attempt’ konulu yazısında 15 Temmuz’un gerçek senaryosunu ilk olarak medya ve dijital platformun rolü açısından analiz etmiştir. Sonrasında FETO’nun darbe teşebbüsünü önleyen faktörlerini araştırmıştır. Araştırmacıya göre Türk medyasını darbeyi duyurma konusunda güvenilir bilgi kaynağı ve motive edici olarak dünya çapında kullanılmıştır. Türk medyası hem güven-

lik birimlerinin stratejisini geliřtirmesinde hem de Trk halkının darbeye karřı dimdik drumaya olduka nemli bir rol oynamıřtır. Medyanın yanısıra dijital platformlar da kuřkusuz bir řekilde darbe giriřimini nleme konusunda nemli rol oynamıřtır.

Arařtırmacı Rahmat ULLAH ‘New Dimension of the Military Intervention: Bangladesh Example’ alıřmasında Bangladeř’in son askeri mdahalesinin nitelięini ve gemiř mdahaleleriyle bunun farklarını arařtırmıřtır. Yazar, Bangladeř ordusunun tarihi gemiřine ve 1975 yılında bu gne kadar farklı askeri darbeleri zerinde odaklanarak Bangladeř’teki askeri darbelerin sebeplerini arařtırmıřtır ve 2007 yılın askeri destekli askeri-brokratlar geici hkmetin faaliyetlerini analiz etmiřtir. Bu arařtırma, Bangladeř’teki siyasi istikrarsızlık, siyasi partileri arasındaki siyasi kltrn eksiklięi ve yabancı glerin etkileri dolayısıyla 2007 yılında ordunun siyasete doęrudan mdahale ettięini ortaya koymuřtur.

‘Prehistoric Arab-Israel Conflicts and Myriad Factors: A Critique to the Contrivances of Optimistic Conflict Resolution’ bařlıklı alıřmasında Md. Nazmul ISLAM Arap-İsrail atıřmalarının temel nedenlerini arařtırmıř ve bu kanlı atıřmalara olası ozmler bulmaya alıřmıřtır. Bu yazıda, yazar konuyu beř farklı bařlık altında ele almıřtır. İlk olarak, atıřma inřasında Uydurulmuř  dini aıdan (Yahudiler, Mslmanlar ve Hıristiyanlar) tarih ncesi kořulları arřtırılmıřtır. İkinci bařlık altında Orta Doęu’da Arap-İsrail arasında 1947, 1956, 1967 ve 1973 yıllarındaki drt byk savařı ele alınmıřtır. nc bařlık altında 1987 ve 2001’de Hamas (siyasi bir rgt) nderlięinde İntifada (kitlesele ayaklanma) vasıtasıyla Filistinlilerce baęımsızlık savař ilan edilmesinin sreleri ele alınmıřtır. Drdnc bařlıęında 2014 yılında İsrail ile Filistin arasında patlak veren savařın faktrleri ele alınmıřtır. Son olarak, atıřmanın ozmnde iki lke iin elveriřli olan eřitli iyimser ozm nerileri bahsedilmiřtir.

Saeed Rashed Hasan CHOWDURY ‘The Role of Islam in Promoting World Peace and Tranquility: A Case Study on the Middle East Crisis’ konulu arařtır-

masında barış ve istikrarın sağlanmasında İslam'ın rolünü açıklamıştır. İslam'ın tüm dünyaya barış ve huzur vereceği gösterilmiştir. Dünyada savaşlar ve çatışma ortamının hüküm sürdüğü dönemlerde bile İslam insanlar arasında barış duygusunu geliştirmek için asil değerler ve ilkeler getirmiştir. Araştırma İslam'ın dünya barışını teşvik edici rolünün geniş kapsamlı olduğunu ve gerek ahlaki bakımdan gerekse ruhsal bakımdan başka dinlerden kolayca ayrılabilir olduğu gösterilmiştir.

'Soft Power in Indian Foreign Policy' konulu çalışmasında Hafijur RAHMAN Hindistanın eski bir medeniyet, görkemli tarih, önemli kültür, büyük diaspora ve diğer pek çok kaynaklardan dolayı yeterince yumuşak güç yeteneğine sahip olduğunu göstermiştir. Hindistan günümüzde, yumuşak güç kaynaklarını dış politikasında cesaretle uygulamaktadır ve imajını tüm dünya'ya yaymaya çalışmaktadır. Yazar, Hindistanın yumuşak gücünün temel araçlarını, zorluklarının yanı sıra uygulama stratejisini ve etkilerini araştırmıştır.

Ehteshamul HAQUE çalıştığı 'The Role and Effectiveness of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Today: A Case Study on Syria' konulu makalesinde BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nin Suriye krizi bağlamında rolünü ve etkinliğini incelemiştir. Yazara göre, BM Güvenlik Konseyi, dünya barışını ve güvenliğini sağlamaktan sorumlu olmasına rağmen, çoğu durumda başarısızlığı nedeniyle etkinliğini tartışmalıdır. Yazar, BM Güvenlik Konseyi rolünü ve etkililiğini üç bölüm halinde analiz etmiştir. İlk olarak, yazar BM Sözleşmesinin Güvenlik Konseyine dünya barış ve güvenliğini sağlamak için ne tür sorumluluk verdiğini incelemiştir. İkinci olarak, Suriye krizinin başlangıcından bu zamana kadar rolünü ve son olarak, BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nin Suriye'de barış ve güvenliği sağlanamamış olduğunu değerlendirmiştir.

'How the Relations between NATO-Russia Carries on after Ukraine Crisis' başlıklı çalışmasında Mamun BILLAH NATO ve Rusya arasındaki ilişkilerinin tarihini tam olarak 'sorunlar, güvensizlik ve yanlış anlaşılmalarda' şeklinde yorumlanmak mümkün olduğunu ve Ukrayna çatışmasında Rusya-Batı ilişkilerini Soğuk Savaşın bitiminden bu yana ilk defa çatışacak duruma getirdiğini göstermiştir. Ayrıca yazar, 2014-2015 yılları esnasında dünya siyasetinde

Rusya'nın pozisyonu çarpıcı bir şekilde deđiřtiđini göstermiřtir. Bu alıřmada, yazar, NATO-Rusya iliřkilerini resmileřtiren stratejinin altını izmeye ve Ukrayna krizinden sonra yeni ve deđiřen stratejileri ortaya koymaya alıřmıřtır.

Bu kitap, yayınlanmıř olan 17 bildiri ve makalesinin bir derlemesidir. Bireysel yazarlar, bildirilerinde ifade ettiđi grřler, bilgiler ve aıklamalarla sorumludur. Yardımcı Editr Sabbir Hasan'a fikri, desteđi ve zveriliđinden dolayı mteřekkirim. Ayrıca Saeyd Rashed Hasan Chowdury'nin ve sevgili eřim Masoma'nın yazıların dzeltmesinde yardımından dolayı minnettarım. Sayın Yusuf Ibn Cıvak ve sayın Ali Bilgehan Barak'a da nazik yardımları iin teřekkr ederim. Kitabı tasarlamak iin verdiđi desteklerden dolayı sevgili Labib Faisal'a iten teřekkrlerimi sunarım. Son olarak, kitabı yayınlamaya hazır desteđi iin sayın Mustafa Latif Emek'e saygılarımla mteřekkirim.

Trkiye
řubat, 2018

Rahmat Ullah
Editr

Chapter One

Public Policy

EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN MUSLIM COMMUNITIES, A PRACTICAL OBSERVATION: A CASE STUDY ON THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

Saeed Rashed Hasan CHOWDURY

Introduction:

The term of Empowerment of women is a very popular and classical issue at present world. Its importance has been discussed in many dimensions and also every religion towards all over the world. The empowerment of women in Islam has clearly been discussed. It is stated extensively compared to the other religions. Many poets and authors in this world including the national poet of Turkey such as Mehmet Akif Ersoy have composed many poems on the empowerment of women and he explained that they are uniformly contributed to the society as a similar with the male. The world history also supports that the contribution of women bears a great important role to the advancement and improvement of human cultures & civilizations. In fact, this topic is evolved from the information's of Islam with other religions as Islam explains it clearly. Whatever some conceptions relating to the empowerment of women is also found in the history of human rights. Therefore, some issues such as concerning human rights may be discussed under the Hamburabi Code (2130-2088) BC passed by the King Hamburabi (King, L. W, 2017). Later on, it was authorized by the sources of the Islamic law such as the Holy Quran, Hadith, Ijma and Qias etc (Sources of Sharia, 2017). The topic of women rights may be discussed as per the following documents and its implications. Some elemental rights for men and women are also revealed in archives of the Magna Carta, 1215 the Bill of Rights, 1689 and the Petition of Rights, 1628. A set of rights are also constructed in the announcement of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). Moreover, some rights are also discussed in the writings of different authors such as the Hugo Grotius, Bodin, Russo, and Blackstone Vetel etc. In this article, empow-

erment of women has been highlighted to the republic of Turkey.

Objectives of the Study:

The principal objectives of this study are to highlight the Empowerment of women in Muslim country's issues with ultimate relevance to the republic of Turkey. The main aims and also objectives are:

- Explaining of the Empowerment of women in Muslim countries along with its different approaches.
- Discussing the Empowerment of women in the perspective of Islam with comparison to the other religion.
- Appraising the Empowerment of women in the Turkey and its current conditions.
- Recognizing the Islamic rules and regulations models for developing the Empowerment of women sector with some falls allegations from the western society.
- Providing some recommendations for Empowerment of women in particular sector.

Research Question:

The research question of this study will be-

Is the role of Islam in empowerment of women sector towards the Muslim countries in the world particularly into the Turkey with collaboration, equality, justice and also freedom on basis of The Quran including Sunnah?

Methodology of the Study:

The Dissertation of this study was compiled basically on the basis of secondary

data's including information's. The principal data and information has been collected from the literature of management, various germane research studies, renowned journals, particular books, Newspapers, some different Turkish ordinance, and also several articles. Some renowned academicians and specialist have recommended. There are several types of survey report like-United Nations women report, OHCHR: Women's Rights and Gender Section (WRGS) report, Organization of Islamic Cooperation report, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) report have been reviewed.

Findings and analysis:

At the current argument among Western communities along with Muslim worlds about gender policies, the first matters denounce the way in which women are impressed and the deficiency of formal rights. On the contrary, these censors do not ponder that Muslim women could have institutionalized a variant role model, which is an elemental portion of their personality and that could not be spontaneously separated from the religious tenets. At that perspective, practical Muslim can comprehend the women right's contest as the poly deftness to emphasize western colonialism including imperialism. Considering this importance, one kinds of movement that could provide its performance in this correlation in the Muslim feminism, through which Muslim women yearn to demand their rights through a renegotiation of restricts imputed by their cultural along with social context. Actually, at the perspective of laic movements for the gender equivalency have been deliberated formations of western neo-colonialism, Muslim feminist movements are the only one could able to have reliability without blooming as an exotic impendence.

Empowerment of Women in General perspective:

Women's empowerment has become a significant and exclusive topic in the present world. It has become an important subject of discussion in economics and development. It can also point to entrances concerning other trivialized genders in an exceptional social political context. Women empowerment refers

to developing and flourishing the political, economic, social, and legal power of the women, to assure equal-right to women, and to make them certain enough to demand their rights, such as:

- have equal communal status in the society,
- to make their own decisions,
- have equal rights to participate in social, religious and public activities,
- get equal advantage for education,
- have equal rights for social and economic fairness,
- have complete control of their life and outside of their home and workplace,
- freely live their life with a sense of respect and dignity,
- get safe and satisfied working environment,
- determine financial choices,
- get equal employment convenience without any gender bias.

Women's economic empowerment refers to the proficiency for women with comport their rights to hold and advantage from asset, income, resource, and their own time, as well as the ability to operate risk and promote their economic status and wellbeing. While often interchangeably used, the more magnificent concept of gender empowerment mentions to people of any gender, emphasizing the difference between biological gender and as a regulation. It thereby also alludes to other marginalized genders in a special social or political context (Oxfam, F., 2015: 33).

Sir Hamilton, the popular English philosopher and thinker, stated in his book on Islam and Arab Civilization: "The rules, regulations and judgments regard-

ing women in Islam are clear, frank and open. The religion of Islam capitalizes on the whole attention that should be given to the preservation of a woman against anything that may harm her personally, or reason disrepute to her nobility or reputation (Abdul-Rahman A, S., 2003:12). **Gustavo Le Bon**, the popular French thinker described in his book “The Arab Civilization”: “Islamic virtuous deeds are not limited to honoring and respecting women, but rather, we can accumulate that the religion of Islam is to honor and respect women. We can spontaneously prove this by illustrating that all religions and nations, prior to the advent of Islam, caused much harm and insult to women.” He also add that: “Hymeneal rights which have been stated and illustrated in the Glorious Qur’an and by the interpreters of the meanings of the Glorious Qur’an are far better than European Hymeneal rights for both husband and wife.”(Rahman A, S., 2003: 12). There have no any rights of women in the pre Arabian society, In order to understand changes that Islam brought for women, when Muhammad (Pbuh) came to the world; he has given whole the equal rights for women.

Empowerment of Women in Islamic perspective:

There are many character of women have been discussed in the Holy Quran and also Hadith. It has for the first time in history that established women’s rights and empowerment to respect, inheritance, and dignity. The Qur’an spoke of women’s role in supporting with the truth, in giving birth to prophets and in suffering. The Qur’an has also spoken about the agony of women at the different walks of life and through history. Below are only very few excerpts that show to what extent such rights have been recognized in Islam. Anas Ibn Malik reported that the Messenger of Allah had said: “Whosoever brings up two daughters, he and I will arrive alongside in the Day of Judgment (Abdullah, S., 1997: 349). Reference to the role of men and women together with their rights and empowerments are detailed in the Qur’an and in the teachings of Prophet Mohammad (Pbuh).

Women rights in the Holy Qur’an: The Qur’an introduces the Pharaoh’s wife as an example for the faithful person who accepted all types of suffering

for the sake of Allah (Al Qur'an, 66: 11). The Qur'an described in detail with the story of Mary and her extraordinary birth of Jesus Christ and how she answered to her people's (the Jews) allegation of being unrepeatable. Therefore, a whole chapter of the Qur'an is named after her. Another long chapter of the Qur'an is titled 'The Women', An Nisaa. The Qur'an has described about the role of women in contrition and receiving the truth. For example, the repentance of al-Aziz's wife has regarded her accusation of Prophet Joseph (Al Qur'an, 12: 51-53). The Queen of Sheba's acceptance of Prophet Solomon's (SAAW) invitation to Islam was also mentioned in details with the chapter of An-Naml (Al Qur'an, 27: 44.). Mary was accorded great dignity in the holy Qur'an. In fact, a whole chapter was devoted to her attracting story in contrast to the blasphemous accusations mentioned in the Talmud about her and her son."¹ Prophet Jesus peace and blessings of Allah be upon him.

Women rights in the Teachings of the Prophet (Pbuh): Prophet Muhammad (Pbuh) confronted many unfair exercises that were institutionalized by the pre-Islamic society against women. Men of that society were advantaged mostly from the roles and characters they have ascertained for women. When the Prophet Muhammad started preaching against the male conduct of women, the Quraishi's oppressively opposed him. However, it was Divine Revelation that he had to pass onto people regardless of their unfair interest. Abu Hurairah reported that Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) said: "Let him be a lame duck, let him be a lame duck, let him be a lame duck." Someone asked, "Who is he, Oh Messenger of Allah? He said, "The one who has lived to see his parents or one of them and did not enter paradise." (Aflatun K., 1991: 469).

Empowerment women in a Muslim Countries in the World: There are some misconceptions that have been broadly publicized about women and their rights in Islam. These misconceptions are often revolved by some that spitefully search to blame Islam and Muslims. Women entirely the past centuries of Islam have been dignified, well received, respected, and honored; it is continuously an exposed idea in those countries that Muslims contemplate that

1. R. Papa observed: This is what men say (regarding Mary), she who descended of princes and governors played the harlot with a carpenter 5.... Did the children of Israel sly with the sword among them that [referring to Jesus] were slain by them? ... [R. Papa. The Babylonian Talmud, London: The Soncino Press, p. 725 (106a-106b)].

women have no souls and hearts! But, In the Holy Qur'an no distinction whatever is formed between the sexes in connection to Allah; both are resolved the same award and prize for good, the equivalent chastisement of evil treatment. Allah says that, "certainly the men who surrender to Allah (God) and women who surrender, and men who trust, and women who trust, and men who listen and women who listen, and men who are cordial and women who are cordial, and men who tolerate and women who tolerate, and men who are gentle and women who are gentle, and men who give charity and women who give charity, and men who rapid and women who rapid, and men who are polite and women who are polite, and women who keeps in mind (him), Allah prepared for them forgiveness and a great reward"(Al Qur'an, 33 : 35). It is only in rapport to each other that a distinction is made-the dissimilation which really exists-dissimilation of process. In a verse which must have astounded the idolater Arabs, who considered women as deprived of human rights, it is stated that "They (women) have right liked those (of men) against them; though men are a dimension above them. Allah is Al- powerful, All-Knowing."(Al Qur'an, 2: 228).

Aburdene and Naisbitt (1993), two prominent feminist researchers, were astonished to find that the Qur'an does not consider women of a lower position than men; as is the case in all other religious perspective. They have come to understand that male-practices against women in the Muslim World are basically based on non-Islamic social customs or misinterpretation of Islamic teachings. After that, they were surprised to find out that the Muslim woman is the first woman in the world to be recognized for her legal rights and economical rights and they also included that the family system in Islam was legislated 1400 years ago in order to hold the corner stone of the family, and the society (Zedrikly & Shatha, S., 1997: 97). However, Most of the Muslim countries in the world have given as full rights to the women sector. But, some countries have not prepared for giving the full rights to the women as well as they have restricted some rules and regulations against women as like as Arab world. This is the problem for these countries. But, it is also included that last October, 2017 Saudi Arabia has taken some crucial issues for developing women sector as well as allowing to the drive vehicle. Another problem is that some countries in the Muslim World have given the rights to the women as like west-

ern process. On the other hand, the religion of Islam has given whole rights to the women along with some recommendation as well as wearing the hijab.

Empowerment of Women in Turkey:

As many Muslim countries have substantiated democratic elections, an often-quoted concern is that political regimen will vice versa affect women's empowerments and rights along with living standards (The New York Times, 2011: 14.). If the expansion of political, religious rights jeopardizes gender parity, this expounds democratic institutions could result in hostile prosperity for large numbers of the population. However, in the perspective of the republic of Turkey, this recounts the Islamic political movement's advantage over secular alternative in overwhelming barriers to female participation in educational institutions, religious sector, and employee of government sector.

The Historical Context of Women's Rights in Turkey: The Turkish women's history can be separated into three different phases. At the first step started in 1839 including the wide-spectrum of rules and regulations in the Tanzimat stage. The Ottoman Empire started a reform policy, which also influenced women. Considering that the European women's movement started with the French Revolution in 1789, this was a delay of about half a century. The second period started with the Republican era, with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk approving women certain rights. The freedom of women was, according to the Mustafa Kemal, a compatible portion of the modernization method. He put into modernizing the family law; he bestow to women as political rights as well as developing gender equality in employment and also education sector. The third period dates from at end of the military intervention in 1980 and was inaugurated by Turkish women themselves. Turkey is a secular Muslim country in the world. The secular nature of the state is the result of a unique reformation made in the 1920s. With the basement of the Turkish Republic in 1923, developing the status of Turkish women and creating a new republican woman image turned out to be central issue. Women's empowerments were calculation as the indicators of the Turkish modernization.

Ayata refers to these developments as westernization which started in 1923, adding that: the content of westernization has not only been economic and political, but also cultural, where the role of women within the society has assumed significance as a symbol of progress toward this endeavor. The core achievements that led to full citizenship for women, abolition of polygamy, equal rights in divorce and inheritance, and the granting of all civic equalities including political rights to women, were recognized as major accomplishments (Ayata, 2001: 157). On the other hand, this efforts did not beginning after the basement of the Turkish Republic earlier on the foundation of the republic of Turkey in 1923. There was an agitation of women which came from the last Ottoman Empire and continued in the first age of the republic of Turkey. After the Turkish War of Independence, Turkish women started their attempts in purpose of gain political rights. They founded a political party that was named “Women’s Public Party” which was embargoed in 1923. After that, the Women’s Union of Turkey was established in 1924, and its director was Nezihe Muhittin² 30 until 1927.

The Women’s Union particularly fought for the women’s political rights and its contribution cannot be neglected concerning the adjustment of the Turkish Civil Law in 1926. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the discourse concerning the developments in the status of women in society focused exclusively on the contributions of the Kemalist Reforms. Until 1980s, Turkish women were very proud of the republican reforms which gave them equal rights in the every sector. According to Arat during the 1970s when Turkish politics became increasingly fragmented and polarized, “women were politicized along with men, but their political activism was restricted to some involvement in leftist groups. Women began to organize and question the adequacy of the Kemalist reforms” (Arat, 194: 243). 1980s was a very difficult situation for the Turkish political history. The army has taken the power in September 12, 1980. After that, the army changed the constitution in 1982 which was considerable strike for civil society and a lot of the civil societies were restricted. 1980s were also the times when the Second Wave feminism started to affect Turkey. The women activist members of the civil society of 1970s had learned to organize, but, after the military coup, they had been isolated by their 2. Nezihe Muhittin was one of the leading woman activists who took part in the various activities conducted under the umbrella of the Ottoman-Turkish Feminism.

male counterparts. As a result of this exclusion, they started to question their position within the patriarchal society.

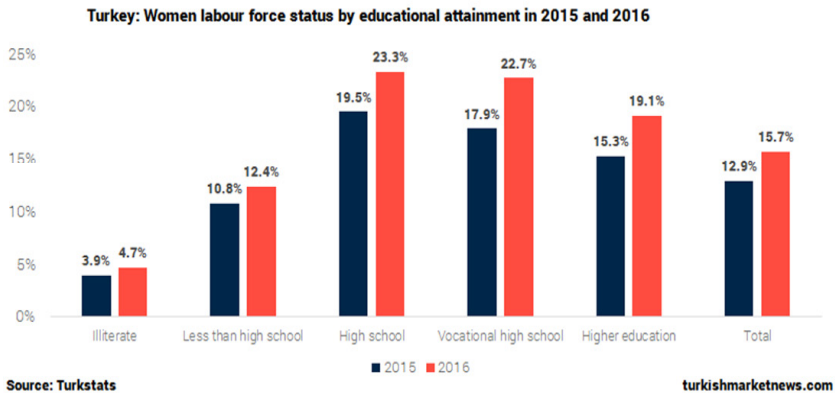
Gender and Women's Rights: The republic of Turkey is one of the develop countries in the world where gender equality exclusively within the legal framework dates back to the 1930s. Women were approved full voting rights in 1934 as an output of the state feminism of the Republic era. Although the first introducing towards gender equality and women's empowerment were conducted in the early 1930s, the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1986 provided Turkey with the establishment of the national machinery (the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women) for the promotion of gender equality and women's rights at national and international levels. Since then, Turkey has increased its initiatives and efforts on gender equality and women's rights through legal reforms in order to remove difference against women.

Turkey has implemented many legal reforms in order to acquiring gender equality in a considerably short period. But, the indicator of the real progress is the level of implementation: *de jure* part is the first step towards the realization of women's rights and gender equality; *de facto* is necessary for implementation. In the Turkish case, like in other parts of the world, behavioral change takes time and requires the consideration of the community. Turkey is still away from the "should be" situation in terms of basic development indicators like gender empowerment measurement and women's participation in decision-making mechanisms. Recognizing the fact that gender equality is an essential consideration in human rights and development, the UN system in Turkey has identified women's and children's rights as one of the top three areas of focus for 2006-2010, and the UNDP is an active player in this joint UN process, identifying initiatives throughout its programming that aims to strengthen women's participation in social, economic, and political life through participation in elections, city councils, entrepreneurship and microfinance, and raise awareness on key issues facing women.

European Influences on Women's empowerment to the Turkey: The European community contributed after the military intervention of 12 September 1980, the EC used diplomatic as well as economic measures and pres-

sure to restore democracy in Turkey. These steps impacted Turkish politics and helping of democratization, as Turkey aspired to EC membership (Cichowsky, A., 1988: 23). This pressure for more democracy was also important for the Turkish women's movement after 1980. In June 2000 the European Commission accepted the Communication "Towards a Community Framework Strategy on Gender Equality (2001-2005)", which proposes to start an outline for EU activities for reaching the objective of eradicating inequalities between women and men (Gender and society, 2017). The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, adopted in December 2000, included a chapter on "Equality" laying down the principles of non-discrimination. It described: "Any discrimination based on somewhat ground as like as, genetic or ethnic characteristic, color, religion, language, sex, race or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, ownership, incapability, birth, age or sexual addiction will be prohibited (Women's Empowerment, 2017).

Corroborant Participation of Women in the Labor Market: The condition of women on the Turkish labor market collapsed in recent years. Women participates in the labor market remnant very low (employment rate of 24 percent in 2005 is to be compared to 56% in the European Union); one of the lowest OECD countries in the world. Turkey requires attracting more women to participate in the labor market and ensure good working situations in line with the modest work agenda improved by the European Union and the International Labor Organization and this is fundamental not just for the reason of equivalent convenience, but also for the sustainable growth of the Turkish economy. Turkey should have a national employment strategy with a view to sharing to the medium terminology in the European Employment Strategy. In this subject, the condition of women will have to be evidently mainstreamed. The changing socio-economic condition of women and involves to urbanization, poverty, and internal migration should be taken into account. In the procedures to be established jointly between the Turkish authorities and European Commission on specific priorities, employment must be defined to develop women's mobility. A graph analysis of participation of Women in the Labor Market will discussed at below:



Source: Turkstats: turkishmarketnews.com

However, the role of women's organizations has been acknowledged by the Republic of Turkey along with social services and the Directorate General for the situation of Woman, they require becoming exclusive partners in implementing the pertinent initiative and legislation. The social shareholder can also partake in the development of women's empowerment – the Turkish Employer Associations has organized a first women's employment conference in February 2006—and the accomplishment of the emended Labor Code as well as the struggle against the unrecorded economy (Vladimir S., 2014: 19-33).

Institutionalization of Women's Empowerment: In addition to bringing the Second Wave Feminism to Turkey, the 1980s also contributed greatly to the internationalization of women's issues at the intergovernmental level. In parallel with the happenings at the international arena, the CEDAW was ratified by Turkish Parliament in 1985 with a few reservations due to some contradictions it had with the Turkish Civil Code. These reservations remained until the revision of the civil code. After the revision of the Turkish Civil Code, Turkey abolished the conservation in 1999. The Turkish Civil Code of 1926 was translated and adopted from the Swiss Civil Code. It has included several discriminatory situations for women including inequality between spouses; the husband was defined as the head of the family and decision maker over the choice of the domicile and the issues regarding the children. In time, the European Union Accession period and Turkey's commitments to the CEDAW were

two major motivating factors that prepared a legitimate background for the revision of the civil code, and the new Turkish Civil Code was approved by the Turkish Parliament on 22 November 2001 and came into force on 1 January 2001. The new law includes 1030 articles, focusing on important provisions to the family law, and amends the Civil Code of 1926. It abolished the supremacy of men in marriage and established the full equality of men and women in the family.

Women's organizations in Turkey had started to get prepared for the review meeting of the Fourth World Conference on Women. It became obvious during the meeting that the effects of globalization on women globally and nationally should be in the agenda of the civil society. For the first time in history, forced marriage and honor crimes were included in an international declaration, and the definition of violence against women was expanded. In the outcome report, honor crimes, forced marriage, and rape within the marriage were included in the definition of violence against women. In the report, it was also stated that equality between women and men would be the part of all plans, programs, and policies; necessary precautions would be taken in order to prevent exploitation of women's labor as a result of traditional gender roles; development of working conditions for women working in agriculture and in unregistered economy would be initiated; obstacles that prevented women from being equal subjects of the decision-making mechanisms would be abolished; and necessary sources for developing a plan and strategy in order to achieve the targeted issues would be built.

Ensuring Further Develop in the effectuation of Women's Rights:

The republic of Turkey has substantiated develop with regard to gender balance legislation. On the other hand, the condition of women in Turkey remains a source of concern, in three inter-related areas: low participation in the labor market, access to education and violence against women. Exclusive consideration has to be given to strengthening the role of women in society, country and their statement to decision making on political sector, whether on national level and local level. The Turkish Constitution provides for balance between women and men. Further reforms must be accepted in order to translate this general principle into practice. As mentioned in the Develop Report accepted by the European Commission in November 2006, the legal framework and ac-

tivities is overall appeasement. The Penal Code, the Labor Code and the Law on Municipalities, amongst other texts, have been revised to provide better protection (Vladimir S., 2014: 19). Full admiration of women's empowerment remains a critical problem, exclusively in the poorest fields of the country. Household oppression against women remains a great problem across Europe, and The Republic of Turkey is no exception.

Empowerment of Women at present government: In 2002, when Recep Tayyip Erdogan has taken the power of republic of Turkey as a prime minister; he has a historical experience of balance between women and men, resting on cultural and religious basement, worried to being geographically located where civilizations and cultures spread. The women's movement in Turkey has an extraordinary and unparalleled historical experience in terms of world history. It is practicable to see the reflex ions of the women's empowerment in magnificent rage of judgments implemented. Since 1993, when the Republic of Turkey was constructed, the reproduce performed under the direction of Ataturk not only enabled woman to have temporal rights, but also the country to be refunded. Turkey has had remarkable acquisitions due to the derivations in the area of education since 2002; When Erdogan has taken the power. With the enhancement of the compulsory education period generally in primary schooling, severe endeavor of all associates in the procedure, and initiatives such as "Haydi Kızlar Okula", the Bussing System and YİBO (Regional Boarding School for Primary Education), and Cash Transfer in Education. The balance of gender in primary schooling has been acquired. Two million mothers have supported from the Conditional Cash Transfers which aims to increase girls' schooling rates by providing additional support to poor families with daughters attending school. The gender ratio in higher education is 83.38 percent.

In 2010-11, out of 3,817,086 students, 45 percent of them –that is 1,723,602 students–were female (Şahin, F., 2011: 43). The objective is, by 2023, to make the number of multi-purpose community centers almost the country, with the assistance NGOs and Governorates. This center aims to increase the schooling rates for balance of equality to boys and girls by 100 percent in primary and high schools, to remove the obstacles for girls within the scope of occupational education, and to empower of women and emphasize their condition in the cir-

cumference and rural areas of the country. Turkey has founded commitments to make the quality and quantity of medical services taken steps to women and girls to the world standards Life expectancy at birth—an exponent for the standard of living. Currently, standing at 76.8 for women and 71.9 for men. One of the issues taken up in Turkey's EU Employment Project is parity between women and men. In spite of the identical structure in laws, the lack of appointments to enable women's development and their access to the labor market is still an important problem. While the rate of women's sharing in the labor market was nearly 34.1 % in 1990, it turned 26.9% in 2002, 25.4% in 2004 and 28.8% in 2011(Şahin, F., 2011: 43).

In general, according to 2011 data, whereas women employment rate in Turkey is 25.6 percent and unemployment rate is 11.3 percent, these rates are respectively 59.5 percent and 9.8 percent in EU-15; 58.2 percent and 9.8 percent in the EU- 27. 42.2 percent of employed women in Turkey work in the agricultural sector, 42.6 percent in the service industry and 15.2 percent in the industrial sector. A lot of NGOs in Turkey work to promoting women's entrepreneurship. The conduct changed by the sharing of women in the labor force demands propagating resolution for powering the family policy. In the national elections held on 12 June 2011, the number of woman parliamentarians onward to 79, or 14.4%. There was one woman minister in the cabinet. In the general elections held on 29 March 2009, the rate of voting statewide was 80 percent and the candidates competed in 81 provinces and 2946 towns and districts. In this struggle between 19 participating political parties, 44 women lead as candidates for regional mayores and 321 women as candidates for district mayors. According to election Commission, 2948 mayors were elected in Turkey and only 27 of them (0.9 percent) were women; simply two of these 27 women were elected to the province level. Out of 31,790 members of urban councils, 1340 are women (4.21 percent). The total number of women members of Provincial Assemblies does not exist various picture. Out of 3,379 Provincial Assembly Members, there are 100 women (3.25 percent) (Şahin, F., 2011: 43).

Given the significance of women's participation in decision-making mechanisms, evidently rates need to rise. In terms of equality between women and men, the government, women's organizations, syndicates, international organizations, and universities have succeeded in the process of reparation

and become pioneers of change, using collaboration methods and consensus methods. This is important to certain the positive legal changes operation, are skilled, and sustained. Turkey takes the proper steps to acquiring balance of women and man. Unless economic and political developments are supported with social and political policies, they will be temporary. Accordingly, every step taken for the empowerment of women individually and socially should have a holistic perspective. Since 2002, Turkey has carried out the essential enactments by addressing women, family, social structure and economy with a holistic perspective in all measurements. The women's movement in Turkey and its activities as bridges between the West and the East have displayed uniqueness with a perspective of preserving the national moral values typical Turkey. By the 100th anniversary of the country's foundation, the Republic of Turkey contemplates to acquiring the standards, in terms of balance between women and men of Europe and the world.

Since 2002, the president of Recep Tayyip Erdogan has slowly opened the women zone to wearing Hijabs. The present government also allows the hijabs on university campuses in 2011 and in the civil service in 2013. The government allowed first hijab for judge court in 2015, while veiled women were permitted to serve in the police force August 2016. 22 February 2017, The Republic of Turkey has approved for Women in Military to Wearing Hijabs. Women in the Turkish armed forces have been given the full rights to wearing Hijabs in a move that perform a significant cultural shift within an institution seen historically as the caretaker of Turkey's secular identity. The military was one of the last Turkish institutions to interdict the wearing of the hijab.

Recommendations:

From the perspective of discussion on above, some crucial steps are to be considered from the all Muslim countries in the world for developing empowerment of women sector. For example, Islam has given whole the rights of women in every sector, But, Most of the Muslim countries do not follow the rules and regulations of Islam. For this reason, every country should follow the rules and regulations of Islamic legal System.

- The role of OIC in empowerment of women sector should be determined to among the Muslim countries on basis of Islam.
- There are some common allegations against Islam and also Muslim world in empowerment of women issues. However, Muslim countries as well as crucial leader will response very strongly against any allegations about this on basis of Quran and also Sunnah.
- It is the liability for any Muslim country should take the national policies to protection the right of women not to be subjected to oppression of any matters or by any people.
- Organizing public awareness –campaigns on male oppression toward women, overrun that men should be responsible for their activities and inspiring them to explore and demolish instruments of oppression and to accept miscellaneous behavior.
- The government of Muslim countries should ascertain both boys and girls to take in proper education that abstains social and cultural models, superstitions, hard and fast roles for the sexes and comprises training in assertiveness efficiencies with particular outlook to juvenile people in inconvenience at school; train all countries of the teaching occupation to integrate the notion of gender equality in their teaching.
- The OIC’s institutional structure along with appropriate operation that can able to contribute in energizing into the empowerment of women sector as well as OIC will be able to control the women rights, equality, justice and also eradication of dowry among the Muslim countries.

Conclusion:

Based on the previous principles, all men and women are equal in terms of basic values, humanity and responsibilities and obligations. All men and women are created equivalent in the sight of Allah. Their distinctions in race, language, color, social status, sex, strength, health, dignity or wealth livelihood and geography etc. have no relationship to decrease or increase this dignity. Real difference among them is based on their God-verdict agreement to Islam, the revealed religion of Allah, and their level of exercises and solicitations

of its principles in their own daily lives. Allah announced that all man and woman are respected and honored more than other creatures of Allah, as He declared in the Glorious Qur'an. Islam commonly developed in the condition of women compared to earlier Arab cultures and civilizations, preventing female infanticide and acknowledging women's entire personhood. Islamic law strengthens the contractual characteristic of marriage, demanding that a dowry be bestowed to the woman rather than to her family, and promising women's rights and empowerments of inheritance and to own and manage peculiarity. Women were also granted the right and empowerment to live in the nuptial home and take financial maintenance during marriage and a waiting stage following divorce and death. However, all of the Muslim countries forget the god's law. For this reason, it is a great problem for the Muslim communities for giving the appropriate rights and empowerments of women.

On the other hand, gender equability is a gargantuan challenge and a vertex priority for the European Union, and actually for all democratic societies and countries. The Republic of Turkey also has to face challenges to assure balance between men and women. The continuous metamorphosis of Turkey into an industrial municipal economy and society and is likely to more impact on women's functions and activities. Empowering women must be precedence in the pre-approach process and all stakeholders should be integrated to secure efficient prosperity and implementation on of the new rights. This means corroborant the executive receptivity of pertinent bodies and applicable structures to monitor women's condition. The establishment of a stable Gender Equability Committee in the Parliament and ministry, as foreseen in a circular of the President and Prime Minister, would be a potential agreement to further consider women's issues.

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GOOD GOVERNANCE AND ITS CHALLENGE IN BANGLADESH

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Introduction:

Governance is a multifaceted concept with wider ramification. This is so because of fast changing and interdependent global environment. No country can afford to continue with a governance system that is outdated, slow, ineffective, expensive and corrupt in this age of globalization. Bangladesh is a developing country of South Asia. It gained independence in 1971 from Pakistan after nine month long war. Bangladesh has a parliamentary democracy, where the president is the head of the state. But the Prime Minister, as the head of the government, forms the cabinet and performs the daily activities of the state. There are a lot of problems in Bangladesh such as political crisis, bureaucratic corruption, over population, economic recession, poverty, widespread terrorism, and environmental pollution. It is reality that all these problems are interrelated inter dependent in some ways and problems are lead the country to administrative weakness and poor governance. In the recent years, some progresses also showed in Bangladesh. There are some achievements in many areas of socio-economic development such as macroeconomic stability, growth in exports and in remittances, improvements in female's education, increase in enrolment in primary education, and reductions in infant and maternal mortality rate, controlling over the fundamental terrorism, improvement in women's empowerment and participation in economic activities etc. In Bangladesh sovereignty was won but rule of law and good governance is still crying. A strong corrupted syndicate created a vicious cycle of exploitation and as axis of violent politics & poor governance. The development of Bangladesh basically requires democracy and good governance. Good governance is the precondition for socio-economic development & stability in any country. People of Bangladesh wanted to see good governance flourishing everywhere in the state organs and institutions. The path of Good Governance seems to face both challenges and opportunities. Despite the fact that a number of factors seem to positively work for the slow and steady growth of democracy, there are strong depressing elements that also pose threats to achieve sustainable development.

Methodology This paper is a presentation of the concept of good governance, challenges, and some recommendation to ensure good governance in Bangladesh. The paper is based on secondary information, which includes recent publications, journals, books, and research reports. Relevant literature has also collected through Internet browsing.

Meaning and Definition of Good Governance:

Good governance is a widely used term in developed as well as in developing countries to achieve sustainable development management. Bangladesh is no exception to this global trend. Politicians both in power and in opposition talk of their quest to achieve good governance. The concept of "governance" is now most used word in the study of society and development. "Governance" means: the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented). Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance." Though the need for good governance has been recognized still there is lack of unanimity about the exact meaning of the term. Direction, Performance, Accountability, Fairness, Responsiveness, participation in decision making and implementation, efficient delivery system of services and goods, citizen satisfaction are the important element of good governance. —Good governance is a judgment on the quality of government (Jahan, 1992); how people are ruled, how the affairs of the state are administered and regulated. Good governance is a nation's state of ability in relation to public administration and law (Landell-Mills and Serageddin, 1991) exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs (World Bank 1989:5) and the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development, (World Bank 1992:1) the exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage the country's affairs at all levels and the means by which states promote social cohesion, integration, and ensure the wellbeing of their population (UNDP 2002). Good governance is "a system of governance that is able to unambiguously identify the basic values of the society where values are economic, political and socio-cultural issues including human rights, and pursue these values through an accountable and honest administration." (Chopra 1997)

Good Governance and its Challenges in Bangladesh:

In Bangladesh governance has been conceptualized in a variety of ways and ranging from a very narrow to a very broad definition. Broadly defined governance reflects here all rules and procedures, formal and informal, in economic, political and administrative spheres, organizational entities entrusted with formulating and implementing such rules of the game as well as macro, micro or economy wide policies (Sixth Five year Plan 2014). The international organizations like World Bank, IMF, UNDP, various NGOs expect that the government of Bangladesh carries out its duties transparently, without corruption, and in due consultation with stakeholders in society. The declared vision of the government envisages a public sector with strong independent institutions of accountability, a high degree of transparency and responsiveness to the people, strong systems, for managing human and financial resources which ensure delivery of quality services to the people's door steps. In the context of the above position of Governance in Bangladesh the following sections contain an analysis and from this analysis some challenges are derived like Corruption, Inefficiency of Bureaucracy, Political interference in administration, Nepotism, Improper and non-observance of the rule of law, Improper use of resources.

Nature of Polity and Challenges:

In Bangladesh democracy as a system of governance is in fiasco and could not be institutionalized during the last four decades of its existence. Politics is, in most cases, dominated by big money, goons, businessman and people with little background and training in formal politics. The student Fronts which are considered as the sources of leadership of the parties are involved in campus violence, all kinds of immoral activities. Power and authority rest at the top-echelon of the government based in the capital leaving little authority and resources at the disposal of elected bodies at the local level. Economic disparity between the rich and the poor continues to widen with frightening prospects for the society. Almost all the benefits of state patronage go to the party cadres and the rich in spite of the fact that most of them do not pay their taxes. The private sector banks already been chastised by the central bank for disbursing loan to their directors and other influential individuals without proper collateral. The sponsors, promoters and beneficiaries of default loan culture all belong to the upper strata of the society and consequently protect each other. A

newspaper report reveals that over Tk. 60000 million has disappeared from the nationalized commercial banks through fake and irregular payment of loan on the pressure of ruling party leaders over the last four years. (Naya Diganta, July 31, 2012)

The middle class and salaried people together with general masses are squeezed constantly increasing rise in the prices of essential commodities, house rents, educational expenses of children, medical bills and taxes. Social disparity among different strata of the population continues to deepen. Morality has become the biggest casualty in Bangladesh now. Corruption has engulfed both public and private sectors and touched and affected in one way or another each and every individual in Bangladesh. The World Bank has recently been forced to cancel the Prestigious Padma Bridge Financing deal on the plea of alleged involvement of the highest authority in corruption including the communication minister Abul Hossain Mp. (Amin 2014).

Challenges in Political System:

Political system plays a vital role in shaping its destiny for good or bad. —In Bangladesh most of the political parties are found to be visible during election time. There are serious questions about their nature of leadership, sources and utilization of party fund and nomination of candidates for key elections. All parties profess to adhere to democratic principles but the reality in most cases is different. For even senior leaders of most of the major political parties holding membership of central committees and presidiums it is risky to disagree, let alone challenge the supreme leaders (Khan and Hussain, 1993). The practice of democratic ethos is thwarted by internal party politics and management (Khan and Zafarullah, 1993). Leaders are selected by the supreme leader and heredity and kinship are the key determinates. During the last forty five years the ruling Awami League leaders at the central level have never been elected (rather selected by the party chief) and practice of intra-party democracy proved to be almost equally difficult in the BNP and Jatio Party. Naturally the top leadership remains unchanged even after a party loses major national elections. Weak and sycophants become prominent in the party's decision making process. Capable and effective leaders cannot be groomed and those who seem to be earning popularity beyond party frame are even eliminated (For ready reference: Mayor Loqman Hossain murder case in Narshingdi town) and the

party culprits remain untouched and unpunished. But Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and Communist party are exception among the political parties. They are found to be inculcating democratic practices within the party and never defaults in holding elections to its highest post, the President through secret ballots at regular intervals as per the provisions of its constitution.

Effective functioning of each and every organ of government is an essential prerequisite of good governance. The parliamentary system that is in existence without interruption for over two decades can best be termed as Prime Ministerial system. A State Minister of the present government resigned in May 2009 and was residing in the USA but to his utter surprise he found that pay and allowances were being accumulated in his bank account. Another Minister was forced to resign in the face of severe criticism across the country due to bribery (Railway Minister) but instead of accepting his resignation the Prime Minister made him a Minister without portfolio. There was still another Minister Abul Hossain against whom the World Bank lodged complaint on charges of bribery in the famous Padma bridge case. Similar allegations are also there against the Pm's Finance Adviser and a whip of the ruling Party in the Parliament who happens to be a close relative of the Prime Minister.

The present size of the civil service is large compared to tasks it performs (Khan 1998). The public service commission which is responsible for recruitment of civil servants has become a highly politicized body with almost all its members drawn from the activists' base of the ruling party coterie. The parliament has been unable to perform its designated role as controller and overseer of executive actions. None of the government that came to power since the restoration of parliamentary system of government has allowed the Parliament to function properly (Khan 2001). The opposition parties also did not play their proper role in this field. As a result accountability and transparency of governmental functionaries could not be ensured. In recent times the Parliament also got involved in a clash with the higher judiciary. It angrily debated the conduct of a High Court judge over some of his rulings and comments on Parliaments role (Ref. Justice Shamsuddin Ahmed Chowdhury on shifting of Sarak Bahaban, Head Quarters of Roads and Highways Department). The Parliament members adopted a resolution asking the President to form a Supreme judicial council to remove the judge for violation of constitution. It is interesting to note that the Chief Justice has not yet responded to this ruling and the concerned judge

continues to hold presumably because he is a ruling party man.(Amin 2014)

Widening Horizon of Corruption:

Corruption is the main challenges for the Good Governance in Bangladesh. Political and administrative corruption has become widespread everywhere in Bangladesh. The forms of corruption include petty corruption, project corruption and programmatic corruption (TIB, 2013). Corruption is an inescapable fact of life in Bangladesh because the society is a highly complex network involving reciprocal favors and obligations, as a result, pay off is the life blood of the country. Pay off benefits include money, jobs, luxury gifts, building supplies, overseas travels and the payment of foreign tuition bills and personal liabilities. The symptom of patron client relationship is further reflected by the practice of some businessman to maintain rest houses and high class exclusive hostesses to entertain foreign guests and big bosses (Siddique, 1990). The political leaders, particularly the members of parliament run the government. Transparency International, Bangladesh conducted a survey on the activities of 149 MPs out of 345 MPs of Awamilig government. Among 149 MPs, 136 belonged to the ruling party and the rest 13 were from the opposition party and the numbers of ministers among the MPs under study were 27.

The study revealed that 97% of the MPs were involved in negative activities. Their negative activities include influencing administrative works (81.8%), influencing educational institutions (76.9%), misuse of development fund (75.5%) involvement in criminal activities (70.6%) influencing public procurement process (69.2%), violating electoral rules (62.2%) managing plots (8.4%) and others (16.1%). While analyzing the reasons of the problems TIB found that the present ruling party came to power after a seven year gap. To compensate, MPs created opportunities for the party members to gain personal benefits from the development initiatives at the local level. This also works as a kind of investment for the MPs to retain their local support-base for the next election (TIB, October 14, 2013).

Arrest of former Railway minister Suranjit Sen gupta's Assistant Personal Secretary in midnight with a sack full of money appeared as an example how huge amount of money has been transacted as bribe for railway jobs. An exclusive investigation made by Weekly Holiday has found that in four major public run sectors alone, corruption rackets had embezzled over Tk. 400,000 crores

(4,000,000 million) in routine dealings over the last four years of this government. From the Bangladesh Bank a huge amount of reserve stolen, but still nobody knows who did it. But the public opinion said it has handled by the senior officer of Bangladesh Bank. There is hardly any ministry, division or departments of the government in the country where bribe is not transacted for appointment, posting and promotion (The daily star, January 5, 2013).

Topping the list is the telecom sector, with an estimated Tk. 1,51000 crores irregularities since June 2009, followed by the energy sector where kickback in feigned system loss and overbilling by quick-rental power plants and energy deals tallies up to Tk. 1,40,000 crores. Monthly pay order (MPO) related corruption in the education sector accounts for another Tk. 1, 11,000 crores. Hallmark and Destiny scandals together with fraudulent transactions of state owned banks added new dimension of corruption in Bangladesh. According to this investigation Sonali Bank scam involves over Tk. 5000 crores. Investigators found evidence of underhand dealings in the transfer of 70% shares of Warid Telecom to Airtel in early 2011. Using Airtel at the front most of this transferred shares were in fact vested in the name of a close relative of a senior political leader of the country. The deal also illegally waived Tk. 4 billion transfer fee and deprived the public exchequer of that bounty. (Amin 2014)

The investigators also discovered that a team of Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission (BTRC) officials have pocketed large kickbacks by allowing a number of Phone Companies to tamper records and evade taxes by showing lesser number of customers. But these are peanuts compared with the hepty kickbacks – estimated to be Tk. 60,000 crores that has changed hand while nominating three Interconnection Exchanges (ICX), 22 International Gateways (IGW) and a host of International Terrestrial Cable (ITC) by the BTRC. These deals needed prior commitment to and blessings from Senior Political leaders in power (Holiday, Sept. 14, 2012). VI.

Increasing Politicization of Public Bureaucracy:

Politicization of public bureaucracy and its effect on administrative performance is considered one of the major challenges of good governance. Politicization is used here in the sense of partisan interference of the political executive in the career practices of public servants. In 1996 ex secretary Mokha Alomgir and his followers took stands against BNP government and later he becomes the state minister of Awamilig government (Faisal, 2012). The pres-

ent government has created a record by making 505 officials Officer on Special Duty (OSD). These OSDs include three senior secretaries, 35 Additional Secretaries, 139 Joint Secretaries, 148 Deputy Secretaries, and 180 Assistant Secretaries. These constitute about 13% of the bureaucracy and they are workless now. Besides, about 32% of the civil officials have been superseded by their junior officers purely on political consideration. The honest, skilled, patriotic and qualified officers are being neglected so much under this government that the civil and development administration have lost all their dynamism. Contractual appointment and supersession of meritorious officers vitiated the entire civil service thereby creating a sense of frustration in the rank and file of the offices (Amin 2014). Then there was the Padma Bridge scandal followed by Hall mark, Destiny and ITCL (MLM scam) and Railway recruitment bribery unearthing the plundering network and exposing the government's attempts to scuttle investigation. Proper investigation of corruption conspiracy in the Padma Bridge project as desired by the World Bank has been forestalled time and again allegedly to shield the main suspects the former communication minister, the Pm's Finance Adviser and her close relatives (Holy Day, January 04, 2013).

Politicization of the Security Forces:

Politicization of security forces has started after the independent of Bangladesh when opposition leader Shiraz shikder abducted and killed by law enforcement agency. The father of the nation sheikh Mojibur Rahman killed by military officers with all family members except two daughters sheikh Hasina and sheikh Rehana, a lot of army officer and political leaders including president Ziaur rahman also killed by law enforcement agency. Amnesty International, US state Department, International Crisis Group and Bangladeshi local Human Rights Organization —Odhikerl in their recent reports (2014) critically deplored Awami League government's practice of politicizing the executive, judiciary and security agencies, critical to conducting elections and a rise in political violence. Odhikar in its report asserted that 330 people died Bangladesh in extrajudicial killings, officially termed —Crossfirel encounters, since 2009. Since 2010 abductions and disappearances have replaced crossfire deaths as the primary concern with 81 cases reported in the media in 2011 alone. The real number is believed to be higher. Both domestic and internation-

al human right organizations report that many of the extrajudicial killings are committed by the military police hybrid force, Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), which military officials say is the most politically influenced it has ever been. The police force whose leadership is creamed with party loyalists has fared no better; the Home Minister publicly rejected a law drafted by the caretaker government that would have created an independent national police commission and lessened government influence in the recruitment of high officials (Amin 2014).

Challenges in Judiciary Sector:

Politicization and corruption in judiciary one of the major challenges of good governance in Bangladesh. Despite the previous government's separation of judiciary in 2007 the Awami League government has returned to the old practice of rewarding and punishing judges based on their decisions. Political loyalties apparently led to the supersession of a senior appellate division judge for the post of Chief Justice; they also are believed to have influenced appointments of a substantial number of Assistant Attorney General and High Court Judges. According to Crisis Group report, An Awami League Leader, himself a lawyer, said, —most of these judges are not worthy of being law darksl. This partnership has resulted in over 7000 cases suspected of having been dismissed under political pressure; 22 Awami League members, sympathizers, or sons of ministers and leaders have been pardoned in political murder cases (The Daily Star, Feb 28, 2012).

Corruption remained a serious problem within the judiciary. Several reports by human rights groups and corruption watchdog groups indicated growing public dissatisfaction with the perceived politicization of the judiciary. In February 2016 a Daily Star investigative report revealed that former Chief Justice ABM Khairul Haque received a payment of Tk. 10,37000.000 (\$13,127) from the Prime Minister's Relief and Welfare Trust. According to the report Mr. Haque and several other judges from the High Court Division received the money shortly before a series of rulings that nullified several constitutional amendments, including the provision for caretaker government thereby setting up the passage of the 15th amendment by the Awami League-led parliament. The Ministry of Law and Parliamentary Affairs confirmed the amounts transferred. (Amin 2014)

Challenges in NGO and CBO's Sector:

There are some challenges in NGO and CBOs sector in Bangladesh. Accountability of NGOs still remains murky in spite of successive government's efforts to monitor their fund receipt and disbursement (Khan, 2003). The recent trend of some big NGOs to venture into commercial activities has raised many questions like their status as organizations, role of the poor in profit sharing etc. Direct involvement of some big NGOs in national politics supporting Awami League's nationwide strike and seize program during 2006-2008 has had a number of consequences. Contrary to this the crackdown of the government on Grameen Bank and its founder Nobel laureate Dr. Yunus has created unprecedented chaos and confusion home and abroad.

Role of donor community in a developing country like Bangladesh is significant as it continued to depend heavily on the form's aid and grants. However, international multilateral organizations and major donors have openly expressed their dissatisfaction about how the governance system works in this country (World Bank 1990, World Bank 2002, World Bank 2009-14, ADB 2013, 2014, JICA 2013, 2014). They have openly voiced concern about massive corruption and inefficiency in the public sector, deteriorating law and order situation etc. Their annoyance crossed all limits and the World Bank was compelled to stay back from financing Padma Bridge project on the allegation of corruption. (Amin 2014)

Accountability and Transparency:

Lack of accountability and transparency is considered to a major impediment to effective governance of Bangladesh. The two factors accountability and transparency combined together have made governance inefficient, ineffective and expensive. Though the political system is a Parliamentary one in theory, in reality it looks like a quasi Presidential system. It has been appropriately observed that incomplete adjustment was made while changing it from a Presidential to a Parliamentary system (World Bank 1996:51). With the introduction of the Parliamentary system the levels of control enjoyed previously by the President were simply transferred to the Prime Minister resulting in the transformation of the office of the Prime Minister as an extremely powerful one (Khan 2001).

Concentration of enormous power in the hands of the Prime Minister in particular and the executive branch in general has serious negative implication for accountability and transparency. The impact is evident everywhere. The chain of accountability in Public sector, stretching from the parliament to class four employees is weak and fuzzy; many of the links have been ruptured resulting in the inability to enforce financial contracts, stop theft in public enterprises or hold officials accountable for improper or delayed Judgments (World Bank 20011). Traditional internal mechanisms like hierarchy and supervision have mostly failed. It has been observed that failure of administrative accountability mechanisms have contributed to indifferent and arrogant attitudes that most bureaucrats hold towards citizens in general (Amin 2014).

Recommendations for Good Governance in Bangladesh:

By the above discussion, I have tried to focus on the challenges of good governance in Bangladesh. After this study I have some recommendations to overcome the challenges in order to promote good governance in Bangladesh. First, democracy and its proper practice is the precondition for good governance. Bangladesh is in the practice in democracy. But to attain the benefit of democracy it is essential to practice democracy in all organs of the state like institutions, political parties, NGOs, private sector etc. The institutions should be independent so that they can promote expected services to the public. Second, the accountability of the executive power is ensured by the parliament and in a democratic system, parliament is the key point to ensure good governance. In Bangladesh, the role of parliament is most important. The parliament exercises its power to control over the government. The ministers along with the prime minister are accountable to the parliament for their actions. This accountability ensures the transparency of the government Third, to ensure the better public service it is necessary to remove the red tape system of bureaucracy. Red tape is a major block to gain good governance. It reduces the efficiency of government officials. Fourth, Political interference in administration should be withdrawn immediately as it causes sufferings to the citizen to have easy access to services. It also causes corruption and destroys impartial administrative system. To recover the problem, the civil society can play prominent role to ensure proper management system of the public services. The organizations and the media are part of civil society and they have influence on public policy

as they can motivate peoples to support or to oppose a public decision. But it is a matter of great regret that the civil society in Bangladesh is divided for own interest. The neutrality of media is necessary to provide the peoples with the information. Fifth, most of the people are affected by the local government system, so strong local government system is necessary for Bangladesh. The control of the central government hampers the activities of the local organs. Resources distribution will be proper and justified and people will get opportunity to participate in decision making process. Sixth, good governance requires a first and easy accessible service system. E-governance is an important step for better and rapid service. Although for the poor economic condition of the country is a barrier to the E-governance, government should ask cooperation from development partners and organizations. Seventh, Political appointment should avoid from all kind of institutions. Political appointment destroys the independence of the institutions like the Human Rights Commissions, Anti-Corruption Commission, Law commission, Media and Press Commission. Institution can guide the society and the power of the state toward gaining good governance. For this, existing institutions should be strengthened by laws and regulations and should be more independent. Eighth, the private sector can play a more active role for friendly governance. Corporate bodies and business houses can set clear and enforceable policies against corruption. Business house management can emphasis on business ethics to ensure minimal standards of the organization. The positive environment in business and economy can attract foreign investment. Ninth, most of the problems of the country are derived from the population problem. Because of over population and limited resources, it is really difficult to provide citizens with their basic needs. So, the government should take necessary steps to control the growth rate. Tenth, finally a political commitment is necessary for good governance. The law is not enough to make all the concern authorities aware of the current situation. Political parties are the most powerful and they have the more opportunity to create awareness among the whole nation.

Conclusion:

Bangladesh is a newly independent country and obtained its freedom 46 years ago. The main aim of Bangladesh independence still remain a dream due to political instability, lack of proper plan, implementation, over population, wide-

spread terrorism, political crisis, bureaucratic corruption, economic recession, serious widespread poverty, and an increasing danger of environmental pollution. This time is not sufficient for better democratic system. In Bangladesh democracy as a system of governance is in fiasco and could not be institutionalized during the last four decades of its existence. Political system plays a vital role in shaping its destiny for good or bad. There are serious questions about their nature of leadership, sources and utilization of party fund and nomination of candidates for key elections. The practice of democratic ethos is thwarted by internal party politics and management. Leaders are selected by the supreme leader and heredity and kinship are the key determinates. Political and administrative corruption has become widespread everywhere in Bangladesh. Corruption is an inescapable fact of life in Bangladesh because the society is a highly complex network involving reciprocal favors and obligations, as a result, payoff is the life blood of the country. Politicization of security forces has started after the independent of Bangladesh and continuously it's going now. Politicization of public bureaucracy and its effect on administrative performance is considered one of the major challenges of good governance. Politicization and corruption in judiciary one of the major challenges of good governance in Bangladesh. Lack of accountability and transparency is considered to a major impediment to effective governance of Bangladesh.

Although in past some progress can be found like the areas of socio-economic development such as macroeconomic stability, growth in exports and in remittances, improvements in female's education, increase in enrolment in primary education, and reductions in infant and maternal mortality rate, controlling over the fundamental terrorism, improvement in women's empowerment and participation in economic activities etc. But the process is very slow.

In the circumstances, the hope of good governance needs struggle of all organs of the state including political parties, civil society, mass media, NGOs. Democracy and its proper practice are necessary and it should be institutionalized. To ensure the better public service it is necessary to remove the red tape system of bureaucracy. Political interference in administration should be withdrawn immediately. Most of the people are affected by the local government system, so strong local government system is necessary. E-governance is an important step for better and rapid service. Political appointment destroys the independence of the institutions so it should be avoid. Corporate bodies and business

houses can set clear and enforceable policies against corruption. The law is not enough to make all the concern authorities aware of the current situation, so political commitment is necessary for good governance. Awareness among the citizen is required as they should have strong demand for good governance. Bangladesh needs development in economy. The government should have fulfilled basic necessities of the people. All these initiatives will be supported and inspired if the initiative to promote good governance in Bangladesh.

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HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS REGARDING RIGHT TO INFORMATION, MEDIA AND HEALTH PERSPECTIVES IN KOSOVO AND EXPECTATIONS FROM TURKEY

Abu Saleh Md. Mahmudul HASAN

Introduction:

Relying on the data that published by the recognized organizations and following the focuses of some international reports it is clear that the human rights situations in Kosovo are not very much strong, particularly in access to information, media and health sector. It is known to all that Kosovo is a partially recognized state in Southeastern Europe that declared its independence from Serbia in February 2008 as the Republic of Kosovo with the youngest population in Europe and unemployment rate of more than 40% many challenges lie ahead of Kosovo. The World Bank (WB) Poverty Assessment Report indicates that 45% of the Kosovo's population lives below the poverty line with another 18% vulnerable to poverty. On the other hand, 15% of the population is extremely poor defined as individuals who have difficulty to meet their nutritional needs. Beside this Kosovo is a country of many possibilities. Where 97 percent are Muslim and 3 percent is Catholic. Also it is mentionable that from 1389 until 1912, Kosovo was officially governed by the Muslim Ottoman Empire and, as such, a high level of islamization occurred there. It is universal accepted theory that the right to health is a fundamental right of a human being. A state is said to be a perfect human rights oriented country when the health sector of that country is very much strong and sustainable as well as the peoples are satisfied over their health services.

But unfortunately the Kosovo is facing several problems in the health sector. An UNDP report focused that a patient has to bear the load and more pressure regarding contribution in the form of User fees, payment for drugs, and other services. Moreover, essential drugs are often not available in the family medicine centre or hospital pharmacies and patients have to purchase them in private pharmacies. No doubt to say that the freedom and significance of

media is recognized as a vital instrument for an accountable and sustainable country. But now it is true that several Human Rights agencies continuously mentioning as the major violation of human rights in Kosovo is a violation of rights regarding media and freedom of expression. Like an association of journalists in Kosovo claiming that they received officially 22 cases of threats' and physical assaults against journalists in 2014.

The right to information is an effective instrument and examined best way to ensure better democracy and accountability in the country particularly in every organs of the state. But the Kosovo is failed to show the better of it in their administrative and other organs of the country. As a result the Corruption took places in every branch of the government organizations. There are several reports which show that the Kosovo Anticorruption Agency and the Office of the Auditor General received a lot of reports of corruption in a year. On the basis of this perspective, Turkey has more to do to protect human rights elements in Kosovo. Because historically it is focused that Turkey continues to provide support to Kosovo in political, military, humanitarian and economic spheres. Like Safet Gerxhaliu, president of Kosovo Chamber of Commerce, addressed Turkey for its support for Kosovo stating: "It's a fact that Turkey should be more active in capital investment in Kosovo because the time has passed when Kosovans were in need of two liters of oil, sugar and flour."¹ Moreover, the statements of Turkey's President *Recep Tayyip Erdogan* addressed an audience in Prizren during an official visit to Kosovo in October 2013: "We all belong to a common history, common culture, common civilization. We are the people who are brethren of that structure. Do not forget, Turkey is Kosovo, Kosovo is Turkey!"⁻² This statement particularly demands the initiative and role from

1. Safet Gerxhaliu, president of Kosovo Chamber of Commerce, thanked Turkey for its support of Kosovo "before, during and after the war", but said that relations should now focus on serious economic development rather than traditional cultural ties.

He told Balkan Insight: "It's a fact that Turkey should be more active in capital investment in Kosovo because the time has passed when Kosovars were in need of two litres of oil, sugar and flour."

Gerxhaliu added that Kosovo must nurture its strong bonds with Turkey, which "economic experts believe will be among the top ten most developed countries in the world by 2024", he said. "We have to stop the family and emotional relations with Turkey because it's the time of economic pragmatism." Details at: <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/kosovo-turkey-historic-ties> (Accessed on 29 June, 2017)

2. Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan said, «We all belong to a common his-

Turkey regarding strengthening of Human Rights situation in Kosovo and to stand beside them for the development of their country. However this article presents several suggestions to Turkey which are expected by the people of Kosovo. As regards this article is divided into three parts of which contains again three focused points like Right to health, media and information contains their significance, present situation of Kosovo with concerned matter and particular suggestion for Turkey.

Right to Health and its significance:

The concept of right to health basically covers the economic, social and cultural right of an individual or a person which must maintain a universal minimum standard of health. Now a day the idea is developed that the term health means not only the absence of disease or infirmity but it refers to a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being. To ensure the right to health it must be secured that everyone is enjoying the ultimate attainable standard of health. The rights will cover the initiatives and social measures which are taken from and provided by the government, the equitable circulation of medical knowledge and its benefits and sufficient enough services to ensure adequate health particularly for physical, mental and social well-being.

It is known that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 is considered as the first international declaration of fundamental human rights. Article 25³ of this declaration said that “Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services.” In 1966 The United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights focused realization of the meaning of right to health which include: the healthy development of the child; the improvement of all aspects of

tory, common culture, common civilization; we are the people who are brethren of that structure. Do not forget, Turkey is Kosovo, Kosovo is Turkey!» He added that he «feels at home» when he visits Kosovo. Erdogan’s words caused a fury among Serbian politicians. Details at: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/10/erdogan-kosovo-turkey.html#ixzz4lNzlSmO1> (Accessed on 29 June, 2017)

3. UDHR-UN, 2016:07

environmental and industrial hygiene; the prevention, treatment and control of epidemic, endemic, occupational and other diseases; the creation of conditions which would assure to all medical service and medical attention in the event of sickness. To protect human rights particularly right to health and to be a right to health secured country it must be confirmed that the state maintain and follow all of its obligations to respect, to protect, and to fulfill the right to health according to the local and international law like restricting denial of access to health information; taking initiative to reduce environmental pollution; adjusting rules and regulations restricting coercive and/or harmful culturally-based medical practices; ensuring equitable access to social determinants of health; and providing proper guidelines for the accreditation of medical facilities, personnel, and equipment.

According to the fact sheet⁴ published by the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights the right to health contains some entitlements. These entitlements include: the right to a system of health protection providing equality of opportunity for everyone to enjoy the highest attainable level of health; the right to prevention, treatment and control of diseases; access to essential medicines; maternal, child and reproductive health; equal and timely access to basic health services; the provision of health-related education and information; participation of the population in health-related decision-making at the national and community levels. Moreover, by enacting several laws and regulations the Government of Kosovo also shows their commitment regarding the right to health like the Kosovo health law (Law no-2004/04) defines the health care and the health care service. Also it was confirmed in other laws also and took several plans. But now the question is that the Kosovo how much achieved to comply their target.

A short focus on the situation of health sector in Kosovo:

Observing the focuses of national and international surveys and reports, the situation is like that-

4. UN-OHCHR, 2008:03

High Cost- UNDP published 'Kosovo Human Development Report 2014' where they focused after observing the World Bank study on the matter that there is a lot of financial pressures on a patient like contributing by him in the form of user fees, payment for drugs, and other services. According to assessments of the WB, health related expenditures will further increase the level of poverty for 2 to 3 percent a year due to expenditures out of pocket.⁵ Moreover, essential drugs are often not available in the family medicine centre or hospital pharmacies and patients have to purchase them in private pharmacies. As a result, the cost of drugs represents 65 percent of private health expenditure. Also the reports find that many Kosovans travel to other countries for healthcare services, due to distrust and a lack of confidence in the existing health system.

Corruption: USAID and UNDP published an action paper⁶ on healthcare in Kosovo where it describes that corruption is still a big challenge in the health sector of Kosovo. In a report it was shown that to find out the level of experienced corruption within healthcare situations in Kosovo, participants were asked whether healthcare providers conditioned the performance of their services on the receipt of bribes, gifts or other favours. For this question, only 52 respondents or 4% of the sample answered affirmatively, indicating that they were solicited during their last visit. On the other hand, the majority (96%) did not report such situations. Moreover, Out of those who were asked for bribes, a majority (79%) paid the bribe, while only 21% refused to do so. Patients usually said that not paying a bribe would be dangerous for their health, so they choose to obey and pay in order to not risk their health.

Lack of family medicine specialists: There is a crying need of 1000 family medical specialists at Family Health Care Centers in Kosovo. But unfortunately there are approximately 500 family doctors providing primary health care services.⁷ Moreover, secondary health care is offered by regional hospitals in municipalities only such as Mitrovica, Peje, Gjakove, Prizren and Gjilan.⁸ For this reason it was shown that Patients coming from rural areas,

5. Forum, 2015

6. UNDP, 2013

7. Radio Evropa e Lire, 2013

8. GoK, 2014

approximately pay 50 to 200 Euros, to travel to their closest medical center, which still remains one of the most concerning problems of Kosovo health care system.

Regarding performance of Doctors: Public Pulse Report focused that the (16%) of respondents were mostly concerned of the matter that a number of doctors spent very short time with them and their involvement in decision-making was very low. Moreover, they complained about the number of doctors' strongest attribute they give to their patients.

Expectation from Turkey regarding health sector:

It is known that Turkey and Kosovo have excellent bilateral relations from a long time. Moreover, Turkey is playing important role stemming from shared history and brotherhood ties preserving the stability and territorial integrity of Kosovo and to establish constructive relations with its neighbors on the basis of friendship. Now the Kosovan Turks are more than about 50,000. Turkey supports Kosovo's development and its integration with Euro-Atlantic structures as well. The trade volume between Turkey and Kosovo was 206⁹, 5 million Euros in 2012. (Export to Kosovo 199, 5 million Euros, Import from Kosovo 7 million Euros). Education and health are basis of any healthy society. However regarding this concern, be a partner of development of Kosovo, Turkey has to take some advance initiatives and strengthen their policies and activities. Such as:

MOU, Agreement and YTB's role: Recently, the Ministry of Health of Kosovo has signed an agreement with British College, to train Kosovo graduated doctors in UK. It is a good decision and initiative. But considering and observing circumstantial facts it is clear that only this agreement is not enough. But it is mentionable that the inter-connection of graduated doctors is a good enterprise. The focusing point is that The Ministry of Health of the Republic of Kosovo has also signed a cooperation agreement with the Association of Kosovo Medical Health Management and Special Education Organization "Ozel Egitim Kurumlari Irem" from Turkey, for extensive cooperation in health sec-

9. The-american-times.com, 2015

tor. But it is limited only in a treatment processes. Like UK if Turkey takes initiative for MOU regarding inter-transfer of graduated doctors for trainings as well as to support medical education it will be more efficient and meaningful activities for Kosovo health sector. In this regard, the authority of 'Turkiye Burslari'¹⁰ and 'TIKA'¹¹ can play effective initiative and endeavor like providing scholarship for the students of Kosovo particularly in medical sector. It is known that under TIKA's project in education sector, every year around 100 students are given scholarship to study in Turkey. But special promptness is necessary regarding training of intern doctors, facility of medical education, opening the branch of medical department of Turkey's universities in Kosovo or making agreement of MOU between the universities of Kosovo and Turkey.

Hospital and Medical services: Turkey represents its contribution for Kosovo in the health sector through the International Medicine Hospital, the only hospital focused on cardiology, Bahçeci Hospital and the International Health Center but no doubt to say that the scopes and services of these institutions are really limited. Moreover there are some foreign hospitals also like American Hospital, German Eye Clinic but the situations of all are same. Considering the matter, Turkey has to - a) establish more branches of International Medicine Hospital (IMH) and others particularly in every mega city of Kosovo ensuring all the facilities of modern treatment with all necessary instruments in a way that the peoples are getting minimum level of sufficient health services near the door which will maintain quality and efficiency. b) Increase beds and strengthening services and facilities in the existing hospitals. C) Minimize the fees and costs of health services with ensuring available medicines.

Agreement for helping patients: Turkey has to make availability of facilities and services regarding the transfer of patients from Kosovo to Turkey in case of necessity and emergency. Also Turkey has to strengthen the existing

10. Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), Details at: <https://www.ytb.gov.tr/index.php#2> (Accessed on 29 June, 2017)

11. 'The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency Directorate has been operating since its establishment in 1992 and continues to realize projects on five continents, starting in those countries with which we have a shared culture and geography.' Dr. Serdar Çam, TIKA President. Details at: <http://www.tika.gov.tr/en> (Accessed on 29 June, 2017)

agreements commit on helping patients to being treated in Turkey by medical specialists, if those cases cannot be treated in Kosovo. There are several organizations which can serve these purposes like **MediGAL** an association of health managers in Kosovo.

TIKA and its role: It is recognized that TİKA (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency) be a partner of Kosovo's development playing a vital role through hundreds of projects (400+) in agriculture, health and education. But considering the present situation of Kosovo observing several reports and surveys it can be said that, for the purpose of reforming Kosovo's health sector and protecting the right to health TİKA has to deal all of its activities focusing and ensuring the real purpose of five words- funding, payment, legislation, organization and behavior.

Right to freedom of expression and significance of media:

It is established that the communication and share of opinions and ideas without any fear and obstacle, right to speech or freedom of expression is one of fundamental rights of a human being. The press or media is a basic mode and way to actualize the right to freedom of speech or expression. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights' 1948 states: *"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference, and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers"* ¹² Now a day media acts not only a mode of expression but it is a vital instrument and measure to develop a nation and a country. In the age of globalization, media plays a vital role for the development and advancement. Thus, if there is no strong media and availability of presses there is a lack of lot of things. It is known that media plays vital role regarding protection of human rights over the world by making peoples aware of their rights, focusing attention on people and as a way of communication between the state and public. It is called that media is a mirror of a country. As a mode of communication media is a ladder for the development. In the words of Wilbur Lang Schramm, it can be said that 'Media plays role by making one part of a country aware of other parts, their people, arts, customs, and politics; 12. UDHR-UN, 2016:05

by permitting the national leaders to talk to the people, and people to the leaders and to each other; by making possible a nation-wide dialogue on national policy; by keeping the national goals and national accomplishments always before the public etc. Also James Wolfensohn¹³, a former president of World Bank said `A free press is not a luxury. A free press is at the absolute core of equitable development, because if you cannot enfranchise poor people, if they do not have a right to expression, if there is no searchlight on corruption and inequitable practices, you cannot build up the public consensus needed to bring about change.

To influence a nation for their development there is no alternative without a strong media. It is examined that media is an easy and vital instrument to be partner of development of a country. Thus a strong and free media can make an environment where the corruption levels are very much low as well as a plural media improves government responsiveness. An independent media improves the efficiency of the economy, catalyzes positive changes in the society. A media is said to be an independent when it is free of influence and interference from any bodies. The Kosovo is a country who protects freedom of expression or media by their constitutional law. They are committed to ensure the freedom of press as their Criminal Code covers the regulations regarding it. For example, censorship is forbidden by law except in the cases of provocation of violence and discrimination.

Existing Situation of media sector in Kosovo:

- The number of daily newspapers is considerably smaller than the total number of broadcasters. Currently, the number of licensed broadcasters in Kosovo is 167, with 21 TV stations, 83 radio stations, 14 cable operators and 49 program service providers that operate through cable service operators.¹⁴ Observing the reports regarding the media sector of Kosovo it can be said easily that the situation is not in a satisfactory level.

13. Theguardian.com, 2016

14. OSCEMK, 2014

- In Kosovo, The public service broadcaster is Radio Television of Kosovo (RTK), which is regulated by the Law on Public Broadcasting. As Independent Media Commission of Kosovo mentioned that Radio Television of Kosovo (RTK) coverage only reaches 62.7% of Kosovo's territory, other 33.3% has no coverage of RTK.¹⁵
- There is no common or special funding for media from the government. In the analysis of advertising market by Independent Media Commission of Kosovo it was found that 44% of the budget of public companies goes for advertisements in national televisions, 10% in local televisions, 8% in national radios, 9% in local radios, 11% for daily newspapers and 18% for other media.
- Only on the cause of financial crisis, some of media was bound to be closed, particularly two national daily newspapers closed in 2012.
- The financial difficulties in the sector of media directly affect the professionalism of journalists particularly in their salaries and remunerations. Both in public and private sector media are struggling with competition. For the cause of low wages and lack of job security it is shown that the most people shifting to different sectors, often unrelated to the work of journalists.

Violation of rights, attacks, threats and interference on media:

Human Rights Watch published their world report 2016¹⁶, where they focused the view of Kosovo as Journalists continued to face threats and intimidation in 2015, and investigations and prosecutions are slow. At least one investigative journalist was forced to temporarily leave Kosovo in 2015 because of death threats. Moreover, the Association of Professional Journalists of Kosovo registered 22 complaints of threats and intimidation, including four death threats, mainly issued via social media, including Facebook. There are reports that journalists have been threatened, intimidated, pressured and in some cases

15. Wikipedia, 2016

16. HRW, 2016

physically attacked. The judiciary has so far been slow in handling such cases. According to the Association of Professional Journalists of Kosovo (AJK), a journalist association claimed that many journalists complained media owners and managers prevented them from publishing or broadcasting stories critical of the government corruption, political parties, or particular officials due to the owners' preferences for, or connections. Even journalists claimed pressure from politicians and organized criminal groups frequently resulted in self-censorship. Some journalists refrained from critical investigative reporting due to fear for their physical or job security. Journalists occasionally received offers of financial benefits in exchange for positive reporting or for abandoning an investigation.¹⁷

Recommendation to and expectation from Turkey:

Turkey continues to provide support to Kosovo in political, military, humanitarian and economic spheres. Recently, high level visits taking place between the two countries have provided momentum to bilateral relations. On the other hand, contacts between Turkey and Kosovo amongst businessmen, universities, municipalities, governors and non-governmental organizations are continuing with an increasing pace. There are various Turkish investments in Kosovo in infrastructure, insurance, banking, economy and health.

- *Establishing Media Platform in Kosovo:* To create a wide Media Corporation and platform containing Television, Radio, Newspaper, Online News agency and informative journals. In regards, making agreement with the authority. May it can be done with the collaboration of any public or private company of Kosovo. In every sector this corporation or company will represent and as such it can play a vital role in the media sector.
- *Availability and full broadcasting:* Taking effort to capture all of the land of Kosovo under the broadcasting of television or radio as well as newspaper. May it can be done by making agreement with the

17. CRHRP, 2014

Government or other companies. In this regard TRT can play a mentionable role in media sector of Kosovo. That means all the channels of TRT can be broadcasted to all regions of Kosovo including every villages.

- *Funding and support:* Under the TIKA project or other funds Turkey can support the Independent Media Commission (IMC) of Kosovo regarding development of their media sector. Beside this the public media sector also can be supported by Turkey. May it can be done under the several project running in Kosovo or with collaboration of companies and institutions directed by Turks and Turkish support.
- *Advertisement facilities:* To strengthen the financial site of media sector of Kosovo, the stakeholders of Turkey or the business institutions can play role by providing advertisement support.
- *Individual branch and forming civil society:* To strengthen the media coverage the group of Turkey's media can open separate branch for Kosovo like TRT or others. Also it is very important that the physical and vital support should be ensured to create a platform of civil society. By this, the media sector will see the bright focuses of lights. It is dynamism of cultural relation and strong advancement against corruption from all aspects.
- *Inter-relation between press councils-* Professional collaboration and strong relation is very much necessary between the press council and organizations of Turkey and The Association of Professional Journalists of Kosovo (APIK).
- *Voice and role regarding attacks and threats against journalists:* Turkey as a role playing country of Kosovo can raise its strong voice against any violation regarding freedom of expression and media.
- *Taking initiative for effective judicial support regarding any violation of right to media:* Turkey can take initiative making collaboration and communication within its limitation with The **United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)** and its con-

cerning part Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).

Right to Information and its importance:

In today's world the right to information is a burnt issue in the media as it is the key to all other rights. The right to information or the concept of freedom of information is founded in international human rights law and it has been incorporated in the constitution of the countries. No doubt to say that the right to information is the pre requisite or pre condition of good governance and sustainable development. Basically the right to information is the mother of all rights as it is among the most important instruments to effectively empower those to whom power should belong in democracy – the people. The United Nations has called it the touchstone of all the freedoms to which UN is consecrated. The right to information is an effective instrument to ensure better democracy and accountability in the organs of the state. As regards almost 85 countries of the world have adopted some form of Right to Information legislation and some other countries are in progress regarding the adoption of the legislation.¹⁸ The right to information is considered as a tool for securing democracy, ensuring tighter accountability and power resource as equal to other natural resources. It has played significant role for the overall development of the societies since ancient time. And the concept of this right gradually developed. Actually it is an exclusive weapon and a great opportunity to fight against corruption and promote good governess which are the key to development and prosperity.

The term 'Right to information', 'freedom of information', 'right to know' are refers to the synonymous concept. Buisnessdictionary.com provides the simplest definition of this right- "Right of a citizen to be informed in writing if a governmental agency holds certain information and to request its disclosure. If refused, he or she can demand to be given the cause of refusal in writing". Resolution 59 (1) which was adopted in the first session of United Nations' General Assembly defines freedom of information in general term as follows- "Freedom of information implies the right to gather, transmit and publish news anywhere and everywhere without fetters. As such it is an essential factor in

18. Murad and Hoque, 2010: 75

any serious effort to promote the peace and progress of the world.”¹⁹ Generally the term right scopes— to seek and obtain certified copies of records and documents; to seek and obtain compiled information; to seek and obtain samples of materials; to inspect records and documents and take notes; to seek information or copies of records maintained electronically or any other retrievable format. And the term ‘Information’ includes contents of records such as – Files, notes, memos, maps, budgets, financial statements, balance sheets, statistical data, agendas, meeting minutes, ledgers, registers, muster rolls, drawings, photographs, CDs, models, emails, audio-visual tapes, scale models, microfilm, microfiche, reports, diaries, file noting, manuscripts etc.

But it is also established that the right to information balancing with the right to privacy and state security has to maintain some of its exceptions; that means some of elements are out of the right to information like- Records relating to sovereignty, integrity, security, safety, scientific or economic interest of the State and its relation to other states; Cabinet papers, notes from meetings of Ministers and Secretaries; Commercial and trade secrets that might affect competitiveness of firms (public and private); Information that may lead to commission of offence or harm public order; Information that may harm investigation of crimes or the prosecution process or if disclosure is forbidden by a court; Personal or private information of individuals that has no bearing on public interest Good Practice – Partial Disclosure in the Provide access to non-exempt portions of records.

Commitment of Kosovo:

The Kosovo is also more committed regarding the right to information. Under the organization of the Office of Public Communication of the Office of the Prime Minister of Kosovo, with the support of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo, there was in Pristina a Regional Conference under the title of Freedom of Information - Practice Development in the Western Balkans region. At the opening of the conference, Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo, Edita Tahiri, after congratulating the organizers for the idea of holding this conference on freedom of information, said: “All Kosovo institutions are working in a systematic way in order to have the possibility of standard access to public

19. UN, 2016

documents, to achieve the appropriate level. The data include not only the democratic approach in this process, but also the classification of documents, facilitation for both citizens and media, what is allowed by law, to be public, would be public immediately on their websites and for this we are working in all sectors. And, at the meantime classification of the documents is in the process, in order to really be able within a short time of period to complete the framework named standard for law enforcement access to public documents”²⁰

The situation of Kosovo regarding the right to information:

Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2014²¹ adopted by United States Department of State expresses the situation of Public Access to Information in Kosovo where the situation is focused as the civil society organizations of Kosovo feel very much limitation regarding exercising of right to information, particularly they get very low chance to exercise this right, because of the government institutions rarely provide information or acknowledge requested documents. The personnel of those institutions basically take the facility of lack of penalties as an impediment to the law’s effectiveness. Sometimes they deny the request of information only on the cause of privacy and state security while sometimes it was shown that that cause is actually not true. But originally they hide it for their own stack. Consequently, the scope of corruption and immorality are increased. It is mentionable that the law provides for public access to government information as well as penalties for institutions and officials that do not provide the required access. Such as according to the report, the **GAP Institute**, a think tank, publicly criticized the Ministry of Infrastructure for providing only limited access to the contract for construction of the Pristina Elez Han highway, including a failure to provide translations into the country’s official languages.

Lack of access to information results corruption in several branch of the government organizations. As per law, inside the government the Kosovo Anti-corruption Agency and the Office of the Auditor General shared responsibility for combating government corruption. According to a report, in a month the agency received 130 reports of corruption. Of those it reviewed, it referred 60

20. Kryeministri-ks.net, 2016

21. CRHRP, 2014

cases for prosecution, forwarded 12 to police, and closed 51 for lack of evidence. Nineteen news editors and journalists of the several media sector like television, radio, and newspaper were interviewed by Lindita Camaj, a Ph.D. candidate at Indiana University School of Journalism for her research purpose where the journalists are questioned like “How hard is to access information in Kosovo? How comfortable do you feel contacting governmental officials to ask for information? How likely are you to obtain the information you need? What are some of typical ways in which governmental officials/institutions deal with journalists’ requests for information?”²² After that the summary of the answers and replies are focused that, in a particular matter often the request of information is denied, or avoided showing small or nothing causes like the person responsible is on vacation. But in several time the government or requested authority show the cause of Law on Access to Official Documents, NO. 2003/12 while the actuality is not related with that law. To avoid the accountability to the people sometime they conceal the matter of weakness like the question of corruption showing like these causes and avoid the right to information. Moreover, access to information within Kosovo government is very centralized, making it hard for journalists to operate in the political environment. In a survey it was shown that after submitting about 61 document requests, related to the story ideas they were pursuing, to 27 governmental institutions. More than 68% of the journalists’ requests did not receive a reply; about 16% requests were replied inappropriately, while only about 14% of the journalists’ were granted access to the requested information.

How Turkey can be a partner of Kosovo regarding right to information:

The government of Kosovo took a wide program in the name of ‘PROGRAM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOSOVO 2015-2018’²³ where they mentioned their target as the democratic governance seeks to strengthen the relationship between citizens and Government; therefore, the Government of Kosovo will provide mechanisms to provide information to citizens, so they can be ensured that their interests are adequately represented.

22. Camaj Lindita, 2016

23. Kryeministri-ks.net, 2015

The use of information technology will take an important place in this entire process. However, as per that situation Turkey has something to do like-

Cooperation and exchange of experiences: to strengthen the support to the right to information the need for cooperation and exchange of experiences of turkey and Kosovo is necessary in order to advance the realization of the right to freedom of information.

Special forum of representatives: to establish a special forum of representatives that deal with freedom of public information between the countries, with the aim of exchanging experiences and promoting the implementation of the right of access to public information

Arrangement of regional conferences: to continue the cooperation in the field of freedom of public information Turkey can arrange the regional conferences between two countries like to seek possibilities that the regional Conference on freedom of public information be arranged annually.

Support to ensure the commitment: Continuing support regarding consideration that the right to information of public is a fundamental human right, the government is committed to its full implementation.

Civil society and role of ombudsman: Turkey should play role by strong communication of brotherhood between civil society and support to the role of ombudsman.

Be a partner of new anti-corruption strategy: Turkey can be a partner of new anti-corruption strategy enumerated by the government of Kosovo as Program of the Government of the republic of Kosovo 2015-2018.

Conclusion:

In a sentence it can be said that, on the basis of current relation between Turkey and Kosovo and observing present perspective of Kosovo it is the demand of time that Turkey will stand beside them contributing in their development and protecting human rights elements. As regards, particularly concerning the

matter of Right to health, Freedom of expression and Right to information the above recommendations are to be followed.

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Chapter Two

Migration Policy Assessment

TOWARDS THE COMMON CHALLENGES OF MIGRATION IN TURKEY: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Sabbir HASAN

Introduction:

Turkey becoming recognizable as the country of immigration and irregular transit day by day. From the image of the migrant-sending country, Turkey is complemented its image to migrant receiving country. From the earlier decades, a migrant evolution has taken place in Turkey where migration included the irregular migrant workers, transit migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, academicians, professionals, retirees etc. Thus Turkey's role as an irregular transit country has changed into permanent migration. The issue migration itself becomes a challenge for Turkey in the terms of negotiation of membership in the European Union. Often the concept of migration plays the role of by-products and influences the concept of democracy of Turkey that are intended to bring closer to European Union standards (Behar, 2006; Coleman, 2004; Erzan et al., 2006; ICT, 2004; TFHPE, 2004). Added to this concept, often debate arises on the issue that the increasing number of irregular migrants transiting through Turkey to the European Union establish a common conception that the migratory flows between the European Union's and Turkish boundary are remaining uncontrolled (Jandl, 2007; Zielonka, 2002; Salt, 2000). Furthermore, a countless number of politicians mention about the "invasion" of Turkey migrants while publicly debating on the European Union membership of Turkey (Lagro, 2008). However from the view of the protagonist of Turkey's membership in the European Union suggests that Turkey's membership would lessen the demographic stresses over the labor market by increasing the number of workers in the union (Behar, 2006; Constantinos, 2004; Muenz, 2006). Thus the migration issue becomes a growing challenge through public, academic and policy debate for Turkey in the framework of its potential European Union membership for the distinctive influences over the social, economic, demographic

format and political procedures of the European Union.

Purpose of the Study:

In between 1960 and 1970 Turkey was the sending country of migration to cover the labor unavailability of European Union including Germany. In the 1990 unemployment and poverty in the European Union regions led to people find for other countries to look for job opportunities. Subsequently, Turkey becomes one of the main attraction with informal employment prospects. Though due to the geographical limitation of regulation and act of migration led people to use Turkey as passing corridor for resettlement in any other third country of European Union. Thus the physical control over the transit border between Turkey and the European Union becomes a sensitive issue for bargaining over European Union Membership. Though there are studies showing different aspects of migration as a challenge in Turkey, those studies are showing lacking a complete picture of the issue. This study has tried to take the effort of upholding a comprehensive image of the context and issue.

Methodology:

This review is not systematic though the outcomes intended to interpret with the harmonization of the context of the study along with the view to the limitation of the review method. Hence, literature has included in the review are not comprehensive and represents only one unique aspect as challenges of migration between the European Union and Turkey. Thus, included literature shows the gap of existing literature with the necessity of upholding a total picture of the related context of the study. Included literature are issued from 2000 and forwards. The review was accomplished in a systematic way using the electronic database of social science to find the related literature. From the identified literature 10 articles were chosen for further review centered on the content and the context of the related study.

Review of Literature:

According to the *İçduygu* (2011), migration is not anymore mere depiction of an existing reality. Rather than it becomes a negotiating instrument for Turkey while bargaining for the membership in the European Union. Migration is also manipulating the relationship between the European Union and Turkey, particularly the negotiations of Turkey's European Union membership. Over the decades Turkey is becoming the country of immigration from the country of emigration. To overcome the challenge of migration Turkey government adopted the Action Plan on Asylum and Migration (2005) that plans out the necessary responsibilities related to the development of a common asylum and migration management structure. Conversely, the ambiguity of European Union membership of Turkey dispirits administrators from recommending the government to implement those action plan precipitately. The changing status of Turkey as immigration country from emigration country accompanied by the effort to earn the membership in the European Union create pressure for the renovation of asylum and immigration guidelines and practices (*İçduygu and Kirişçi, 2009; Abadan-Unat, 2002*). Since the end of 1970 transit migrants, migrant as workers, asylum seekers, refugees, professionals, retirees started to migrate in Turkey in large number due to the similar geographical contiguity, arising security and political disputes in neighborhood countries and also the cultural similarity in term of closeness to language or religion becoming the key reasons for migration in Turkey. Also, recently people are migrating in Turkey for academic or employment purposes along with their families with the required work and residence permits (*İçduygu and Yüksek, 2011*).

The study of *Kirişçi* (2002) explores that, migration becomes the negotiation tool for the European Union membership between Turkey and the European Union due to the external borders of the European Union. The physical control over the borders, administration, and regulation of the transits through the borders battling illegal migration and moreover constituting a general asylum policy etc. issues becomes very significant to both European Union and Turkey. Particularly for Asia and Africa the economically and politically insecure regions, Turkey has arisen as a central corridor to migrate illegally in countries of European Union for a better life. In this context, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Ministry of the Interior followed the joint

procedure to provide refugee status to a few number of asylum seekers who are looking for final resettlement to a third country. This situation shows that eventually asylum seekers settled in Turkey illegally but left Turkey legally for resettlement in another country that defined the situation as legalized transit.

Another challenges of migration of Turkey shows that, for economic development Turkey expected that migrant workers left Turkey for different countries of European Union would return from the European Union to add new work skill while in reality those migrant workers got settled with their families or formed new family for the long term period without any thought of return. Despite having the pessimistic view, some policy maker explains the issue in such way that the young migrant workers of Turkey influencing the labor market of European Union that is already started to suffering from decreasing number of working age population and increasing number of elder population. Thus, Turkey becoming the partial medication to the labor market prerequisites of European Union while losing its skilled and proficient manpower to the European Union. Also, within the next two or three decades it's been estimated that in Turkey the working age population would be decreased and elderly population would be increased in number and that would make the unfeasibility of exporting manpower from Turkey to European Union (Hacıoğlu et. al., 2004). As the Syrian encounter and philanthropic crisis are continuing, the number of Syrian refugees extended almost 2.6 million according to the Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management. Though earlier the refugee camps of Turkey was anticipated for resolving the short-term problem of war. With the continuity of the Syrian war, the number of Syrian asylum seeker is increasing day by day. This number of people are not staying as a temporary guest rather than as permanent refugees in Turkey. Though till now Syrian refugees in Turkey do not have any legal status and subsequently in dark with their future prospects. According to the Temporary Protection Regulation, Syrian refugees has given the status of Temporary Protection Status that grants them the entrance to education, health, legal aids and social, however, does not grant any kind of rights of citizenship. According to Tolay (2012), the cost of change works as a challenge of migration in Turkey. Turkey needs to constitute a policy that would accept migrants or that would control transit of migrants through the borders. To investment in the area of migration, Turkey needs an

extensive financial support from the European Union.

Tolay (2012) also explores that to negotiate the membership in the European Union, Turkey reforms its regulations and acts on migration. However, in the access to the negotiations, Turkey has very less to bargain as an example the scheduling of reforms while the decisive content of the regulation reforms is already being prefixed by the European Union. To not threaten the EU membership, Turkey is condemned for accepting the pre-conditions set by the European Union. On the other hand, European Union actors often criticize the Turkey officials for not being politer to the asylum seeker along with not being enough harsher on the temporary migrant peoples, while in real the difference between the concepts of asylum seeker and irregular migrant is still ambiguous. Besides these, the reformed policies suggesting or pre-determined by the European Union are entreated by “cool-bloodedness and materialism” instead of “empathy and emotionalism” with the vision to shift the burden of migration over Turkey. The study of Kirişçi (2012) explores that, the Asylum policy of Turkey still conserves the geographical limitation that grants the refugee status to asylum seekers coming from Europe countries only. However, the policy grants temporary protection to the asylum seekers coming from outside Europe. The first tier of the asylum policy includes an offer of full-fledged refugee status along with the option of integration only to the person from Europe. Due to the policy asylum seekers are intended to resettling in any third country out of Turkey. Thus European Union’s one of the central demand becomes lifting the geographical limitations. On the other hand, the second tier of the policy deals with the migrants from outside Europe. The government of Turkey allowed United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to identify migrants as refugees if they have the intention to resettle in any third country out of Turkey. The policy being judged as discouragement of the rights of refugees along with asylum seekers by refuting their access to proper asylum measures also worsening the situations by not providing required abundant safety. To improve the two-tier policy United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees performing to identify asylum seekers and refugees on behalf of Turkey. Though Ministry of Interior working on the same, they are still depending more or less on the judgment and decision of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The random disputes are commonly solved by informal

sessions. Such as close collaboration and training seminar make United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees enable to attain access to the irregular migrant group of people. According to the study officials of Turkey is fully responsive about becoming the dumping zone of European Union's undesirable refugees and asylum seekers.

According to the study of Toksoz and Ulutaş (2012), migrant workers are given working permit only when domestic workers are unavailable. However, migrant workers get employed in labor demanding and minimum wage paid sectors. This employment does not provide any social benefits and protection along with more working hours in comparison to domestic workers. Also, women migrant workers get employed in domestic care services in Turkey with the intention of paying low wages. With the fear of being deported those laborers facing stress while working within the unfavorable condition. Not only the unfavorable working condition but also the absence of health insurance facility makes the laborers vulnerable. Yet in this situation the laborer has employed to work professionally, workers take the work as their natural responsibility with the mutual benefits of both parties. Irregular migrant workers being exposed in socially unprotected status while working in uncomplimentary conditions such as longer working hour and minimum wages.

The study of Erder and Kaşka (2012) shows the evidence that, due to the liberal border policy of Turkey migrants are entering the border without any difficulty though, the restraining policy of providing residence and working permit put the migrants facing difficulties to settle or accessing in the labor market. Thus, irregular migrant workers get employed in informal labor market under the condition of longer working hour and cheap wages. Irregular migrants includes transit migrants as in refugees and asylum seekers and also the circular migrants. The legal framework allows working permit to migrants who are highly qualified when domestic workers are not available. Circular migrants hold better position in the labor market than irregular migrants. While irregular migrants fill the gap of cheap labor and less skilled domestic laborers.

A study by Pusch (2012), has found that as a migration sending, migration receiving and irregular transit country Turkey becomes much more diverse to migratory flows. In this migration activities Istanbul becomes the center point

at the frontline of the European Union border. According to Sassen (2001), global city works as commanding points, prime sites for economy, location for innovative production and markets for products. Since the negotiation of the European Union membership of Turkey, a huge number of foreign direct investment set up in Istanbul rather than being diversified in other parts of Turkey. Thus, the concentration of regular migrants, irregular transit migrants, irregular migrant workers and refugees become dense in Istanbul. Though resettlement in any other country through Turkey makes people take transit in Istanbul, situation makes them stay there for a longer period than they have initially planned. Being at the border of the European Union, Istanbul becomes attractive to the transit migrants though absence of strong legislative framework put them into vulnerable condition to survive. The study of Schaub (2013) criticized the fact that, the Asia and Africa migrants use Istanbul as waiting room to transit the Evros border to migrate in Greece. To get migrate in another country Istanbul serves as hotspot to asylum seeker and refugees. While crossing the border migrants often taken to the detention center either by the Turkish authorities or by the Greek police. During passing the river border migrants suffered from drowning or hypothermia due to overloading or confiscation of warm clothes. Those migrants apparently suffer from absence of legal protections. Though Turkey offer legal protections only to European asylum seekers and refugees according to the geographical limitation. Also, the right of having legal support of migrants in the detention center being denied by the lawyers with the ground that asylum seeker and refugees are not stated as criminals as per law of Turkey. The rejection of legal backing put the lives of migrants into dangers if they are being deported.

Concluding Remarks:

Migration becomes challenges for Turkey while being used as illegally as a passing corridor to resettle in European Union member countries, along with changing the status from emigration country to immigration and transit country. Turkey needs to constitute its own asylum and refugee policies and practices for the best administration of migration and asylum that could show its solemnity to meeting the standard of European Union in terms of asylum and

refugees for negotiation of the European Union membership. Having a more methodical and instruction based policy for migration to ease the way of reforming regulations and acts could lead Turkey to the way to use the policies confidently that would sustain the policies and mandates of European Union towards migration. The adoption of the draft law on migration needs to be functioning as social on Turkey with harmonization to the European Union. The draft law would lead the way to meet the requirements pre-determined by the European Union to lift the geographical limitation. The operation of the law would balance the situation of between the European Union and Turkey. Though the fate of lifting geographical limitations would be relying on the visions of European Union membership of Turkey.

To meet the increasing need of migrant workers in the domestic care services government should take steps to legalize migrant laborers to mitigate the unfavorable condition. With the understanding that the demand for migrant workers would remain not only in the domestic care services but also in various sectors such as tourism, the absence of legalization of that migrant worker would put Turkey under risky conditions. The demand of cheap and skilled labor creates the necessity of migrant workers. Hence, liberal border policy of Turkey make the access of migrants easier while restrictive working condition and legal framework put irregular migrants facing difficulties working under hostile situations. Lack of sufficient legislative framework to provide access in labor market or settle in Turkey, migrants mostly using Istanbul as well as Turkey as passing corridor facing humanitarian crisis and also putting their lives in danger. To earn the European Union membership and also to response the increasing demand of skilled labor and humanitarian crisis as challenges of migration Turkey needs to put more emphasis in legislative framework protecting the rights of migrants with the view to transform the challenges into opportunities.

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YASADIŐI GÖÇ: TÜRKİYE'YE GELEN BANGLADEŐ'LİLERİN ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİLERİNİN BİR ANALİZİ

Rahmat ULLAH

Giriő:

Türkiye, Asya ile Avrupa'yı birbirine bağlayan stratejik öneme sahip olan bir ülkedir. Türkiye aynı zamanda Akdeniz çevresindeki Afrika ülkeler ve Avrupa arasında bir köprü gibidir. O yüzden Avrupa'ya göç etmek isteyen Afrikalı ve Asyalı göçmenler için Türkiye önemli bir ülke haline gelmiştir. Yoksulluk, işsizlik ve daha fazla maddi kazanç elde etmek için Asya ve Afrika'dan son yıllarda binlerce yasadışı göçmenler Türkiye üzerinden Avrupa'ya gitmeye çalışıyorlar. Yasadışı bu göç hareketinin arkasında ulusal ve uluslararası çeşitli insan kaçakçıları da önemli rol oynamaktadır. Türkiye'yi transit olarak kullanan bu göçmenlerden bazıları Türk polisi, Sahil Güvenlik ve diğer güvenlik güçleri tarafından yakalanılıyorlar. Yakalanan ve uluslararası korumadan faydalanmak isteyen yasadışı bu göçmenler ikincil koruma statüsünde Türkiye'de ikamet ediyorlar. Son yıllarda Türkiye'de yasadışı göçmen olarak yakalanan ve uluslararası koruma kapsamında Türkiye'de ikincil koruma statüsünde ikamet etmekte olan göçmenlerin bir kısmının Bangladeőli olduđu görölmektedir. Onlar daha fazla maddi kazanç ve güvenli bir iş için insan kaçakçılarına para verip ya da onların tuzaklarına düşüp Avrupa'ya gitmek üzere yola çıkmış ve Türkiye'de yakalanmışlardır. Bu çalışmada uluslararası koruma kapsamında Türkiye'de ikincil koruma statüsünde ikamet etmekte olan Bangladeő'lilerin Türkiye'ye yasadışı girişin nedenleri, şekilleri, yaşamış oldukları tecrübeleri incelenmiştir. Aynı zamanda bu süreçte onların üzerindeki sosyal, ekonomik, kültürel ve psikolojik etkileri de araştırılmıştır.

Göç ve Yasadışı Göç:

Sosyal, siyasal, ekonomik, kültürel, dini, ırki ve başka her hangi sebeplerden dolayı bireylerin coğrafi olarak bulunduğu yerden ayrılarak başka bir yere gitmesini göç olarak tanımlanabilir. Göç, genel olarak, iç göç (ülke içi) ve dış göç (ülkeler arası) şeklinde meydana gelir (Çelik, 2007: 88). Bu çalışmada

göç kelimesini bireylerin kendi ülkesinden başka bir ülkeye gitmesi anlamında kullanılacaktır. Bireyleri herhangi bir sebepten dolayı kendi ülkesinden başka bir ülkeye yasal ya da yasa dışı yoluyla göç eder. Herhangi bir amaçla gittikleri ülkenin yasalarına uygun bir şekilde ülkeye giriş yapmış ve yine bulunuş amaçlarına uygun olarak gerekli izinleri aldıktan sonra ikamet eden kişiler yasal göç kapsamında değerlendirilmektedir. Yasa dışı göçte ise, giriş yapılan ülkenin yasal giriş ve çıkış için gerekli olan şartlarına uyulmayarak sınırın geçilmesi veya ülkeye yasal yollardan girildikten sonra izin alınmaksızın ikamet edilmesi söz konusudur (Akçadağ, 2012: 3-4). Türkiye'nin 6458 sayılı yabancılar ve uluslararası koruma kanununun 3. maddesinin 1 bendi kapsamında 'göç' kavramını tanımlanırken 'yasal göçü' 'düzenli göç' olarak ve 'yasa dışı göçü' 'düzensiz göç' olarak tanımlandı. 6458 sayılı kanunda yasal ve yasadışı göçü şu şekilde tanımlanmıştır "Yabancıların, yasal yollarla Türkiye'ye girişini, Türkiye'de kalışını ve Türkiye'den çıkışını ifade eden düzenli göç ile yabancıların yasa dışı yollarla Türkiye'ye girişini, Türkiye'de kalışını, Türkiye'den çıkışını ve Türkiye'de izinsiz çalışmasını ifade eden düzensiz göçü ve uluslararası korumayı, ifade eder" (YUKK, 2014: 2). Üçüncü bir ülkeye geçerken bir ülkeye yasa dışı yoluyla girmesi, ya da gerekli belgeleri olmadan bir ülkede kalması ya da çalışmasını düzensiz göç anlamına gelir.

Bangladeş'ten Türkiye'ye Yasadışı Göç:

İkinci dünya savaşından maruz kalmış ve yoksulluk, işsizlik ve diğer nedenlerden dolayı az gelişmiş ya da fakır ülkelerden gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkelere göç hareketi yönlenmiştir. Sonraki dönemlerde de savaşlar, etnik çatışmalar gibi nedenlerden dolayı bu göç hareketini gittikçe arttırmıştır. Avrupa ve Asya kıtasının arasında köprü olarak yer alan; uzun kara ve deniz sınırlarına sahip olan ve çok sayıda da sınır komşusunun bulunduğu (GİGM, 2016: 63) Türkiye hem düzenli hem de düzensiz göç hareketinin önemli bir parçasıdır. 1980'li yıllardan itibaren Suriye, Afganistan, Pakistan, Filistin ve Myanmar gibi ülkelerde yaşanan siyasi istikrarsızlıklar, baskıcı yönetim şekilleri, etnik çatışmalar, iç savaşlar ve insan hakları ihlalleri gibi durumların artışıyla (GİGM, 2016: 63) Türkiye'ye düzensiz göç artarak devam etmektedir ve göç eden insanların amaçları ve nedenleri farklıdır. Türk makamları tarafından yakalanan yasa dışı göçmenler arasında başlıca üç grup insan bulunmaktadır; bunlar, başta Avrupa olmak üzere batıdaki bir ülkeye

göç etmek amacıyla Türkiye'yi transit bir ülke olarak kullanmak niyetinde olan düzensiz göçmenler, geçerli belgeleri olmadan Türkiye'de yaşamak ve çalışmak için Türkiye'ye gelen düzensiz göçmenler ve ülkeden ayrılması beklenen ancak ülkeden ayrılmayan (İçduygu ve Aksel, 2012, 21) kişilerdir. İçişleri Bakanlığı Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü 2015 'Türkiye Göç Raporu'na göre 2015 yılında yakalanan düzensiz göçmenlerin sayısı 146.485'tir. 2005 yılında bu sayıyı 57.427 idi.

Tablo 1. Türkiye'de Yıllara Göre Yakalanan Düzensiz Göçmenler

Yıl	Yakalanan Kişi
2005	57.428
2006	51.983
2007	64.290
2008	65.737
2009	34.345
2010	32.667
2011	44.415
2012	47.510
2013	39.890
2014	58.647
2015	146.485
Toplam	643.397

İçişleri Bakanlığı Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü 2015 'Türkiye Göç Raporu'ndan elde edilen verilerden düzenlenmiştir.

2015 yılında yakalanan düzensiz göçmelerin ilk on sırada Suriye, Afganistan,

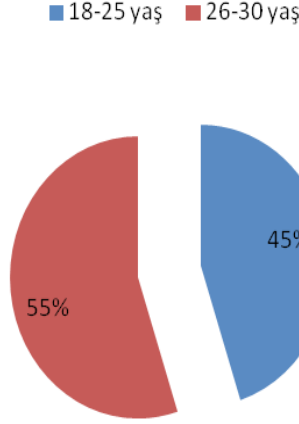
Irak, Myanmar, Pakistan, Gürcistan, İran, Eritre, Özbekistan ve Türkmenistan yer almaktadır (GİGM, 2016: 65). Bu raporda düzensiz göçmen gönderen ilk on ülkeler arasında Bangladeş yer almazsa da geçen dönemlerde Türkiye’de Bangladeş’li yasadışı göçmenlerin sayısı çok az değildir. 1995-1999 yılları arasında yakalanan Bangladeş’li yasadışı göçmenlerin sayısı 4.337’dir (Eker, 2008: 346). Ayrıca, 2000 ile 2010 yılları arasında en çok göçmen gönderen beş ülke (çoğunlukla potansiyel transit göçmenler) arasında Bangladeş beşinci sırada yer almaktadır. 2000 ile 2010 yılları arasında Türkiye’de yakalanan Bangladeşli düzensiz potansiyel transit göçmen sayısı 17.000’dir (İçduygu ve Aksel, 2012, 23).

Yöntem:

Bu çalışmanın birincil verileri toplamak için 2011 ile 2012 yılları arasında Türkiye’de yasadışı göçmen olarak yakalanan ve daha sonra uluslararası koruma kapsamında ikincil koruma statüsünde ikamet etmekte olan 20 Bangladeş’li ile yüz yüze görüşme tekniğiyle 22 soruluk bir anket uygulanmıştır. Anket sorularının hazırlanması sürecinde, daha önce yapılmış çalışmalardan da yararlanılmıştır. Sorularda düzensiz göçmenlerin göç etme nedenleri ve üzerindeki etkilerinin ortaya konulması hedeflenmiştir. Özellikle nereden Türkiye’ye geldiğini, nasıl geldiğini, kimlerle geldiğini, ne kadar para ödediğini, hangi tür işkence gördüğünü, uydu kentlere nasıl geldiğini, nasıl yerleştiğini, ne tür zorluklar çektiğini ve genel yorumları sorulmuştur. Ayrıca Türkiye’de yazılı ve görüntülü basında çıkan Bangladeş’li yasadışı göçmenler ile ilgili bazı haberlerden, göç ve yasadışı göç ile ilgili kitap, makale, bildiri, rapor, yayın ve kurumun verilerinde yer alan Bangladeş’li göçmenler ile ilgili verileri de kullanılmıştır.

Bulgular:

Örnekleme kişileriyle 2016 Eylül-Ekim ayı arasında yüz yüze görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Ankete katılan Bangladeş’li düzensiz göçmenler Türkiye’ye göç ettiği zaman %55’i 26 ile 30 yaş arasındaydı; diğer %45’i ise 18 ile 25 yaş arasındaydı (Grafik 1).



Grafik 1. Göç sırasındaki yaşı

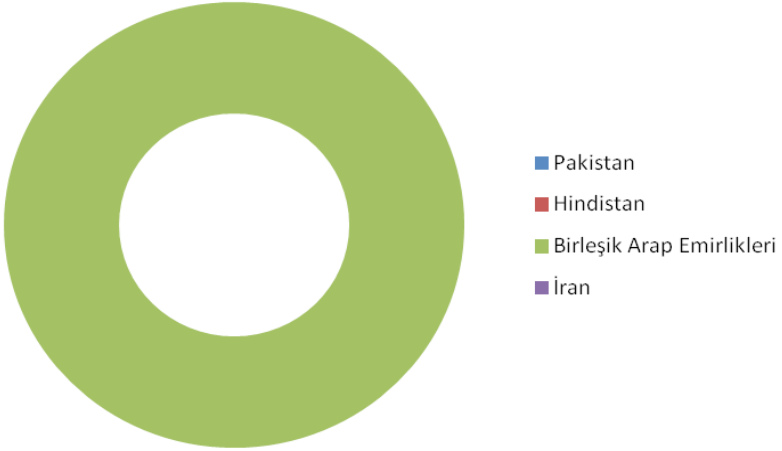
Örneklem grubunun çoğu ortaokuldan sonra eğitim almamış (%60). Lise bitiren ya da lise 10. sınıf bitiren %30. Lise 10. sınıf bitirdikten sonra Teknik kolejlerden mezun olan sadece bir kişi vardır (Tablo 2).

Tablo 2. Göçmenlerin eğitim durumu

Eğitim Durumu	Kişi Sayısı	%
İlkokul	1	5,0
Ortaokul	12	60,0
Lise	6	30,0
Koleji	1	5,0
Toplam	20	100,0

Düzensiz bu göçmenler 2010 ile 2011 yılları arasında Bangladeş'ten resmi işçi olarak Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri'ne gelmiştir (Grafik 2).

Grafik 2. Bangladeş'ten göç ettiği ilk ülke



Ankete katılan bireyler (%100) Avrupa'ya gitmek üzere yola çıkmıştır. Bununla birlikte bulunduğu işten memnun olmaması (%65), az bir miktar maaş olması (%75), arkadaşın Avrupa'ya gitme konusunda olumlu tavsiye (%65), başkasının Avrupa'ya gidişin haberi (%55) göçmenleri Türkiye üzerinden Avrupa'ya düzensiz göç etmesini teşvik etmiştir (Tablo 3).

Tablo 3. İlk göç ettiği ülkeden Türkiye'ye göç etmesinin nedenleri:

Türkiye'ye Göç'ün Nedenleri	%
Avrupa'ya gidişi	100,0
İşten memnun olmaması	65,0
Maaşın az olması	75,0
Akrabasının tavsiyesi	35,0
Arkadaşının tavsiyesi	65,0
Başkasının Avrupa'ya gidiş haberi	55,0
Daha fazla maddi kazanç elde etmek	100,0

Düzensiz bu göçmenler arkadaşları vasıtasıyla (%75) ve akrabası vasıtasıyla (%50) insan kaçakçısı ile irtibata geçmiştir (Tablo 4).

Tablo 4. Kaçakçısı ile irtibatı

Kaçakçısı ile irtibatı	%
Arkadaşı	75,0
Avrupa'ya giden tanıdığı	25,0
Akrabası	50,0
Kendisi	15,0

Dubai'den başlayan bu yolculuk yaklaşık 35-40 günde Umman ve İran üzerinden İstanbul'da son bulmuştur. Göçmenler, Umman'da 5 ile 10 gün arası ve İran'da 20 ile 30 gün arası bir süre geçirdikten sonra Van'dan Türkiye'ye geçiş yapmışlardır. Van'dan otobüs ile İstanbul'a gelmişlerdir (Tablo 5).

Tablo 5. Dubai'den İstanbul'a gelişi:

Dubai'den İstanbul'a yolculuk	%
Dubai'den Umman (1-2 gün yürüyerek ve araç ile)	100,0
Umman'da sürat teknesi sırası için bekleme (5-10 gün)	100,0
Sürat teknesi ile Umman denizi geçerek İran sahilinde ulaşma (6-7 saat)	100,0
İran'ın farklı illerde işkence evlerde ikamet etmek (20-30 gün)	100,0
Van sınırını geçerek otobüs ile İstanbul'a ulaşma	100,0

Göçmenler Dubai ve Umman'a yolculuk sırasında her hangi bir işkence görmezken İran'da geçirdiği günler ve Türkiye'de ilgili makamlar tarafından yakalanana kadar yemek bulamamak (%80), yatacak yer temin edememek (%100), gecelerce yürümek (%100) gibi büyük işkenceler görmüştür. Ayrıca, bireyler yaklaşık 4,000 dolar ödemek zorunda kalmıştır (Tablo 6).

Tablo 6. İstanbul'da yakalana kadar gördüğü işkenceler

Gördüğü İşkenceler	%
Günde bir kere yemek yemek	80,0
Günde bir kere tuvalet izini	85,0
Bir odada 20-30 kişi ile gün geçirmek	100,0
Dışarı çıkma izninin olmaması	100,0

Gecelerce yürümek	100,0
Küçük arabaların bagajlarında seyahat etmek	60,0
Parası için zülüm	90,0
Yaklaşık 4.000 dolar ödemek zorunda kalan	100,0

Ankete katılan Bangladeş’li göçmenler İstanbul’da yakalanmıştır. İstanbul Emniyet Müdürlüğü Yabancılar Şube Müdürlüğü Takip Kontrol Büro Amirliği (Kumkapı) misafirhanesinde kayıt işlemleri yapıldıktan sonra Türkiye’de sığınmacı olarak (şu anki kanuna göre ikincil koruma statü) ikamet izin almıştır. İzin alan göçmenler kendileri için belirlenmiş olan Uydu kentlerine gitmiştir. Yeterli parası olmayan ve gideceği Uydu kentte hiç tanıdığı olmayan göçmenler (%90) ilk günlerde büyük sorunlarla karşılaşmıştır (Tablo 7).

Tablo 7. Uydu kentte gidişi ve tanıdıkları

Uydu kentte gidiş parası	%	Tanıdıkları	%
Kendi parası ile	35,0	Tanıdıkları vardı	10,0
Tanıdıklarından	50,0	Tanıdıkları yoktu	90,0
Hayırsever kişiler tarafından	15,0		
Toplam	100,0	Toplam	100,0

Yeni şehirde barınak sorunuyla karşılaşan göçmenler ilk günlerde Bangladeş’lilerle kalmıştır (%55) ve Bangladeş’li olmayan illerde diğer göçmenlerle kalmıştır (%45). Yerleştikten sonra kimi bir ay içinde kimi ise daha sonra iş bulmuştur. İş bulma konusunda ise bazıları önceden gelen göçmenler tarafından yardım almıştır (%60). Bazıları ise hiç kimseden yardım alamamıştır (40) ve zorluklar çekip iş bulmuştur (Tablo 8).

Tablo 8. İlk günlerde barınak ve İş bulması

Kalacak yeri nasıl buldu	%	İş nasıl buldu	%
Önce gelen Bangladeşli ile kaldım	55,0	Ev arkadaş vasıtasıyla	60,0

Önce gelen yabancı göçmen ile kaldım	45,0	Kendisi	40,0
Toplam	100,0	Toplam	100,0

Göçmenler ilk aylarda dil ve yemek konusunda çok zorluklar yaşamıştır. Türkçeyi bilmediği için iş bulmak ve iş yerindeki insanlarla irtibat kurmak çok zor olmuştur. Türk yemeklerine alışmak ta Bangladeş’li göçmenler için biraz zor olmuştur (Tablo 9).

Tablo 9. İlk günlerde irtibat dili

Yabancılar ile irtibatı	%	Türkler ile irtibatı	%
Bengalce ile	55,0	Beden dili	100,0
Urduca-İngilizce	45,0	Kelimeler örenerek	100,0
Toplam	100,0	Arkadaşımın yardım ile	60,0

Göçmenler Türkiye’de yaklaşık dört yıl geçirmiştir. Bu süreçte bir kişi hariç hiç kimse memleketi Bangladeş’e gidip-gelme imkânı elde edememiştir. Ayrıca dört yıl önce Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri’nde kazandığı maaşlardan fazla kazanan kişilerin sayısı %50 den azdır. Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri’nde bulunduğu durumyla şu anki durumu karşılaştırdığında ‘pek değişiklik olmadı’ ve ‘hata yapmışım’ ifadesini kullanan göçmenlerin sayısı %75 ile %90 arasındadır (Tablo 10).

Tablo 10. Önceki durumuyla şu anki durumun değerlendirilmesi

Önceki durumuyla şu anki durumun değerlendirilmesi	%
Türkiye’ye geldikten sonra memleketime gidemedim	95,0
BAE’de kazandığım maaştan fazla kazanıyorum	40,0
Pek değişiklik olmadı	75,0
Hata yapmışım	90,0

Tartışma:

Türkiye’ye Göç etmiş olduğu yıllarda Bangladeş’li göçmenlerin %55’i 26 ile 30 yaş arasındaydı. Sever, (2012: 57) çalışmasında, Pakistan, Afganistan ve

Bangladeř'li göçmenlerin yaklaşık %36'sının 25 ile 31 yaş arasında olduğunu tespit etmiştir. Bangladeř'te çalışmaktayken bu göçmenler Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri'ne resmi bir iş bulup ilk olarak o ülkeye göç etmiştir. O yüzden göçmenlerin genel yaş ortalamasından örneklemin ortalama yaşları biraz fazla göstermektedir.

Örneklem grubunun %60'ı ortaokuldan sonra eğitim almamış. Sever, (2015: 93) yaptığı çalışmada Türkiye'de Bangladeř'li düzensiz göçmenlerin eğitim düzeyini řu şekilde açıklamıştır, “25 Eylül 2012 tarihinde görüşme yapılan Bangladeř'li yasadışı göçmen öğrenim durumunu “Altı okudum” diyerek açıklamıştır. Altı okumanın ne demek olduğu sorulduğunda; “benim ülkemde hepimiz güzel okullarda uzun süreler okuyamayız. Bu yüzden okuduğumuz süreyi mezuniyet durumu olarak söyleriz. Ben okula altı sene gidebildim, yani altı okudum” demiştir”. Örneklem kişiler arasında lise ve lise üstü düzeyde eğitim alanlar %35' civarındadır. Düzensiz bu göçmenler Bangladeř'ten Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri'ne resmi işçi olarak göç etmiştir ve orda belli bir süre çalışmıştır. Önceki çalışmalarda da Bangladeř'li düzensiz göçmenlerin daha önce başka bir ülkeye göç ettikleri gösterilmiştir. Sever, (2012: 63) çalışmasında Bangladeř'li göçmenlerin yarısından fazlasının (%56,8) daha önce bir başka ülkeye göç etmiş olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Örneklemin tümünün daha önce başka bir ülkeye (Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri'ne) göç etmesinin sebebi ise resmi iş iznidir.

Ankete katılan her bir kişi (%100) Dubai'den Avrupa'ya göç etmek üzere yola çıkmıştır. Önceki çalışmalar da benzer bulgular bulunmaktadır. Taşkın (2012)'a göre Burma, Bangladeř, Pakistan uyruklu yasadışı göçmenler Avrupa'ya doğrudan gitmeye çalışıyorlar. Ayrıca, İçduygu, Erder ve Gençkaya (2014: 235) çalışmasında, İran, Irak, Pakistan, Bangladeř ve bazı Afrika ülkelerinden gelen göçmenlerin hemen hemen hepsinin Türkiye'yi gidecekleri hedef ülkeye varmak için köprü olarak seçtiklerini ortaya koymuştur. Örneklem grubunun Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri'nde bulunduğu işten memnun olmaması (%65) ve maaşın az olması onları düzensiz göç etmeye teşvik etmiştir. Ayrıca, arkadaşının tavsiyesi (%65) ve akrabalarının tavsiyesi (%35) göçmenleri çok etkilemiştir. Yılmaz (2003) tarafından, yapılan araştırmaya katılan yasa dışı göçmenlerin yaklaşık % 70'i daha önce yurt dışına göç etmiş akrabası veya arkadaşı olduğunu belirtmiştir (Yılmaz, 2003'ten Akt.: Eker, 2008: 277). Düzensiz göç hareketinde arkadaş ve akraba gibi ağlar önemli yer almaktadırlar.

Göçmenler hem arkadaş (%75) hem de akraba (%50) vasıtasıyla insan kaçakçısı ile irtibata geçmiştir. Ayrıca %15 göçmen kendisi ve %25 göçmen Avrupa'ya giden tanıdığı vasıtasıyla insan kaçakçısı ile irtibata geçmiştir. Sever (2012: 63) yaptığı çalışmada da, düzensiz göçmenlerin çok büyük bir kısmının, arkadaşı (%66) veya akrabası (%21,4) vasıtasıyla kaçakçılarla irtibata geçtiği göstermiştir. Dubai'den İstanbul'a kadar yasadışı yolculuk yaklaşık 35-40 gün sürmüştür. Örneklem kişilerin %100'ü sürat teknesi ile Umman denizini geçmiştir ve İran üzerinden Van sınırını geçişlerdir. Düzensiz bu göç hareketinin her noktasında başta Bangladeş'li olmak üzere Pakistanlı, İranlı ve Türk insan kaçakçıları yer almıştır. Eker'in (2008: 351) yaptığı çalışmada 1998 ile 2006 yılları arasında Türkiye'de yakalanan insan kaçakçılarının uyruklarına göre yapmış olduğu kategorinin birinci sırada- Afganistan, Bangladeş, Hindistan, Pakistan ve ikinci sırada İran, Irak yer almıştır. Vatan (2012)'a göre Burma, Afganistan, Pakistan ve Bangladeş güzergâhından gelen yasadışı göçmenler Van, Hakkâri ve Ağrı'dan giriş yaptıktan sonra kamyon kasalarındaki özel bölmelerde saklanarak İstanbul'a kadar getiriliyor.

Göçmenler Günde bir kere yemek yemek (%80), günde bir kere tuvalet izini (%85), bir odada 20-30 kişi ile gün geçirmek, dışarı çıkma izinin olmaması (%100), gecelerce yürümek (%100) gibi durumlarla karşılaşmıştır. Ayrıca düzensiz göçmenlerin her birini Dubai'den İstanbul'a gelene kadar yaklaşık 4.000 dolar ödemek zorunda kalmıştır. İnsan kaçakçılar tarafından düzensiz göçmenlere yapılan işkenceler çeşitli çalışmalarda önemli yer almıştır. Milliyet (2013)'in internet haberine göre "Bangladeş uyruklu kaçak göçmenlerin, 3 Pakistanlı tarafından vücutlarına elektrik verildiğini, ütü basıldığını, sopayla dövüldüklerini ve kerpetenle kulaklarının çekildiğini dile getirdikleri öğrenildi". Sever (2015: 108) çalışmasında Bangladeş'li bir düzensiz göçmenin Türkiye'ye gelmesi için ödediği miktarı kaydetmiştir. Buna göre Bangladeş'li birey kaçakçılar vasıtasıyla önce 4.000 ABD doları karşılığında Dubai'ye, oradan da 2.500 ABD doları karşılığında Türkiye'ye gelmiştir.

Ankete katılan Bangladeş'li göçmenler 2011 ile 2012 yılları arasında İstanbul'da yakalanmıştır ve ikincil koruma statüsünde kendileri için belirlenmiş olan Uydu kentlerine gitmiştir. Kendisinde hiç para olmayanlar (%50) tanıdıklarından borç almışlar ve hayatını sürdürmeye çalışmışlar. Ayrıca uydu kentte hiç tanıdıkları olmayan (%90) göçmenler zor durumda düşmüşler. Emniyet tarafından, daha önce oraya gelen Bangladeş'lilerle tanıştırılmıştır. Bangladeş'li olmayan illerde

diğer göçmenlerle tanışmıştır. Uluslararası koruma kapsamında göçmenlere ev bulma konusunda her hangi bir destek verilmemektedir. Mülteci Hakları Merkezi tarafından yayınlanan TUKPHY (2016: 5)'ye göre, "Uluslararası koruma başvurusu yapanların GİGM tarafından kendileri için tayin edilen il sınırları içinde kendi imkânlarıyla bir ev bulmaları ve barınmayla ilgili masrafları kendilerinin karşılaması esastır." Uydu kentteki Emniyet personeli yardımıyla yeni gelen göçmenlerin %55'i Bangladeşli biriyle ve diğer %45 farklı uyruklu biriyle ortaklaşa ev buldu. Yerleştikten sonra kimi bir ay içinde kimi ise daha sonra iş buldu. Göçmenlerin %40'ı kendi başına iş bulmak zorunda kalmıştır. Göçmenler ilk aylarda Türkçeyi bilmedikleri için iş bulmak ve iş yerindeki insanlarla irtibat kurmakta zorluklar yaşamıştır. Uydu kentte göçmenlerin karşılaştıkları sorunlarıyla ilgili TOHAV (2014: 33) Göç Analiz Raporu'nda geçici sığınma prosedürüne dâhil olanlar Türkiye'de özellikle barınma, sağlık, eğitim ve geçim gibi konularda neredeyse hiçbir destek görmeksizin hayatta kalma mücadelesi vermek zorunda kalmaktadır. Kahya (2014: 4099) çalışmasına göre, sığınmacıların yaşadıkları konutlar, genelde şehirlerin kenar mahallelerinde, giriş veya bodrum katında, oldukça rutubetli, karanlık, güneş almayan, küçük loş konutlardır.

Ankete katılanlardan sadece bir kişi (%5,0) 2012 ile 2016 yılları arasında memleketi Bangladeş'e gidip-gelme imkânı elde edebilmiştir. Bangladeş'e gidemeyenler psikolojik sorunlar yaşamaktadır. Göç ederken işkencesi dolayısıyla ülkesindeki varlıklarını paraya çevirip insan kaçakçılarına ödemek zorun kalan ya da büyük bir miktar borç alan göçmenler Bangladeş'e de gitmek istememektedir. Sever (2015: 118) çalışmasında 2012 yılında görüşme yapılan Bangladeşli yasadışı göçmen geri dönmeyi isteyip istemediğine ilişkin olarak "Memlekette her şeyimi sattım. Dönersem geçinecek param da yok, yeniden göç edecek durumum da yok" cümlelerini kaydetmiştir. Göç etmeden önce kazandığı maaşlardan fazla kazanan kişilerin sayısı sadece %40 olduğu halde, onlar çaresizlikten dolayı Türkiye'de kalmaya tercih ediyorlar. Göçmenlerden %75'inin önceki durumundan 'pek değişiklik olmadı' ve %90'ü yasadışı yoluyla göç ederek hata yaptığını düşünüyorsa bile bulunduğu ortamda hayatlarını sürdürüyorlar.

Sonuç:

Jeostratejik pozisyon dolayısıyla Türkiye, Asya ve Afrika'daki göçmenlerce

transit bir ülke haline gelmiştir. Bununla birlikte 21. yüzyılın başında başlayan Afgan savaşı, Irak işgali ve 2011 den beri Suriye'deki iç savaştan dolayı Türkiye'de milyonlarca savaş mağduru, mülteci olarak ikamet etmektedir. Ayrıca, Türkiye'ye giriş için sınırlarda her gün insanoğullarının sayısı artmaktadır. Diğer taraftan Myanmar ve Çin'de müslümanların üzerinde devam etmekte olan zulümdan dolayı Uygur ve vatansız Rohingaların göç hareketi ve Asya'daki bazı ülkelerin düzensiz kamu politikasından dolayı işsiz kalan insanların gelişmekte olan ülkelere doğru göç hareketi Türkiye'yi de büyük çapta etkilemektedir. Bu durumları bir fırsat olarak kullanan uluslararası insan kaçakçıları, binlerce insanı yasadışı yollarla Türkiye üzerinden Avrupa'ya göndermektedir. Bu düzensiz göç hareketinde İran, Afganistan, Pakistan, Myanmar ülke vatandaşlarının yanı sıra Bangladeş vatandaşları da bulunmaktadır. Bangladeş'li düzensiz göçmenler genelde Avrupa ya da gelişmiş ülkelerde güvenli ve çok paralı bir işin hırsıyla yasadışı yollarla göç ediyorlar. Düzensiz bu göçmenlerin büyük bir kısmı eğitimsiz ve yasadışı göçün gerçeğinden habersizdir. Ayrıca, fakirlik ve toplumsal sebepler de düzensiz göçün önemli nedenlerindedir. Düzensiz göçmen olarak Türkiye'de ikamet etmek zorunda kalan Bangladeş'liler insan kaçakçılarının işkencesi altında hem büyük sağlık zararları gördü hem de memleketinde ev ya da arsalarını satıp insan kaçakçılarına büyük miktarlarda para ödemek zorunda kalmışlardır. Bu yüzden, son çare olarak Türkiye'de ikincil statüsünde ikamet edip az bir miktar da olsa para kazanmayı tercih etmişlerdir. Herşeye rağmen bu tür düzensiz göç, hem kaynak ülke için bir prestijli meselesi, hemde göçmeni kabul eden ülke için büyük bir yüküdür. Bu yüzden, bu tür göçmenlerin sayısını azaltmak için kaynak ülke ve kabul eden ülkelerin birlikte hareket etmeleri bir gereklilidir. Ayrıca, ulusal ve uluslararası göç örgütleri bu konuda önemli rol oynayabilirler.

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AUSTERITY BORDERS FOR REFUGEES; IMPENDING DESTINY BY ELIDE DECRETAL

Sabbir HASAN

Introduction:

It brings to light that every year more than thousands of fled peoples try to reach Europe. Some of those are determined by the necessity of escape pulverizing scarcity; others are seeking refugee status from both aggression and discrimination from their home country. Their journey is weighed down with anonymous danger. Since 2000, at least more than 327,800 people are estimated to have died when they were trying to get in Europe as UNHCR indicates 2016 as a deadliest year for scared peoples. (UNHCR'2016). In the mean time, some European countries invented that barbed wire-fencing one and only way, which can keep away/hold off the fled people. Till now the member states of European Union erecting a gradually increasing an impenetrable razor wired border to keep fled peoples away from their desperate motives. In order to protect their borders form migrants, the EU is financing for sophisticated surveillance systems, establishing border guard agencies, deploying security forces, making bilateral treaties, re-admission agreements, destroying forests, border based rural areas, increasing budget for preventing these peoples. Without right of entry to asylum procedures these fled peoples are being expelled from several EU countries.

They are made light by both border and cost guards. Even some time, they beaten by security forces until their death! In addition, some EU member countries are lengthy detention policy as a restraint for incoming peoples towards Europe. Every country takes their own decision about detention. Some of them are detaining for 6 months, some of them are detaining for more than one and half year and so on. Amnesty International published a report in 2014 and they stated that, On 20 March 2014, the Greek State Legal Council published an opinion, which allows for indefinite detention of migrants (the Opinion 44/2014). According to the opinion, which was later adopted by the Minister of Public Order and Citizen Protection through a Ministerial decision, if the detainee cannot be returned as a result of his refusal to cooperate with

the Greek authorities within eighteen months -the maximum period that the EU law allows for detention for the purpose of removal-, then his detention can continue beyond eighteen months. This is a clear violation of the European Returns Directive (EU parliament; 2008) and is a breach of Greece's international human rights obligations (Amnesty International ;2014). On the other hand, rest of the migrant destination countries also hardening their borders gradually. In east, USA is hardening their countries day by day for Mexicans, though USA one of the largest consumer of Mexican drugs! In the west-south corner, Australia demonstrating NO for those who comes through boat or without passports. But in south Asia, we are observing the worst brutality by border guards in India-Bangladesh Borders. But sometimes, states also transgressing the line of humanity as like they sweeping the terrorists but woefully they are legal citizens.

History of Borders:

Without any passports and authorized travel documents never again in the past there have myriad people who endeavored to cross the international borders frequently and never again have most of the governments demonstrated to such efforts to aim to stop them. All this events elevate fingers about worldwide inequality, human rights, security, immigration and lastly governments responsibility to fled people which is dominance by new world order mobility. INTRO As states gradually become significant for their rulers when states widened their political and economical control over geographical areas and all groups of people, state administration search for their limitation of authority and to determine clear borders between themselves and their neighbors and rivals. State administration accomplishes their objectivity through the advancement of now a day's surveying and cartography process with scientific method. In 17th century, for the first time people of the European Union observed state borders. In 1604 European union portrayed colorful state borders in European maps book. The Dutch geographer Mattheus Quadt first published an atlas map of European states which marked borders between states to indicate every states hesitant or heated discussion status. These borders neither accept neighboring country members nor to travel to visit them. During the last hundred years of slow political progress and regular conflict of just before the establishment of the modern state, sovereign state borders totally acknowledged by Europe.

This transformation depends on various reasons, for example; Gradual raise of periphery centered state bureaucracies which is authorities with over taxation and military deployment, stretching secularist ideology in the label of nationalism, appearance of capitalism, regular exploitation of local economics along with currencies, trade and industries and so on. On the other hand, imperialist overview of the world and advancement of European state system both are corresponding that this borders and boundaries are by European colonial power to differentiate their so called dignity and bubble of influence. What the border is? Very often border portrayed as one of the vital part of present national states. But the thing is, now a day's a strong border means Fence, razor wired border. As Matthew Carr mentioned in his book, *Border* is an extrapolation of the principle that good fences make good neighbors (Anderson, M 1996). To the nineteenth century German geographer Friedrich Ratzel the frontiers were the 'skin' that surrounded the living organism of the nation state (Salkeld, D; 2007). Most of the places where national identities, ethnicity, history, language, ideology were used to scratch those "skins". Often these identities are depended on capacity of the states not only to know where the national communities starts and ends but also to make decision which "skins" will live inside these boundaries. For example, at the ancient time in Greece, exclusion from the political society was one of the most awful penalties that could be inflicted upon those who broke rule of societies.

There have lots of examples where history driven unwanted peoples beyond human boundary. It was a step to clarify the character of the state to verify who lives inside the boundary. On the other hand, states have sought after to gain those objectives by closing up their borders to avert their population from both emigration and immigration. In the middle ages, city states was bordered by fortified walls where undesired people were prohibited from entering the cities including beggars, master less women, vagrants, beggars, heretics, lepers, gypsies or wandering poor. Now a day, modern states have practiced almost same power of elimination. But until the nineteenth century it wasn't so hard as impending burglars were inspecting and denied entry. In 1561 the English Privy Council became anxious at the potential impact of continental immigration on religious stability and ordered the local authorities across London to search out and learn the entire number of 'Alyens & Strangers' in the City (Fryer, P 1992). In 1601 the Bridewell Court expressed alarm at the 'great numbers of

“negars and blackamores” which are crept into the realm and Queen Elizabeth issued a royal proclamation ordering their removal (Website Of The ECDG). From the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century concept of border control was generally so weak and infrequent. Around 50 million European peoples immigrated to the American region and bordering colonies when it was between 1840 and 1914. At the same time near about 20 million indentured people from India and China recruited as ‘coolie’ a type of worker in South Africa the Caribbean and the pacific border. Along with this, there have a large scale of migration within the Europe itself, from Italian factory workers in France and Switzerland, from Polish agricultural labors to Germany and the Irish flows to Britain.

Funding of Fortress:

In migration policy European Union priorities to focusing strengthen border security rather than improving migrant’s situations. The annual expenditure portrayed Europe as they are fortressing their borders. According to the funding management process this can be clearly seen that funding given for asylum seekers is not so enough rather than fortressing border. Approximately €4 billion allocated by the directorate general of EU for 2007-2013 periods. Under the Solidarity and Management of Migration Flows Programme (SOLID) the main purpose of funding was to provide support for member states’ in their various activities such as accepting asylum application, integrate the applicants, deport third country nationals and control borders.

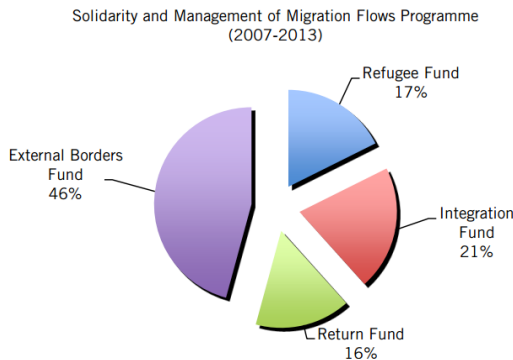


Figure 1 : Solidarity and Management of Migration Flows Programme (2007-

2013)

Almost two third of this fund (€1820 million) was distributed to member countries for structural activities, equipment management and technological infrastructure expenses. Only 17% around 700 million allotted to support asylum seeking procedures, receive them and rehabilitate and integrate them (The EP Regulations;2014).

The difference between expenditure on border management and refugee control was even more distinct in EU funding allotment to individual EU member states at the EU's outer borders. For example, from the total figure Bulgaria was allocated almost 74% was for activities funded by the External Borders Fund whereas a lamp sum 8% of allotted for refugee activities under the SOLID programme.

Table 1: Allocation Of Refugee And External Borders Funds In Some Member States 2007-2013

Countries	Refugee Fund	External Borders Fund
Bulgaria	€4,295,548.61	€38,131,685.92
Greece	€ 21,938,521.14	€ 207,816,754.58
Spain	€ 9,342,834.50	€ 289,394,768.35
Italy	€ 36,087,198.41	€ 250, 178, 432.52
Malta	€ 6,621,089.03	€ 70, 441,716.30

Source: The Human Cost Of Fortress Europe: Human Rights Violations Against Migrants And Refugees At Europe's Borders ; Amnesty International 2014.

The European Union established two new funds for immigrants to replace the four under SOLID programme. The new funds were the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) and the Internal Security Fund (borders and visa) (ISF) with the budget of €3,137 million and 2,760 million. They also passed that each member state of the EU must spend as least 20% from AMIF's allocation on asylum regarding measures. However this regulations didn't portrayed anything to visualized human rights situation. As Amnesty International

stated that in their report published 2014 that, However, the regulations didn't structured any observing facilities of human rights and left the assessment of the execution of the Funds to indicators that are simply quantitative as like as the "number of border control (checks and surveillance) infrastructure and means developed or upgraded with the help of the Instrument" in the case of ISF and the "number of vulnerable persons and unaccompanied minors benefiting from specific assistance" in the case of AMIF (Human Rights Watch Report;2005). On the other hand, it's not clarified that how these two agencies would ensure the accountabilities about the expenditure of this fund to only migrated people. Not only the European commission and individual states are liable about the spending of these funds, but also the European council and the European parliament are also liable to decide to allocation of the budgets. The EU member states' assistances account for almost two thirds of the entire EU funds and liability for ensuring sufficient safeguards and overseeing, therefore, rest of that funds not only at the EU level, but also at the national level. But the point is the EU and its member states totally have unsuccessful to make sure those human rights safeguards are one of the vital part of funding related decisions.

Apparent Austerity:

Austerities can be divided into two ways. First of all, which happened with the migrant seeker and secondly which happens by media, politicians, non-state actors and so on. Sometimes this events happen just before the entering the countries. For example, in 2004 Ukraine joined the European neighborhood policy runs by the EU, and after that Ukraine is gradually preventing its own citizens from entering Europe and also stopping those who using Ukraine as transit countries. As a independent country, Ukraine have the right to do whatever he want, except violating human rights. Is this neighboring policy, rights and welfare of migrants have not been a high priority. In 2005, a serious problem marked by Human Rights Watch and publishe their regular report that both asylum seeker and migrants were 'regularly apprehended in appalling circumstances; subjected to robbery, death, extortion, denied legal supports and in some cases turn back to countries where the face death sentences (Website ; Javier-Bauluz-2000)! But what's the result of these re-admission policies as it happens by neighborhood policy? Let's have a look to Uzhgorod which is one of the talkative place to transfer during last decades. Somewhere

in 2007, Ajaab a twenty one year old Somali student from modadisu was trying to pass the Uzhgorod border. He left lots of brutal history where his parents were killed by one of the extremist Al-Shabab. While he tried to enter Hungarian border, border forces caught him and denied his asylum application and was sent back Ukraine the following day. As he stated that, according to Neighborhood Policy of the EU, they didn't even want to listen a single word. On his return in Ukraine he beaten up by borders and sent to detention center. Ajaab is little bit lucky that Ukrainian border guards didn't harass like policies. Because when it happens by police, they not only beaten the victim up, but also raided their house, inspect their mobile phones, grab their pocket money and they through them in street and hold them up to seven or eight hours. On the other hand, in the name of humanitarian activities on the basis of Neighborhood Policy, the ask the passports and travel documents form victims ! How comical is it, where a person can't but leave just with their lives, then how he or she collect his travel documents? For example, Abdulkhani is nineteen year old from the south-west Somalia, arrested Hungarian border guards and they refused the asylum application on the grounds that Abdulkhani hadn't any travel documents. A sunny day in somewhere in Tarifa beach in southern Spain. A man was wearing sunglasses and swimming dresses, just beside him a women with a fashionable bikini sitting under a flowery parasol. Just beside of them approximately a few yards away an African migrant who was lying face down near the edge of the sea. It was not only shocking but also seeming incredible photograph which was published in Spanish newspaper La Vanguardia. This photographs popularized by such captions for example "the inference of the west" and "Death at The Door Of The Paradise".



Picture 1: "Death at The Door Of The Paradise Captured By Javier Bauluz,

September'2000" (website : Bauluz, J)

To refuse some allegations against him, Javier Bauluz wrote an article to describe how he called out the beach near Tarifa. He writes –

“People got on with their day at the beach. They swam and sunbathed. Kids splashed water along the shoreline. Just a few of the swimmers, five or six in a tight circle, commented on the tragedy. It seemed like a lack of respect to me and I was outraged. Whether black or white, he was dead. Unfortunately, I was not at all surprised. This is the same indifference I have seen on so many other days when the fate of immigrants has been involved (Carr, Matthew; 2015).” Melilla, one of the oldest African colonies, conquered by a Spanish expeditionary force in 1497, while Ferdinand and Isabella taken an abortive attempt to go after the Reconquista with North African warriors. In the 19th and early 20th century sprains bloody North African colonial campaigns took place in both Melilla and Ceuta. Today Manila remains a contested frontier. Both the Spanish government and the Melilla administration were demanding a renunciation from Morocco, which was the forthcoming. Now a day’s everyday Moroccans cross the border to find work for earnings and the relationship between Moroccan Police and Spanish Police very often repeat the hierarchies of colonial periods. As Matthew Carr mentioned in his book titled *Fortress Europe: Inside the war Against Immigration* that, Spanish police scowling and gesturing his baton at a group of Moroccan women (Mckeown, A.M; 2008).

In 2005, Melilla human rights activist Jose Palazon made a video and he presented a Moroccan hospital where African migrants were admitted with broken arms, bandaged legs and ankles as they bitten by the Civil Guard and ‘Alis’ the Moroccan auxiliary forces. On 29th August 2005, Cameroonian migrant Akabang Abuna lying on the ground near the Marihuari forest near the border fence, his neighbors describing how Akabang was hit in the stomach by a guard officer with a rifle butt and he began vomiting blood before he died. Not only males, but also females are also seriously disturbed by border guards. In 2010 Medecins Sans Frontiers unveiled a grim report upon female migrants on the sexual violence in Morocco. With the taking an deep interview with sixty-three sub-Saharan women in both Casablanca and Rabat. One of three interviewees had been force raped during their migratory journeys. Some

incidents also happened between Oujda and Maghnia where female migrants repeatedly experienced serious harassment by the Moroccan Police. One woman stated that she and two of her companions were raped by bandits just after forcibly crossed Algerian border with the help of Oujda police. A fourteen year old girl described how she was gang-raped by the Oujda police in police station.

Squint Austerity:

Not only apparent causes there also have some squint austerities also causing borders fortress. Here government officials, non-government institutions, media houses, political persons and even government itself proceed against migrated peoples. In 1885 the German Chancellor Bismarck ordered to kicking out 40,000 Polish workers from Germany to put off ‘the Polonianization of a large portion of the Prussian population’. In 1912 the French government compelled all travelers a quantity that generally indicates his countries 4 millions Italian immigrants to carry out their photographs and fingerprints. Often these restrictions driven by the eugenicist principles and the scientific racism which illustrated immigration from national groups as a risk to the wholesomeness of the national accumulation. In 1893, from the Orange Free State activist Justice Milieus de Villiers justified the elimination of Asians on the grounds that ‘Exclusion of alien and its elements is the absolute right for every European origin which considers them as threat of European origins development and existence (The Guardian, 8 February 2011).’

But sometimes less developed states are also convinced with the financial facilities by non state actors. For example, The Maltese Prime Minister, Lawrence Gonzi, steted that Malata was ready to do anything to get the EU and the Libyan government at the same table to discuss agreement. Lawrence delivered his speech in a radio interview and the main purpose was this statement was to grasp the budget for migrants which was missed by an unexpected events in 2011 when Gaddafi was in chair of Libya. Somewhere in the name saving own selves, some state members also aggressively drove the migrants away. For example, in 2009 some Far-right activists who calling themselves as ‘Citizens of Athens’ were descended the Attiki Square just opposite the Hotel New Dream in downtown in Athens, which is one of the main gathering places of most Afghan and Asian migrants in the capital. The

so called fanatics were dispersing leaflets where ‘Insulting all us Greeks, All Greek women, our Christian religion, our civilization, our pride, our lives’ – written in English.

Both Side of the Same Coin:

The trafficking of children’s and women’s for sexual exploitations are one of the darkest point of migration. Though the border in completely prohibited by immigrants but day by day Europe is filling itself with lots of new brothel homes. The million dollar question is what are the sources of this girls and children’s, and where millions of peoples are suffering outside the border right then how new brothels are opening day by day? How they got permissions to enter the Europe? Where are the border guards, FRONTEX and other non state actor? Actual thing is, Europe is benefiting with this fled peoples as they planned. The United Nations defines trafficking as ‘the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion (website: Ec.Europa.Eu)’. Though reliable sources are not available, but the EU Commission estimates that hundreds of thousands people trafficked every year for sexual exploitation on other forms of labor (UN General Assembly December 1990).

On the other side of the same coin, to discouraging management in more mainstream economic activities, border enforcement is one of the one. An estimated five to eight million non-European migrants are living with ‘3D’ jobs which is illustrated Dirty, Dangerous and Difficult. These jobs are tended to avoid in recent years, on factories, constriction sites, food processing plants, care homes, restaurants, agricultural sector and other dirty job places. For example in the UK asylum seekers working ‘voluntarily’ whereas regular agricultural workers were forced to work for hunger earnings under hazard of hostility. The asylum seekers were bound to work, because they are not to allowed work; and foreign domestic servants and factory put in 17 hour shifts for well below the least remuneration. According to report on Forced Labor and Migration to the UK, published in 2005, commissioned by the Treads Union Congress, describes this slavery-like conditions were assisted by an unfettered employment chain that connected hole subcontractors and labor recruiters to mainstream job owners. But the interesting thing is, including legal and illegal job-owners all of them effected by the fear of deportation that was used

as an instrumental of control by the job owners who recruited the workers. Even some cases job owners retained the passports of their workers as cut or withhold their wages. As Matthew Carr stated in his writings, In one incident, sixteen Chinese migrants worked 16 hour shifts for 20 days to fill a buyers order. After finishing the order, all of them are denounced by the managers to immigration authorities and immediately deported without being paid!

But peoples also remain humanity in somewhere. Turkey, Spain, Jordan, Uganda are an example of unique countries in Euro-Asia region to provide access to health and education to undocumented but officially registered migrants. Also in some northern Italian cities local business associations are agreed to promote the social and legal integration of migrant workers to ensure a more stable and reliable working force. But at the end of evening, it's true that the availability of a cheap and flexible labor forces resulted a lose-lose situation for irregular migrants. Here have one interesting things that, not any European state has signed the UN International Convention for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrants Workers and Members of their Families where it is strongly stated that migrants worker should have right to enjoy treatment which applies to nationals of the state of employment, and also calls for the same equality in terms of other factors for example hours of work, overtime, weekly rest, holidays in pay, safety, health, termination of the emplacement relationship.

The Global Austerity:

The border security policies of the European Union's and United States' have building fences to prevent so-called illegal. But surprise is, these wealthy Western countries are not the only ones who restricting border movements using security agents, walls, deploying security forces. Here Bangladesh, India, Israel and Australia are working with almost similar practices, with similarly overwhelming penalties for people who want to get in or move those countries. The highest number of deaths at the hands of a state security service happened India–Bangladesh border has the, India's Border Security Force (BSF). While Israel has the world's absolute system of border walls, India has the most kilometres of fences and walls: 1,926 kilometers (1,198 miles) of its 2,308-kilometer (1,434-mile) border with Pakistan, and sections

of its 1,624-kilometer (1,009 km) border with Myanmar. India also has the largest border security force in the world, with more than 200,000 border security forces. From 2000 to 2015, the Indian border forces killed more over a thousand Bangladeshi civil villagers along the border. One of the most heart touching events is the story of fifteen-year-old Felani Khatun, whose killing even shocked the international news ((The Economist, “Felani’s Last Steps,” February 3, 2011). As like other undocumented Bangladeshi migrants, felani and her family were living in New Delhi, India. In January 2011, felani and her father were traveling back to Bangladesh to begin the process of looking for a husband for Felani. Although, all Bangladeshis must need a valid visa to travel India, the vast majority of people continue to cross the border without any documents. Because getting a passport is not only a difficult job but also an expensive task and is often beyond the dreams of many of the poor of Bangladesh. Furthermore, despite of a neighbouring country India would deny the visas of most poor workers.

On the foggy morning of 7th January 2011 Nurul and Felani arrived at border which was newly securitised at 08:30. Nurul easily went up over the fence, then it was Felani's turn. She wore the traditional attire of unmarried women in South Asia named ‘Shalwar Kameez’. Felani tried to climb up the ladder, but her clothes became tangled in the barbed wire at the top. She feared and started to scream, which alerted the border guards to their location in spite of a foggy morning. To follow the shoot-to-kill orders, an Indian BSF constable named Amiya Ghosh shot at what he supposed to be an illegal infiltration into India. After shooting, felani’s body hung on the barbed-wire fence for several hours. On the barbed-wire fence she was alive for a while and continuously asked for water. The sun burned off the fog, Felani was visible from a distance. As usual, crowds gathered. Some austerity was reigning till then. After getting her down, BSF did not provide neither a gurney nor a body bag. Instead, BSF soldiers tied up her both feet and arms to a bamboo pole and carried her back to India like a death animal. Felani’s body was hanging on the fence and then on the bamboo pole makes indignation in Bangladesh and around the world.



Picture 2: Hanging Felani

Myanmar is one of the most vulnerable countries from immigration(Archice, Dhaka Tribune). With 90 percent of the Buddhist population following that faith Myanmar consist as a predominantly Buddhist country. The government has long claims that the Rohingya are not even natives of Myanmar but immigrants who crossed over from Bangladesh. As a result, they are not given citizenship and are victimized in Myanmar. The fanatic Buddhists are cruelly killing, raping, burning the Rohungya muslims day by day.

Picture 3: Rohingya Muslims Entering Bangladesh



Conclusion and Recommendations:

The global picture of austerities of borders are not so different from one to another part of this cruel earth. There have thousands of evidence and events where these fled peoples have walked miles after miles just to make a sleep with their friends and family, just to live from hand to mouth, just to take a full breath like others. But fortune didnt even supporting them as well. Somewhere they are treated as like slave in modern era, somewhere they are treated a product of brothel home, somewhere they are not so lucky as lucky as animals. So it's high time to make a final recommendation about those street peoples. Regarding the European issues, member states have to make a common platform about that, though Hungary, Czech Republic continuously announcing that they will not accept any immigrant no more. Especially they are affording on Muslim immigrants from Arab countries very much. In this regards, there have some recommendations regarding these issues. All European member countries have to conduct effective, independent investigations into all allegations regarding push-back with EU border line countries.

All European Union member countries have to make sure that migrants and refugees who survive after push-back operations are given a temporary legal status, until a more constructive alternative is available. Of course victims have to be allow to follow up their complaints and seek remedy to the harm that they have suffered. For making successful this section, The EU should announce publicly in the national programmes, which set out the needs on which the funding is allocated to member states. As well as the regular progress reports on how EU member states can make the proper use of the EU funding. The European Union and its member states have to ensure that any kind of their support to finance in third world countries do not encourage or contribute to human rights violations and establish a appropriate monitoring mechanisms with the full access of other human rights institutions. Along with that states have to ensure that, non-government organizations have to work independently for advocacy of human rights, asylum-seekers and refugees who are involved the implementation and evaluation of national programmes which are funded by different types of financial organizations. On the other hand both EU and member states have to alert to implement their activities with fully respect of international human rights and refugee law as well as the maritime laws which include adequate safeguards to promote human rights properly.

The EU and its member states have to make a priority list of those countries who are passing form a high level risk of human rights, also have to prioritise making agreements, providing financial statements, structural assistants to third country nationals. On the other hand, they have to put into practice the fundamental rights safeguards which are recommended by the Commission in its 2011 evaluation of EU readmission agreements, which represents particularly its recommendations concerning firstly, the elimination of third country nationals from these agreements, secondly the involvement of international and non-governmental organisations in the Joint Readmission Committees, and lastly the inclusion of suspension clauses in the event of persistent and serious risks of human rights violations of the persons readmitted.

Non state actors also have a vital role in this immigration process. Financial institutions, border security guards are one of them. These non-state actors have to integrated criteria and considerations in both data collection and analysis and when make report about risk and assessing the human rights impact when making, processing and evaluating operations. Along with this, non-state actors have to make strong mechanism process to monitor and evaluate implementation of working arrangements of third world countries. On the other hand, EU are working with common European migration policies with all its member states. But the thing is, some states are following their own polices till now. Thus creating collision between international and intra policy problems which suffers the fled peoples. Non state actors have to monitor these mis-leading things to save human rights. For example, Article 8 and article 10 of Dublin Convention is making misunderstanding among policy makers and it turns Greece and Italy as jam-packed migrated country but none of the other countries are not accepting migrants as Greece and Italy accepting. Thus creates a imbalance of policy making. From the last decades, both Greece and Italy are struggling and putting this issue to the EU general assembly meetings. But as non-state actors would active in this situation, this hardness of unwanted situation can be get rid of.

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Full List Of Indicators Can Be Found Under Annex IV Of Both Regulations. For Example, The European Parliament (EP) Proposed That The Article 13 Of ISF Regulation, Which Lists The Objectives Member States Shall Pursue Through The Use Of The Fund, Includes As One Of The Objectives “Ensuring The Effective Monitoring Of Compliance With International And European Obligations, Including Human Rights Obligations, In Close Cooperation With Third Countries And Civil Society.” Rapporteur’s Report On Proposed Amendments Are Available At: <Http://Www.Europarl.Europa.Eu/Sides/Getdoc.Do?Pubref=//EP//NONSGML+REPORT+A7-2014-0025+0+DOC+PDF+V0//EN> . The EP Additionally Proposed That The AMIF Regulation Includes Qualitative Indicators To Evaluate The Results And Impact Of The Implementation Of The Fund, Available At: <http://Www.Europarl.Europa.Eu/Sides/Getdoc.Do?Pubref=//EP//NONSGML+COMPARL+PE->

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Chapter Three

History and Civilization

THE FORMATION OF BENGAL CIVILIZATION: A GLIMPSE ON THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ASSIMILATIONS THROUGH POLITICAL PROGRESSIONS IN BENGAL DELTA

Abu Bakar SIDDIQ & Ahsan HABIB

Introduction:

The Bengal Delta (i.e. present Bangladesh and West Bengal in India) is the largest delta in the world (Akter *et al.*, 2016). Annual silt of hundreds of rivers together with a maze of river branches all over this Green Delta made it as one of the most fertile regions in the world. Additionally, amazing landscape, profound natural resources, comfortable climate condition as well as 3000 mm rainfall per year have made the Delta perfect for human habitation. Therefore, Bengal has attracted and encouraged migration of many social groups of different ethnicities and religious faiths since prehistoric time. With all the consequences, the delta is presently hosting one of the most crowded human populations in the world with a density of more than 1100 people per square mile.

The physiological features of Bengal delta is completely river based. River has tremendous effect on the formation of landscape, agriculture and other basic subsistence, trade and transport, as well as cultural pattern of its inhabitants. Since the prehistoric time, the Bengal Delta witnessed many migrations, cultural transformations, invasions and religious revolutions. The major socio-political reformation and changes in Bengal have been occurred in Vedic, Kushan, Parsian, Mauryan, Gupta, Pala, Sena, Sultanate, Mughal, European colonial period, and also after the partition of India in 1947. Additionally, archaeological and historical records demonstrate international trade and cultural contacts for millennia. The first European colonial encounter with the Orient was also occurred in Bengal Delta. There were certain socio-cultural conflicts and assimilation in every wave of migration and religious reformation in Bengal. However, following the Mauryans, it was mainly the Sultanate and Mughal periods (see: Eaton, 1996) that contributed the most in the formation of its civilization. Previously introduced Buddhism was also a great contributor in the Delta before the arrival of Islam, but the Buddhists were literally

vanquished by force of rigidly caste-discriminating orthodox Hinduism in the twelfth-century (Chowdhury, 2011), and therefore, mass people in the delta attracted to more egalitarian and accommodating Islamic way of life in following period. Moreover, the delta was transformed into a cosmopolitan imperial power for over 550 years of Sultanate and Mughal rules.

In a long period of Muslim rules, the Bengali people in medieval period built a civilization of social harmony, religious tolerance, liberalism, and a rich culture with welfare and humanity. On the other hand, during the European colonial oppression for about 200 years, Bengal Delta had to experience volumes of social fractions and religious divisions (see: Chatterji, 2002). Throughout various positive-negative formations and reformations, present Bengal society and culture can therefore be addressed as the product of multi-scale development of socio-cultural assimilations since prehistoric time. This is universal that the level of a civilization indicates the status of common people, their livelihood, social harmony, cultural organizations and institutions that pass from one generation to another, and every human generation experience the socio-political and cultural background of their preceding generations. In the same way, Bengal Delta has also witnessed this universal norm while developing its civilization. With the testimony of archaeological and historical records, this paper is aimed to explore those experience and socio-cultural transformations in Bengal Delta which were the great promoters to the formation of Bengal Civilization.



Figure 1: Location and basic topography of Bengal Delta

Bengal before the Medieval Rules:

Evidences of prehistoric and protohistoric human habitation and culture have been discovered in many parts of the Bengal basin. Recording of 162 lower Palaeolithic sites in West Bengal province in India (Ahsan, 2015) clearly defines the human habitation in Bengal basin since the earliest human occupation in South Asia. Moreover, at least 84 identified Neolithic sites (Ahsan, 2015) in Gangetic Plain and West Bengal indicate the sedentary settlements and well as the continuation of Chalcolithic and urban culture in Bengal Delta. Prehistoric data from present Bangladesh region, especially stone and fossil wood artefacts from the Lalmai hills of Comilla district (Chakrabarti, 2001: 32), Chaklapunji Tea Garden of Habiganj district (Roy, 2002) and Palkichara Tea estate of Moulvibazar district (Siddiq & Habib, 2016) also support prehistoric human habitation in the Delta. Yet, detail information about prehistoric life in Bengal basin because of the unavailability of prehistoric mound or human skeleton.

Albeit physical and linguistic anthropological studies (e.g. Gadgil *et al.*, 1998; Agrawal *et al.*, 2008; Blench, 2008) illustrate that there were multiple wave of migration as well as several ethnic groups inhabited in prehistoric South Asia, no prehistoric objects relate themselves to certain regional cultures. Following the Neolithic, there were very rich human occupations in the Delta during Chalcolithic period (e.g. Banerjee *et al.*, 1992) and urbanization in Iron Age. Evidently, almost all socio-cultural literature on Bengal Delta begins with Vedic period when the earliest written language, 'Sanskrit', started in South Asia. Geographically, Vedic and later Vedic periods were concerned with the northern and middle part of present India and Pakistan, excluding Bengal Delta. However, from the Mauryan period onward, greater Bengal, including Orissa, Bihar, and Assam, became a part of the Mauryan Empire. During this period, states were tribal in origin; kings had no permanent administration due to limited sovereignty and very narrow sources of revenue (Altekar, 1977). Nevertheless, the size of the states in the later Vedic period (1500–1000 BC) increased considerably.

Although, the Gangetic plains had remained out of bounds to the Vedic tribes because of thick forest cover, the use of iron axes and ploughs became widespread after 1000 BCE. Consequently, the jungles could be cleared with ease and the Vedic Aryans started to settle at the western Gangetic plains

(Kulke & Rothermund, 1998: 39-40). In the following period, many old Aryan tribes gradually formed comparatively larger political units which were called *Janapads* (small kingdoms). Kings owned the divine status in later Vedic texts (Sircar, 1974) and they were considered the divine owner of their lands and started collecting a regular land tax.

The Mauryan Empire (320-185 BC) was, literary, the first welfare state in India. It regulated the market price of commodities and prevented fraud in their measurement. Producers and traders were also protected by the state through provision of safe roads and warehouses. The state also promoted agriculture by facilitating irrigation. Public hygiene and moral welfare were among the priority considerations of the state. During the Mauryan dynasty, ancient India developed an efficient administrative system that diversified taxes in cash, kind, and labour (Altekar, 1977: 265-266), resembling many principles of modern bureaucracy. Written procedures and record keeping was also a seminal feature of the Mauryan administration. Above all, the Mauryan Empire was an elitist meritocracy. Because of nobility of Buddhism, it is likely that, there was no differentiation between the civil and military positions in the Mauryan administration. In the post-Mauryan period, political clash was a common culture in South Asia. Local administrative elites often betrayed the king's bidding for their own kingdoms. Later, , the Gupta Empire (AD 300-600) gained considerable stronghold in Bengal Delta albeit giving some power to the local bodies such as the village *panchayats* (bodies), town and district councils, as well as the local representatives had some decisive power (Altekar, 1977: 341-342). However, the orthodox Brahmanism and its discriminating caste system gained social dominancy in this time.

Originated in Bengal (Bagchi, 1993: 36), the Pala Empire (750 to 1162 AD) was the great promoters of classical Indian philosophy, literature, painting and sculpture as well as peace and prosperity after the long civil-anarchy following the Gupta rules in the Delta. The Senas, in contrast, came from the conservative and orthodox Deccan (Chowdhury, 2011) and were not likely to exercise the social liberalism practiced in over 400 years by the Buddhist Palas. In their short period of about 50 years, they brought social disorder and strictly conservative Hindu caste system in the Delta. The previously flourished Buddhist people groups were literally wiped out from Bengal during this period.

Socio-Cultural Formations before Medieval Era:

Regional variations impacted by local resources are likely to be common in Bengal since prehistoric period. Especially, the combination of thick rainforests, rivers, plains and hills encouraged people to develop a way of life that was different than central, north and western parts of South Asia. Contemporary archaeological discoveries of West Bengal in India and Bangladesh (see: Gupta, 1962; Chakrabarti, 2001; Ahsan, 2015; Jahan, 2016) have furnished evidence of a comparatively advanced pre-Aryan culture and civilization in Bengal. On the other hand, during its long eastward march of over one thousand years, Aryan culture had lost its virility by the time it reached Bengal (Chowdhury, 2011). Moreover, Aryan tradition functionally could not able to cross the western part of the Bengal region. Evidently, the eastern and south-eastern parts of the Delta never felt attraction to the Aryans due to their material and religious richness.

Family was the central unit of social and political organization in ancient period. The family was both patriarchal and matriarchal type where the eldest male or female was considered the head of family. Through the examples of presently survived pre-Aryan people groups such as Santal (e.g. Khan *et al.*, 2012), Munda (Siddiq & Habib, 2016), and Khasia (e.g. Khan *et al.*, 2010), it is evident that the kinship was normally hereditarily basis. Tribe and chiefdom also played significant roles in overall social structure and tribal head or chiefdom played significant role for ensuring social stability, disciplines and solidarity. There was no caste system or social classification in pre-Aryan Bengal. Conversely, the introduction of the concept of tax based state, orthodox Hindu religious idea, and social classification (caste system) according to religion and creed can remark the arrival of Aryan tribes in Bengal.

Different archaeological records indicate that religion was a central institution in socio-cultural structure in Bengal since prehistory. Consequently, every political change brought certain religious transformation in the Delta as well as heavily influenced and transformed social institutions and life pattern of mass people. The Aryan tribal states could not bring considerable religious change in major part of Bengal (Chowdhury, 2011) as pre-Aryan norms were rich in humbleness and strong in their roots. While the social system was experiencing its optimum pressure, disorders and divisions because of gradual expansion of different Aryan tribal estates in the later period, it was Mauryans who first

brought genuine peace and prosperities in a common ground with the help of their centralized administration as well as the teaching of tolerance, equality and middle way of Buddhism. The major ancient archaeological remains in Bengal Delta still do not represent pre or post Mauryan Brahmin culture originated from Aryan tribes, but Mauryan and post Mauryan reigns when Buddhism was the central religion in the formation of Bengali society and culture. The massive archaeological sites such as Mahasthangarh (Hossain, 2006), Wari-Bateshwar (Haque, 2001), Paharpur (Chowdhury, 2015a), Bhitagarh (Jahan, 2015), Mainamati (Rashid, 2015) in Bangladesh or distinguished Nalanda (Sastri, 1986) in West Bengal are some noble marks of Mauryan and post-Mauryan Buddhist social formation in Bengal Delta.

Following decline of the Mauryans, the Iranian originated northern Indian Aryan orthodox Brahmanism eventually took its deep root in Bengal with intense patronization of Gupta Emire (and later in the short period of Shena rules). Since then, the society was divided into caste groups. Worship of different natural power was commonly practiced in pre-Aryan period; however, the systematic rituals and worship of presently known orthodox deities in Bengal were actually introduced since the Gupta rule in the Delta.

Natural resources like wood, soil, reed and bamboo were among most common architectural materials. Until the Mauryan rules, mud bricks were commonly used to build wall, buildings, and religious structures even in large cities. Fired brick become popular from Gupta Empire and following period. Brick architectures were common all over the Bengal during very long period of Pala Empire (Bagchi, 1993). Because of scarcity, stone was not an architectural material albeit it was popular imported material used for making sculptures of different gods and goddess since ancient period. Along with the weavers, potters and handcrafters, all common people were associated with agriculture which was the main source of economy and basic subsistence in the states. Trade was religiously discouraged mainly from late Gupta period. The women perhaps did not enjoy very high social status as only few epigraphic sources hardly mentioned the name of king's mother or wife. Institutional education system was not very wide in pre-Muslim rules in Bengal. Very few religious centres have been archaeologically discovered which were serving the teaching and practices, mainly of Buddhist philosophical sects until Sena rule. Among them, Paharpur Mahavihara (Chowdhury, 2015a), Nalanda Mahavihara (Sastri,

1986), Shalban Mahavihara (Rashid, 2015), numerous Buddhist religious centers in Dinazpur district, and Savar, Dhaka (Hoque *et al.*, 1996) are notable.

Medieval Bengal with its Welfare States:

Medieval period in Bengal is marked with the arrival of Ikhtiyar al-Din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji, a central Asian Turkic military general of Qutb al-Din Aibak in 1203 AD (see detail: Eaton, 1996; Chaurasia, 2002). Besides the political power, Muslims came to the region with two other major identities; traders and religious preachers. With their humble and extraordinary philosophical activities, these traders and saints also contributed shaping socio-cultural institutions in Bengal even before the establishment of Muslim rule.

The sultans brought a wide socio-economical change in Bengal rejuvenating many welfare based institutions. Some of them were even maintained in Mauryan Empire (see: Eaton, 1996). In developing their administration, the sultans of Turkic origin at a time followed the administrative procedures from the Abbasid caliphs to maintain Islamic tradition as well as continue the indigenous systems to secure the welfare and social justice. Yet, the real credit of Turkic rulers in Bengal was to give equality to every citizen in the Delta. People from all religions enjoyed social security and state facility. For example, the prime minister (wazir) during the reign of Husain Shah was a Hindu. It is noteworthy that, in medieval India, the Wazir was responsible for all the civil servants and the controller-general of finance of the military department (Qureshi, 1971: 80-81). The list of several welfare and state departments indicates considerable increase in public service during Turkish sultanate period. Alongside of the routine administrative services, there were departments for social charity, agriculture, record keeping, public relations, market regulation, and a separate police service for preserving law and order and executing judicial decisions (Chaurasia, 2002: 135-139).

The Mughal administration, in the second half of medieval Bengal, perhaps was the most successful and most centralized administration in the history of Bengal and India as a whole. The Mughals came from the Central Asian region and brought their past administrative experience with them and utilized it to build and run the vast Indian empire. The Mughals attempted to conquer India several times, but finally succeeded under the leadership of Babur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty (Karim, 1995; Edwardes & Garrett, 1995: 1-22). Babur

was known as a master tactician and a great warrior. His forefathers included legendary warriors like Tamerlane and Chengiz Khan.

The unique contribution of the Mughal administration was the introduction of a unified grading structure called the *mansabdari* system (Edwardes & Garrett, 1995: 158). The civil and military services were integrated under the *mansabdari* system. Personal ranks varied with the importance of job responsibilities. Meritorious persons were awarded higher rank than their actual contingent strength. The *mansabdari* system made the Mughal administration a bureaucratic organization which was followed by the colonial British rulers (Karim, 1995). The Mughals also established checks and balances at every level of the administration, which helped them ensuring good governance (Edwardes & Garrett, 1995). Moreover, citizens of all religions and cultures enjoyed equal social status. Regardless of socio-cultural background, anyone with skill and quality was able to take higher position.

Several rulers are praised and glorified by historians in all parties; however, the Turkic origin Husain Shah in sultanate period, the Afgan origin Sher Shah of Sur dynasty, and the Iranian origin Shaista Khan in Mughol period, are perhaps the notable ones who contributed the most to shape socio-economy and culture in medieval Bengal. Alauddin Husain Shah (1494-1519)'s reign is considered as the golden period of Bengal. His tolerance and liberalism was so praised by all social groups that even contemporary Hindu poet Vijaya Gupta mentioned him as the incarnation of lord Krisna (Chowdhury, 2015b). Husain Shah strongly patronized art, literature, Sufism, thousands of charity organizations, and overall social liberalism in all across the Delta. He even patronised Hindu religious movement (O'Connell, 2011). Moreover, the Bangla version of Mahabharata, one of the two holiest Hindu texts in Bengal was prepared under the patronage of his two governors. The institution of jiziyah (security tax for non-Muslims) did not prevail in Husain Shahi Bengal (Chowdhury, 2015b). Therefore, it is likely that Husain Shah and his successors have strengthened the foundation of the state on the basis of the support and sympathy of social groups regardless of creed and status.

Sher Shah (see: Matta, 2005), the founder of the Sur dynasty in Eastern India, established peace and order in the empire. He offered loans to farmers to encourage agriculture and assured the land right of the general people for the first time by introducing the system of Patta (deed of right) and Kabuliyat

(deed of agreement). The police system was improved and the village headmen become responsible for the maintenance of peace in their respective areas. Sher Shah made liberal grants for charitable purposes, opened free public kitchens for the poor, founded madrasas, mosques, erected hospitals and laid out gardens. Within a short period of only five years (1540-1545AD) in his office, a network of excellent roads with sarais (inn), mosques, temples, advanced communication was came into light in Bengal. His most important road was the Sarak-i-Azam (Grand Truck Road) which ran for 3000 miles from Sonargaon to Multan via Agra, Delhi and Lahore, with shade-giving trees on both sides. This road came to be known as the grand trunk road in the Colonial period.

As a Mughal subahdar, Shaista Khan ruled Bengal for 24 years, between 1664 and 1688 AD (Karim, 1995). He basically promoted trade and commerce, and made the roads and rivers secured from robbers. He also granted the foreign companies privileges albeit the European companies sometimes abused their privileges. He was also a promoter of development and prosperity in Bengal Delta. Archaeological remains such as Chhota Katra, Boro Katra, Lalbagh fort, the tomb of Pari Bibi (fairy lady), the Chawk Bazar mosque, Seven Domed Mosque, the Khizrpur mosque also signify the prosperity in his reign (see: Hasan, 1987b). Contemporary and later historians have praised Shaista Khan for his superb generalship, his administration of justice and promotion of the welfare of the people. They have also emphasized on his liberality, charity and religions pursuits. During his time, the price of grain was extremely low and living was so accessible for mass people.

Socio-Cultural Assimilations in Medieval Bengal:

Medieval rulers in Bengal gave priorities to establish social cohesion and higher achievement of people. Those who are really competent, they got their social position according to their merit and quality. The Muslim nobles constituted an influential powerful class in the society. However, it was not happened by exploiting others. Every person was treated both socially and economically as a citizen, not by religious or ethnic identity.

Women were not equal to men in the society, albeit they enjoyed honourable and sometimes very powerful positions in state. Social status of women was quite honourable during Mughal period. Many mosques and monuments

are still in existence which were built by or in the memory of noble ladies. There were also some noble women who cultivated arts, literature, music and sciences. The system of 'sati', in which - widows were burning alive along with their cremated dead husbands, was widely exercised by Hindus (Bhat, 2015), albeit rulers in different period took initiatives to prevent 'sati' system. As like other parts of the world, slavery was also common in Bengal since early stage of medieval society (Mukherjee, 2009). The slaves were traded in different urban markets. Albeit the life of slaves was completely controlled by their masters, any slave with skill could hold higher social status. In medieval Bengal, even many sultans were slaves in their early life, yet slavery was socially discouraged in the later period of Muslim rules.

Besides of helping the farmers providing loans and state help, many types of irrigation system and cannels were created to secure agricultural production. Land was cultivated by the peasants who contributed the largest share of the revenue of the state. Paddy, wheat, sugarcane, indigo, tobacco, cotton and silk were the main agricultural products in the Delta. Besides, market controlling and ensuring the fairness of product price was a major success in the prosperity of medieval life. The prices of almost all of the commodities were low. Life was so accessible that, during the reign of Shaista Khan, about 150 kg (8 maund) rice could be bought with just 1 taka (Karim, 1995). Along with agriculture, trade became a major part of state economy. National and international voyage was a common part of life in Bengal. Monetary system was very strong as every ruler introduced either silver or gold coin in this period. Over 15 mint towns (Eaton, 1996: 317-322) in clearly indicate that Bengal has never witnessed any rich and strongest economy as like medieval period. Industries also developed to a considerable extent. The state encouraged various industries such as textile industry, the dyeing industry, sugar industry, metal industry, stone and brick works and the paper industry.

Like all other periods, the highest ranking people were the richest and lived luxurious live. The middle class was constituted mainly by the traders, merchants, bankers, businessmen and the physicians. This middle class people generally led simple and moderate lives. Mainly the cultivators and handcrafters constituted the base of the society. They often had to struggle with the hardships, caused by flood, famine, and other natural calamities albeit there were initiatives from the state (see: Chaudhuri, 2008). On the other hand, the

relationship between different religious groups was harmonious and cordial. It is undisputed that the cultural unity during medieval rules, especially in Mughal period was the greatest success in Bengal Delta has ever experienced. Two types of institutions perhaps contributed the most in education, philosophy, social liberalism and equality, humanity, cultural innovation, and eventually in the formation of Bengal Civilization in medieval period were Madrasah and Khanqah (for detail: Eaton, 1996: 268-303). Madrasah was introduced in Bengal during the early stage of Turkic rules. Many large and popular madrasahs were founded all over the Bengal Delta during both in Sultanate and Mughal period. Madrasahs was the foundation of the first systematic, advanced, and universal education in Bengal. Some medieval rulers prepared curriculum for madrasah education which remained effective for over a century. In the early period of medieval era, education was based on language, theology, Islamic law and philosophy; however, Mughal madrasah education was very advanced with the scientific disciplines like astronomy, mathematics, human physiology, medicine, geography and biology.

Khanqah, on the other hand, was the house or abode of Islamic saints known as sufis and dervishes in Bengal (Eaton, 1996: 71, 228). First introduced in the 13th century by the Persian sufis, *khanqahs* played an important role for the social and cultural development in medieval Bengal. Contemporary historical records illustrate that every rulers built many mosques, madrasahs and *khanqahs* in their reigns. Khanqahs were so important that, six of the thirteen inscriptions of the first one hundred years of Muslim rule in Bengal (1204-1304) bear the testimony of *khanqahs*. The Sian inscription (dated 1221 AD) is the first epigraphic evidence of a *khanqah* in Bengal, which is also the second Islamic inscription in the region (Waiz, 2015). Khanqah was a spiritual institution based on human understanding and feeling. Every khanqah had a *langarkhana* or free kitchen attached to it that provided food to the poor and the needy. People of all religions, races, caste and creed in medieval period used to visit *khanqahs* for spiritual healing and satisfaction, which truly enabled the Islamic saints to reach the common people and understand their feelings and attitudes.

During the medieval period, there was a revolution in Bengal art, architecture and literature. The sultans primarily tried to follow the basic principle of Islamic architecture; however, they eventually established an architectural pattern with

the mixture of Indo-Arabic flavour in the rainy Bengal. Architectures were built mainly with brick and clay. In the later period, the Mughals brought the total innovation and renaissance in art and architecture. They started massive architectural pattern with the admixture of Persian and central Asian flavour in previously practiced Indo-Arabic Islamic architecture in Bengal. It is also evident that medieval rulers also built and patronised temples and shrines all across the Delta (Eaton, 1996: 228-266). Hundreds of mosques and terracotta mosques (Hasan, 1981), temples and shrines (see: Ghosh, 2005), monuments (detail in: Hasan, 1987b; Alamgir, 2011), bridges and culverts (Alamgir, 2015), cities (e.g. Hasan, 1987a; Khatun, 2006; Roychoudhury, 2012) and mint towns (Eaton, 1996: 317) all across the Bengal still glorify the medieval golden age. Medieval Bengal is also praised for its contribution in Bangla language and literature, as because modern Bangla language took its form during this time. Many of the rulers had a famous poets, foreign travellers and historians in their courts. Many ancient Sanskrit texts and important were also translated into Bangla, Arabic and Persian language.

Bengal in Colonial and Post-Colonial Rules:

It is Bengal that was too unfortunate to give European the colonial ground in South Asia as the colonisation brought the actual chaos and rapid destructions in cultural variations and long rooted traditional socio-cultural and economical practices in the Delta. The colonial period certainly created wide gap between state and its common citizens which is still in effect. The officials in colonial period were recruited only from the noble Englishmen (?), granting them much greater power, status, training, and pay (Misra, 1980). The beginning of British bureaucratic absolutism was virtually a process of depoliticization whereby the bureaucracy took up the power. The old aristocracy was on the wane and a new middle class group emerged in the society based on trade, commerce, and European education. This new class generally collaborated with the colonial administration (Misra, 1980: 314-315) and helped the colonial continuation. These emaciated old aristocracy along with the submissive and opportunist middle class helped the colonialists to play a definitive role in the affairs of the society (see: Joshi, 2010). Mughal administration was basically an urban-based administration; in contrast, the British deliberately replace the traditional land ownership with a root level administrative authority. This expansion

also brought the fractions in traditional social institutions and brought social disorders.

Previously enjoyed liberal life, especially of the mass people, was shattered the new system of land distribution and revenue collection. European colonialists never settled down in India and never adopt the local culture. Therefore, there was always a major distance between Europeans and local people in Bengal since the beginning. In the early stage of their rule, the British created a landlord (*Jamindar*) class who were the mediators between government agents and the locals (see: Joshi, 2010). They decided the rate of revenue in their territory and become the absolute controller of mass people. Consequently, there were inevitable gaps between state and common citizens. Colonial revenue system adversely affected the communal character of the village. The self-sufficient economy and communal social life and changed the nature of village administration. The colonial rule also brought the concepts of industrialization and urbanization which worked as the factors for the growth of new social classes with new social values. This led to the change in the pattern of social stratification in the society.

Albeit badly affected by colonial reformation, on the other hand, the Bengal Delta at least enjoyed a hundred years of supremacy hosting the colonial capital of Calcutta in the region. Providing that, many nobles in Bengal become the prominent figures and as well as many socio-cultural tradition in Bengal spread all over India. Due to the rapid infrastructural improvement like railway system, local products also reached comparatively extended region than before. It was also possible for the peasants to sell their commodities in long-distance markets, and therefore, agriculture gradually became commercialized (see: Chaudhuri, 2008). One important impact of the British rule was felt in the increase of mobility among the common people. The system of better communications actually gave the people opportunity to move from one area to the other, albeit the great majority of wagers were still born and died in their village.

While the overall intention of British rule in India was concentrated to get profit from the administration and business, none of colonial state policies was indented to contribute positive cultural construction and social solidarity. To achieve their goal, the British eventually came to trigger the religious division. Aiming this, they attempted build the image of Muslim rulers (whom they

overthrew) as the destroyers of Hindu society in one hand, and glorify the previously established Buddhist era with an over glorified and over prosperous era contrasting the image of medieval period. Contemporary archaeological research initiatives (see: Chakrabarty, 2009) and historical books (e.g. Stewart, 1813) written by mainly the British writers, clearly witness this intention. They divided the history of India into three major periods - Ancient, Mohammedan, and Modern. The 'Modern' was described with the virtual conquest (?) by English; the 'Mohammedan' was the whole period of Islamic rule which has been showed as the 'invasion' and with a similar illustration of chaotic European medieval; and the 'Ancient' was whole period of India before the Islamic rule, albeit there were different religious practices and significant socio-political progressions since pre-Aryan period.

Crimes and corruption became rampant in British rule. Inequality, discrimination, oppression were the fundamental output of the colonial ruling policy. Old order of the rural Bengali and tribal groups in every corner was in complete decline (detail in: Hasan & Gupta, 2004). In only 200 years of British administration, there have been tremendous changes and fractions in harmonious social and cultural practices in Bengal Delta. Except for the jute industry and two universities, there is nothing that the colonial rule has contributed which can signify the Bengal Civilization. The Europeans in India never adopted the local norms and values which could help cultural assimilation. Instead, the British administration became an important vehicle of colonial aggression and unique way of torturing and pressuring common citizens, causing significant economic, social, cultural, religious and philosophical fractions and divisions in Bengali society.

The negative consequences of 'divide and rule' policy of British rulers in India, the harmonious Bengal society, which was developed in long and balanced medieval social liberalism, faced its ultimate fraction with the issue of the Partition of Bengal (BongoVongo) in 1905 and its re-unification in 1911 (see: Johnson, 1973). British were successfully able to divide the Bengal society, and in their concluding stage, Bengal Delta was eventually divided into two societies basing mainly on Islam and orthodox Hindu communalism (detail in: Chatterji, 2002). The division became more evident following the formation of India and Pakistan in 1947 as civil wars, social clashes and regional grouping were spread all over in South Asia. Eastern part of Bengal Delta became the

East Pakistan and Western part of the Delta remained a provincial state of India. Later in the Pakistan period, and following the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, social division of religious and regional identity has been a focused issue in both West and Eastern part of Bengal Delta. Affected by the values of religious majority and current political boundaries, the two sides of Bengal seem acting as two separate nation states in present history, albeit all people groups in Bengal Delta has been sharing a common geographical, economical and socio-cultural value for millennia.

Discussion and Conclusion:

The Aryanisation was the first landmark in the formation of the new 'personality' of non-Aryan indigenous cultural character. It is evident by various Neolithic and Chalcolithic settlements that pre-Aryan population of Bengal built sophisticated, organized and civilized life (see: Banerjee *et al.*, 1992; Chakrabarti, 2001; Ahsan, 2015). Later, the Aryan tradition gradually spread its roots in Bengal albeit facing local resistance and modifications (Chowdhury, 2011). A major part of Bengal population, especially in the East, literally remained uninfluenced by caste based Aryan culture and afterwards widely accepted the moderate way of Buddhist tradition during Mauryan period. Although there were some cultural conflicts in early period of Gupta era, until the orthodox extremism during comparatively short-lived Sena rule, on the ground of the indigenous tradition, the common people of Aryan and Buddhist philosophy, norm, rituals, art and architecture assimilated through time and developed the a tradition which has been the symbolic form of Bengal Civilization. They were the root level people in the Bengal Delta, who later welcomed and embraced the egalitarian Islamic norms and tradition at the hands of Muslim saints and teachers (*sufis*).

As like Aryans, the Muslims also came in South Asia with the aim of settlement and spread of the faith. However, contrasting the Aryans, the principles of equality and social liberalism in Islam earned great influence over the root level people who were facing various socio-cultural oppressions in that time. Therefore, Islam has been the most widely accepted and culturally rooted foreign religion in Bengal Delta.

As the rulers adopted the local culture by settling down in Bengal, essentially there was tolerance in cross-religious faiths, and administration was basing

of welfare (Karim, 1995; Eaton, 1996; Matta, 2005; Chowdhury, 2011). Consequently, in the period of over 550 years, Aryan, Buddhist, and Islamic norms and philosophy naturally experienced some positive admixture and influence on one another. Besides of the life-way, thoughts, and customs, the process of mutual assimilation also appears in architectural, numismatic, and various archaeological, historical, and literary sources in medieval Bengal. Alongside their contribution to mass people, the philosophy and methods of Muslim sufis and saints had strong effect on non-Islamic religions as well as in the formation of some religious movements in Bengal, especially the Bhakti movement (the Neo-Vaishnavism) led by Sri Chaitanya (O'Connell, 2011). Similarly, local philosophical thoughts also influenced the Islam in Bengal. For example, the worship of Buddha's footprints was transformed into veneration of the holy Prophet's footprints (qadam rasul) and the concept of panch-Pir (five saints) in eastern Bengal (Chowdhury, 2011) is thought to be inspired by the five Bodhisattvas (five development stage of Buddha). In this way of transformation and adoption, Muslims in medieval Bengal developed an (Bengali) Islamic way of life, which was different in form and practice than the Muslims in other regions in India, central Asia or Arab world. With some admixtures, both Sultanate and Mughal rulers in Medieval Bengal were the greatest promoters from whom the Bengal Civilization achieved its mature stage. The Europeans, mainly of Portuguese, Dutch, British, French, and Denis tried to establish their control over Bengal and other coastal region of India, but it were the British who achieved ultimate success. It is true that during the colonial rule, iron and coal mining were expanded, development occurred in tea and cotton plantations, and a vast rail network was constructed (Bhagat, 2004: 5-6); yet, all of these colonisers always remained as foreigners as they never indented to involve in socio-cultural practice, but only making wealth and money. Albeit the colonial India became "the jewel in the British crown" (Bhagat, 2004: 5) in the eyes of some British historians, in the reality however, the lands, rights, and livelihoods of the rural population had to be sacrificed to commercial ventures of colonisers; and colonial way of industrialization led the Bengalis to socio-cultural conflicts deepening deprivation in cities and towns.

Tangibly, the indicators of Bengal Civilization represent to the prosperous cities, towns and ports, classic and terracotta architectures, cultural and art

objects, sculptures, inscriptions, coins, as well as hundreds of philosophical, religious and literature books and texts. Intangibly, the indicators represent its hospitality, socio-religious liberalism, agriculture, river-based livelihood, myths and oral histories, wide variation of uncountable folk stories and songs, traditional customs, rituals, and festivals. These tangible and intangible components are indisputable signifiers of Bengali culture and in some or more extant they are different from culture and civilization in other parts of India and South Asia as a whole. Considering these tangible and intangible cultural components, it is now evident that the Aryan, Mauryan and the Golden Medieval periods aided the most for socio-cultural assimilation and the pathway to the formation of a Civilization in Bengal Delta; at least archaeological records and historical evidences signify this idea.

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OSMANLI DEVLETİ VE HİNT ALT KITASI ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİLERİNİN ULUSLARARASI HUKUK ÇERÇEVESİNDE DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ

Abu Saleh Md. Mahmudul HASAN

Giriş:

Uluslararası Hukuk günümüzdeki klasik tanımlamaya göre devletler arasındaki ilişkiler düzenleyen hukuk dalı olarak tanımlanır. Uluslararası hukuka katkı yapan ilk toplumlarından Yunan ve Romadır. Tarihçilerin ikinci Roma olarak kastedilen Bizans, eski Türk devletlerinin uluslararası düzen anlayışı ve İslam hukuk sistemi, Osmanlı sistemini etkileyen temel faktörlerdir. Uluslararası Hukuk olarak 1815'teki Viyana Nizamnamesi, sonra Viyana diplomatik ilişkiler hakkında Viyana sözleşmesi, daha sonra Konsolosluk İlişkileri hakkında Viyana Sözleşmesinde anlatılan devletler arasında elçiler gönderilmesi, Konsoloslukların çeşitli faaliyetler sistemi ve ayrıntılı olarak beyan eden bir türlü kanunlarının bir çoğunu Osmanlı devletiyle Hindistan altı kıtası arasındaki ilişkilerinde iki devlet tarafından takip etmelerini görmekteyiz. 1556-1748 arasında Hindistan altı kıtasındaki Moğol- Osmanlı ilişkilerinde Hindistandaki İmparator Babür, Humayun, Akbar, Cihangir, Şahjahan, Auranzeb, Farrukhsiyar ile Osmanlı Sultan Mahmud, Murad, Suleymen, Selim'in kominikasyonlarında uluslararası hukukun önemli nokta olarak diplomatik ilişkilerinin iyi örneklerini görüyoruz. Aynı şekilde 1782- 1924 arası yıllarında Hindistandaki Meysür devletinin İmparatoru Tipu Sultan ile Osmanlı Sultan II. Abdülhamid'le yenilenen iletişimleri daha sonra 1918'de savaş sırasında Hindistanlılardan desteklemek amacıyla kurulan Hilafet hareketinde görmekteyiz. Bu tür ilişkileri Diplomatik ilişkileri konusunda çok önemli yer almıştır.

Uluslararası Hukukta Diplomatik İlişkileri:

Uluslararası hukuk, devletlere, uluslararası örgütlere, devlet niteliği kazanmamış örgütlenmiş topluluklara ve uluslararası toplumun bütününe genel çıkarlarını ya da paylaştığı değerleri ilgilendiren bireylere ilişkin durumlarda doğrudan bireylere yönelik kuralları kapsamaktadır.¹ Öte yandan Devletler arasındaki müzakereleri sürdürmek için her türlü adım, sanat ve uygulamayı diploması olarak biliniyordur. Bu tür diploması uluslararası hukukun önemli konularındandır. Diplomatik ilişkilerinin tarihinde Osmanlı devletinin örnekler önemli rol oynamıştır.

Hindistan altı kıtasındaki Moğol ile Osmanlı Devletinin ilişkilerinin değerlendirilmesi (1556-1748):

Hindistan altı kıtasında bulunan Moğol İmparatorluğunun Birinci İmparator olarak Babür ile Osmanlı devletinin pek çok ilişkileri olduğu görünmemektedir. Aslında Babür, Osmanlı-Özbek ittifagının² karşıya olup bunu yakından görmediği için onlardan uzak durdu. Babürden sonra İmparator olarak gelen Humayun da başlangıçta sıcak iletişime girmemiş ama son zamanlarda iyi ilişkileri kurmaya önemli adımlar atmıştır. Örnek olarak Osmanlı amiral Sidi Ali Reis Hindistana geldiği zaman onu çok hoş karşılanıp Moğol Hükümette yüksek rütbe vermeye teklif ettiğini görmekteyiz. Humayundan sonra İmparator Akber Osmanlılarla ilişkileri konusunda önemli adımlar atmadı. Sonra oğlusu İmparator Cihangırda Sefavî İmparator Şah Abbas'ın yanında olup Osmanlılardan uzak durmuştu ama o da sonra pişman olup Osmanlılarla ilişki kurdu. Aslında Şah Abbas Cihangir'in ilglendiği Qandahar'da saldırı yaptıktan sonra Cihangir Safevilere karşı gelip Osmanlı-Uzbek-Moğol ittifagı kurmak konusunda ileriye gitti ve sonra Osmanlı Sultan Murad IV'dan üçlü ittifagı teklifi kabul edip iletişime geçti. İlk düzenli ve resmi bir şekilde sağlam olarak Hindistan İmparator Şah Cihan Osmanlılarla diplomatik münasebetler kurmak

1. Pazarcı, 2011:5

2. Osmanlılar, Safevilere karşı bir güç yaratmak için Özbeklilerle bir ittifak kurmuştu. O dönemlerde Hindistanlı Babür Safevilerle iyi ilişkiler içerindeydi. Ayrıntılı bilgi için bkz <http://acikerisim.aku.edu.tr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11630/2972/399417.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> (Erişim Tarihi: 17.05.2017)

yolunda önemli adım attığını görmekteyiz. Üç devlet ittifakını da O ileriye götürdü. Ondan sonra gelen İmparator Aurongzeb bu tür ilişkilerini devam etti ama onun vefatından sonra ilişkilerinde bir boşluk yaşanmıştır. Daha sonra İmparator Farrukhşiyer gelip Osmanlılara elçi göndererek ilişkilerini canlandırdı. Ama 1748'den sonra tekrar ilişkileri soğuklanmıştır.³

Diplomatik ilişkileri olarak mektuplaşma örneği:

Osmanlı-Uzbek-Moğol ittifakı: Şah Abbas'a karşı Üç devlet ittifakı kurmak amacıyla Osmanlı Sultan Murad IV, Moğol İmparator Cihangir'a gönderilen mektupta şöyle yazdı 'Biz zararlı mezhepleri yok etmek amacıyla Safevi⁴ Şah Abbasa karşı askerlerimizi gönderdik, Siz de aynı zamanda onlara saldırı yaparsanız mutlaka o İmparatorluk yok olup İslam askerleri kazanacak.'⁵

Şah Abbas'a karşı: Hindistan'daki İmparator Şah Cihan Osmanlı İmparator Murad IV'a mektup gönderip şöyle rica etti 'Şu an amacımız önümüzde olan Qandahar bölgeden zararlı mezhepleri yok etmektir. Her Müslüman hükümdar'ın aynı hedef olmalıdır. Bunun için siz de onları Irak'tan özellikle Bagdat'tan çıkarırsanız çok iyi olur.'⁶

Dini duygularını paylaşma: İki devlet arasında İslam ortaklığını olduğu için bazen İmparatorlar arasında dini duygular paylaşmak için mektuplar gönderilmiştir. Bu konuda Osmanlı Sultan Süleyman II'nin Moğol İmparator Aurangzeb'a mektuplaşma örneğini görüyoruz.⁷ Aynı şekilde Hindistanda Nizamul Mülk Asafjah I'ın Sultan Mahmud I'a da dini konularda mektuplaşma olayı olduğunun ortada misal var.

3. Farooqi, 1989:229

4. Safevi Devleti, 1501 yılında kurulmuş, 1736 yılına dek varlığını devam ettirerek Azerbeycan, İran, Ermenistan, Irak, Afganistan, Türkmenistan ve Güneydoğu Anadolu bölgelerinde hüküm sürmüş olan Şii inanişaya sahip bir Türk Devletidir. Ayrıntılı bilgi için bkz - http://www.turktarih.com/Safevi_Devleti.html (Erişim Tarihi: 17.05.2017)

5. Ahmad, 1849:143

6. Farooqi, 1989:10

7. İşler, 2014:03

Devletler'in ortak meselelerin çözümü:

Hac yolu ve Portekizler: Kanuni Sültan Süleyman zamanında Hindistan'dan Osmanlı eyalet olan kutsal şehir Mekke'ye Hac yapmak için ve Osmanlı topraklara ticaret yapmaya giden yolculara Portekizler Hint okyanusunda rahatsızlık ve zulüm yapıyordu. Bu haber Sultan Süleyman'a gelince ve Hindistanlılar sıkıntılarını ifade ettiği halde Sultan hemen ayrıntılı ve önemli adımlar attı. Hatta 1560 yılında Sultan Süleyman Portekiz İmparatoru⁸ şöyle tehdit etti, 'Eğer sizler Hacca giden ve Osmanlı topraklara gelen Hindistanlılara karşı zulüm ve rahatsızlık yapmayı bırakmazsanız, bilirsiniz ki sizlere karşı da önemli adımlar atılacak ve sonra barış konusunda çok geç kalınacaktır.'⁹ Bu tür kardeşlik örneği Osmanlıların Hindistanlılarla olan ilişkilerini çok güçlendirmiştir.

Diploması Temsilcilikleri olayı ve Elçiler Protokole büyük önem verme örnekleri:

Resepsiyon töreni: Osmanlı- Hindistan devletleri arasındaki çeşitli diplomatik formaliteleri, diplomatik protokol kuralları takip etmeleri gerçekten diplomatik ilişkileri ve Uluslararası hukuka önemli katkılar sunmuştur. İki devlet birbirlerine Elçilerini çok resmi nezaket kurallarıyla karşılayarak onları Topkapı Sarayı ve Dıvanı Humayun gibi yüksek emperyel yetkililerin mahsus yerlerinde harika fanatisyon ve güzelce görkemli resepsiyon töreni düzenleyerek kabul ediyordu.

Elçilerin seçimi: İki devlet geçici mahiyette görev üstlenmeye rağmen elçilerin seçimine çok büyük bir özen gösteriyordu. Özellikle Osmanlı devletleri onların elçi seçme aşamasında elçilerin yabancı dil bilmesi, ün ve mevki sahibi olmasına dikkat ediyordu. Hatta yurt dışına görev üstlenen elçilere gidişlerinden önce defterdarlık, nişancılık, beylerbeyliği, kazaskerlik gibi unvan veriliyordu.¹⁰

8. Portekiz İmparatorluğu, tarihteki ilk küresel imparatorluktur. Batı Avrupa'daki koloni imparatorluklarından, 1415 ile 1999 yılları arasında sömürgeciliği en uzun süre sürdüren devlettir. Ayrıntılı bilgi için bkz - https://www.turkcebilgi.com/portekiz_imparatorlu%C4%9Fu (Erişim Tarihi: 17.05.2017)

9. Farooqi, 1989:17

10. Reçber, 2011:10

Hediyeleşme örnekleri: Elçiler gönderilirken iki devlet bir çok hediyeler, kendi topraklarından seçilmiş çok değerli hediye ve hibeler götürüyordu. Diğer yandan kabul edilirken de önemli ve değerli hediyelerle kabul ediliyordu. Osmanlı Sultan Murad IV Bağdat fethettikten sonra Kapıcıbaşı Arslan Agha'nın önderliğinde bir heyetini Hindistan'a elçi olarak gönderirken kraliyet mektubunun yanında kraliyet istikrarlı bir at, mücevherli eyer ve kaparion, Türk pelerini gibi çok değerli hediyeler gönderdi. Öte yandan Hindistandaki İmparator Şah Cihan da 1. Haziran, 1640 yılında Osmanlı elçi Arslan Agha'yı kabul edilirken görkemli elbise, mücevheratli kuşak, elmaslı hançer ve 50,000 Rupee hediye verip kabul etti.¹¹

Elçiler gönderilmesi ve kabul etmesi örnekleri:

Bahmani Devleti: Hindistan altı kıtasından Moğollardan da önce Bahmani devletinin¹² Sultan Muhammad Şah Bahmani Osmalı Sultan Muhammad II'a elçi gönderdi ve gönderilen mektupta iki devlet arasında sağlam ilişkisi kurmaya birlikte çalışmayı rica etti. Bunun cevabı olarak Sultan Muhammad II da aynı düşüncede olduğunu söyleyerek her türlü kardeşliği ve beraberliğini paylaşmasını ifade etti.¹³

İmparator Cihangır'ın karşılanması: Cihangır döneminin başlangıçta Cihangır ile Safevi Şah Abbasın yakınlığından dolayı Osmanlılarla ilişkileri soğuk olduğu için 1608 ve 1615 yılında Osmanlılardan gönderilen elçileri soğuk alımıyla karşılanmıştır ama sonra Cihangır pışman olup Osmanlılarla ittifak kurmaya adım attı.

İmparator Şah Cihan ve sıcak ilişkileri: Cihangır'ın soğuk davranıştan sonra iki devlet arasındaki ilişkilerini kaldığı yerden güçlü bir şekilde 11. Farooqi, 1989:28

12. The Bahmani Sultanate or Bahmanid Empire was a Muslim state of the Deccan in southern India and was one of the great medieval Indian kingdoms. It was North Deccan region to the river Krishna. According to some Muslim historian a rebel chieftain of Saulatabad (an area around Ellora), was under Muhammad Bin Tughalaq. The sultanate was founded on 3rd of August 1347 by the Turkish Governor Ala-ud-Din Hassan Bahman Shah/ Hasan Gangu/ Allauddin Hassan, possibly of Tajik-Persian descent, who revolted against the Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad bin Tughluq. Ayrıntılı bilgi için bkz.. <http://historyofindia-madhunimkar.blogspot.com.tr/2009/09/bahamani-kingdom.html> (Erişim Tarihi: 17.05.2017)

13. Siddiqi, 2003:116

devam etmek amacıyla Osmanlı Sultan Muhammad IV, Sayyid Muhiuddin'i Elçi olarak Hindistana gönderdi. Şah Cihan Osmanlı elçileri geliyor duyunca çok sevinip ve mutlu olup onları karşılanmak için çok güzel ve resmi bir şekilde ayrıntılı düzenlemeler yapıp resepsyon töreni düzenlendi. O muhteşem törende Hindistandaki çoğu valiler katılmış oldu. Hatta Osmanlı elçileri kabul ettiği anında her vali 10,000 Rupees olarak hediye verdi. Osmanlılardan bu elçiyi önemli amacı Orta Asya'da barışın yeniden tesis edilmesi konusunda Hindistan İmparator Şah Cihan'dan istemesiydi özellikle Uzbek İmparatorluğunun 'Khanlar' arasında dostane çözüm yolu bulmaktı.¹⁴

İmparator Aurangzeb'in karşılanması: İmparator Şah Cihan'ın sağlam ilişkilerinden sonra bir arada Osmanlılarla olan diplomatik kısıtlanmayı kırmak için 1689 yılında Sultan Süleyman II (1687-91) Ahmed Agayı elçi olarak Aurangzeb'a gönderdiği zaman Aurangzeb şaşkın olup sürpriz olarak elçilerini hoşla karşıladı.

İmparator Farrukhsiyar'ın önemli adım: Hindistandaki İmparator Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719) Moğolların onun önceki son zamanlarda yaratılmış diplomatik izlasyonu kırmak amacıyla kendisinden çok samimi bir şekilde Ekim, 1713 yılında ünlü adam Hacı Niyaz Beg Han'ı elçi olarak Osmanlı Sultan Ahmed III (1703-30)'a gönderdi. Onu gönderdiği zaman Osmanlı Sultan için çok değerli ve çeşitli hediyeler ve yeni duyguları ve paylaştıklarını anlatılan önemli mektup ta ilettili.¹⁵

1782-1924 arasındaki Osmanlı- Hindistan altı kıtası'nın çok etkili ilişkilerinin odak noktaları:

Önceki Moğol İmparatorla olduğu ilişkileri ne kadar resmiyse 1748 den sonra soğuklanmıştır. Bundan sonra 1782-1924 arasındaki ilişkilerini daha çok verimli ve etkili olduğunu söylenir. Hindistandaki Meysur İmparator Tipu Sultan'dan yeniden devam edilen sıcak ve sağlam ilişkileri daha sonra resmi konsolosluk açamaya kadar ilerlendi. Hatta Osmanlı- Rusya Savaşı, Balkanlar savaşı ve Trablusgarp Savaşı gibi olaylarda Hindistan'dan çeşitli desteklemeleri ve son zamanlardaki Hilafet hareketiye kadar ilişkilerinin derinleştiğini görmekteyiz.

14. Farooqi, 1989:32

15. Rashid, 1867:321

Meysur Sultanlıkları ve Osmanlı devleti örneği:

Meysur Sultan Haydar Ali ile Osmalı Sultan Mustafa III arasında mektuplaşma olayı olarak sınırlayan ilişkileri onun ölümünden sonra çok genişletilmiştir. Haydar Aliden sonra onun oğlu İmparator Tipu Sultan Hükümdar oldu. Tipu Sultan İngilizlere karşı savaş ederken uluslararası boyutta güçlü ilişkileri kurmaya başarılı adımlar attı. Fransa, İngiltere, Avrupa devletleri ve Osmanlı devleti elçiler gönderip uluslararası siyasi ortamda önemli rol oynamıştı.

Elçi gönderilmesi: Önemli olan şey Tipu Sultan onun ilk elçiler heyeti Osmanlılara gönderdi. Bu heyeti 1784'te İstanbul'a ulaştırmıştır.¹⁶ Tekrar şaşkın bir şekilde 1786'da 700 kişilik olan ve beraberinde çok çeşitli ve zengin hediyelerle ikinci heyeti gönderdi.

Mektuplaşma: Tipu Sultanın Osmanlılarla sık sık mektuplaşmasını görüyoruz. Özellikle Osmanlı Sultan I. Abdulhamid'e mektup gönderip İngilizlerin yaklaşık 10,000 müslüman çocuğunu hıristiyanlaştırıldığını, bir çok müslüman mezarlığının tahrip edilerek bazı camilerin de kilise yaptıklarını bildirdiğini görmekteyiz.

Günümüzdeki anlaşma şeklinde Tipu Sultan'ın istedikleri örneği: Osmalılardan Tipu Sultan şunlar istedi. I) İki devlet arasında bir dostluk ittifakı olacak II) Osmanlılardan Tipu Sultan'a yardım için asker gönderecek. Askerlerin masrafı Tipu Sultan karşılanacak ve Osmanlı Devleti onları geri istediği zaman hemen geri gönderilecek. III) Osmanlılar Hindistana Sılah ustaları, Silah ve cam gibi şeyler gönderecek ve karşısında Tipu Sultan da Osmanlıların ihtiyacı olan malzeme ve ustaları da Hindistandan gönderecek. IV) Ticarı açıdan her iki devlet imkanlar ve teşvikler sağlayacak. V) Osmanlı mülkü olan Basra Limanı'nı Tipu Sultan karşılık olarak kullanacak VI) Mukaddas topraklardaki bazı ziyaret yerlerinin Tipu Sultan tarafından bakım ve onarımı yapılacak. Bu şekilde istediklerini teklif etti.¹⁷ Ama kısaca Osmanlı Devletinin bazı gerçeklerden dolayı bu konularda Osmanlılar fazla destekçi olamadı.

16. İşler, 2014:05

17. Özcan, 1997:19

Hindistan altı kıtasında Osmanlı resmi Diplomatik Konsoloslukları:

1849 yılında Hindistan'da ilk Osmanlı konsolosluk açılmıştır. Hindistan'ın Kalküta'da Ağa Kubalı Muhammed efendi'yi ve Bombay'da Hacı Habib'i şehbender olarak tayin edildiler. Açılan bu konsolosluklar bir çok çeşitli faaliyetlere giriyordu. Sonra Peşaver'de (şimdiki Pakistan'ın bölgesi) açıldı. 1893'te Madras'da daha birtane konsolosluk açıldı.

Diplomatik kurallar dışı olan olayının örneği: 1894'te Karaçı'de bir fahri konsolosluk açıldı ve sonra 1896'de resmi olarak Osmanlı Harıcıye memuru Hüseyin Kamil efendi'yi Karaçıda tayin edildi. Ama malesef 1897'de değişik bir olayı oldu. Karaçı Şehbender Hüseyin Kamil Yunan savaşında Osmanlıların zaferşnş kutlamak için bir toplantı düzenlendiği zaman Hindistandaki İngilizler bunu diplomatik ilişkilerinin dışında bir siyasi etkinliği olarak değerlendirip onu bir daha Hindistan'da kabul etmeyeceğini açıkladı.¹⁸ Burdan da günümüzdeki uluslararası konsolosluk hukuku gibi değerlendirmelerini görmekteyiz.

Savaş zamanlarında Hindistan- Osmanlı ilişkilerinin örnekleri:

93 Harbi ve Hindistan desteği: Osmanlı-Rus savaşı yani 93 Harbi sırasında Hindistan'dan İngiltere'ye bir çok dilekçe yazıp Osmanlıların yanında olmak rica etmişti. Bir çok yardımlar toplanarak Osmanlılara gönderdi. Hindistan müslümanlar Osmanlıları bu tür bir başka coşkuyla desteklenmeye başladığı zaman bunu İngiliz dış politikası için 'Hindistan müslümanları faktörü' olarak anlatan Hindistan'daki İngiliz genel Vali 'Lytton' durumları biraz abartıp Londra ile yazışmalarda şöyle yazdı '*... eğer yarın 30.000 Rus sınırı geçip bizi saldırsa onlara karşı koymak için rahatlıkla Hindistan müslümanlarına güvenebiliriz. Fakat eğer üç tane Türk, Sultan'dan bir mesajla Bombay'a gelse ve müslümanları Britanya hükümetine karşı cihada çağırırsa, bütün müslümanlar (isteksiz de olsalar) bu çağrıya uyarlar.*¹⁹ Bu gerçeğinin azda bile haklı olsa o zamanlarda Osmanlı- Hindistan ilişkilerini ne kadar derin olduğunu görmekteyiz.

Kırım Savaşı ve Tebrik mesajı: Yukarıda belirttiğim gibi Osmanlı-

18. Özcan, 1997:148

19. Özcan, 1997:120

lar için Hindistan müslümanlr'ın coşku ve duygular Osmanlı- Rus Kırım savaşı sonrasında da Osmanlı Sultan II Abdulhamid'e gönderilen tebrik mesajlarında görünmektedir. Bir mesajda şöyle yazıyordu '*Biz sizin sadık bendeleriniz... (İngiliz yöntem altında) huzur ve rahat içinde görünsek bile, kendimizi madde ve mana planında bütün müslümanların önderinin müşfik himayeleri altında kabul ettiğimizi ilan etmeyi bir vazife biliriz. Bu cümleden bütün varlığımız,-servetimiz, evlerimiz, mülklerimiz, bedenimiz ve ruhumuz sadece büyük islam hükümetinin (Osmanlının) yoluna feda olsun. Böyle mukaddes bir ümmetin parçası olmaktan gurur duyuyoruz ve sizin iyiliğinizden, büyüklüğünüzden ve hikmetinizden sonsuz mutluluklar duymaktayız.*'²⁰

Osmanlı-Rus Balkanlar savaşı örneği: 1870'ler de Balkanlarda Rusya ve Balkan müttefikleriyle Osmanlıların savaş ve şiddet zamanında Hindistanlılar çeşitli ve ayrıntılı düzeyinde destek vermeye çalıştı. Hatta İngilizlere dilekçe göndererek Osmanlılara Yardım talep etti. Yardım sandıkları açarak iane toplamıştı. O zamandaki Hindistan'ın önemli gazete 'Urdu Ahbar' da şöyle yazılmıştır '*Türkiye'nin içinde bulunduğu zor durumda müslümanların Türkler için yapabilecekleri herşeyi yapmalar farzdır. Müslümanların Hindistan'da veya başka bir yerde taşıdıkları şeref ve haysiyetin Büyük Türk İmparatorluğunun varlığından dolayı olduğu bir gerçektir ve eğer bu İmparatorluk yok olursa müslümanlar son derece önemsiz olacak ve kimse onları dikkate almayacaktır.*'²¹

Trablusgarp Savaşı örneği: Osmanlı-İtalya savaşı zamanında 29 Eylül 1911'de eskiden olduğu gibi de Hindistanlılar yardımlar toplandı ve Hindistandaki bir çok yerlerde yüzlerce toplantı ve gösteriler düzenlendi.²² İtalyan eikiyalığını lanetildi. Hatta yüzlerce dilekçe ile İngiltere'den savaşa müdahale edip durdurması rica etti.

Destelenmek için alınan çeşitli adımlar:

Karadağ savaşı örneğinde gazeteciler göndermesi: 8 Ekim 1912'de Karadağ'ın Osmanlılara karşı savaş ilan edince Balkan savaşı başlamış oldu. O sırada Hindistan'daki Diyubendiler, Bareleviler, Nedvetül ulemalılar bir araya

20. Toker, 2004:149

21. Toker, 2004:156

22. Turan, 1987:05

gelip Osmanlı Devletini desteklenmesi farz olduğuna ve zekat'ın Osmanlılara göndereceğine dair fetvalar yayımlandı. Hatta büyük gazeteciler Türkiye'ye gönderip savaş gelişmeleri geniş bir şekilde aktarmaya başladı.

Savaşmak için gönüllü aranması: Yazar Azmî Özcan şöyle ifade etti ki '1912'de Hindistan'daki Şevket Ali²³ Comrade gazetesinde bir yazı yayımlanarak müslümanların duygularını daha müşahhas bir şekilde ifade etmeye çağırılmış ve Balkan gangasterlerine karşı savaşmak üzere gönüllü birlikler oluşturmaya davet etmişti. Kendisinin ilk gönüllü olduğunu söyleyen Şevket Ali, İslam yolunda şerefli bir ölüm şu anda birçoğumuzun yaşadığı hayattan bin kat daha iyidir diyordu. Kısa sürede bir çok gönüllü ortaya çıkınca İngiliz-Hindistan hükümetinden izin alabilmek için harekete geçti.²⁴

Avurupa mallarını boykot: Bununla birlikte Hindistanlılar bazı bölgelerde Avuruplılara hiç bir para bile gitmemek amacıyla Avurupa mallarını boykot etmeye kampanya başlıyordu.

Tıp heyeti gönderilmesi: Balkan savaşlar sırasında Hindistanlılar Osmanlılara 'el-vefdüt tıbbiye min biladil Hind' adlı tıp heyeti gönderdi ve bu heyeti 15 Aralık 1912'de hareket edip sonra İstanbula ulaştı.²⁵

Hilafet hareketi: Bu sıralarda Osmanlı-Hindistan altı kıtası ilişkilerinin derinliğini anlamak için Aralık 1918'de Osmanlı toprak bütünlüğünü korumak ve mukaddas yerlerin Osmanlı himayesinde kalmasını temin etmeye yönelik ünlü Hilafet hareketini²⁶ incelemek yeterlidir.²⁷

23. Şevket Ali (علي كاشوش) (1873-1938), Hindistan Hilâfet Hareketi önderlerinden, siyaset adamı. Hindistan'da Osmanlı Devleti ve hilâfeti lehindeki faaliyetleriyle ön plana çıkan isimlerden biri oldu. Ayrıntılı bilgi için bkz - <http://www.diyantislamansiklopedisi.com/sevket-ali/> (Erişim Tarihi: 17.05.2017)

24. Özcan, 1997:191

25. Özcan, 1997:194

26. Hindistan Hilâfet Hareketi yılı: 1998, cilt: 18, sayfa: 109-111, Osmanlı Devleti'nin toprak bütünlüğünü ve hilâfetin otoritesini savunmak üzere Hindistan'da oluşturulan dinî-siyasî hareket. Ayrıntılı bilgi için bkz.. <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/maddesnc.php?MaddeAdi=hindistan%20hilafet%20hareket> (Erişim Tarihi: 17.05.2017)

27. Cöhçe, 2002:205

Sonuç:

Devletler arasındaki ilişkiler düzenleyen hukuk dalı olarak uluslararası hukukun önemli konu diplomatik ilişkilerinin tarihi gelişmeleri baktığında ve günümüzdeki pek çok andlaşma, diplomatik kuralları ve diplomasi terimlerle ilgili kanunlarının arkasında mutlaka eski devletlerinin önemli rol oynamasını görmekteyiz. Buna göre Osmanlı Devletinin yapıldığı ve sürdürdüğü ilişkilerinin örnekleri çok önemlidir. Bu örnekler hususunda Osmalı devleti ve Hindistan altı kıtası arasındaki ilişkileri incelemekteyiz. Moğollar'ın öncesinde Bahmanlılarla Osmanlıları ilişkilerini az olduğunu görüyoruz. 1556-1748 arasında Osmanlı devletiyle Moğol İmparator vasıtasıyla Hindistan altı kıtası'nın düzenli ilişkileri başladı. Moğol İmparator Babür, Humayun ve Akbar'ın soğuk ilişkilerinin arakasında onların Uzbek-Osmanlı ittifasının karşısında olmaktan kaynaklandığı için sonuçta uluslararası politikası, devletin kendi faydalarını koruması bir yandan diplomatik ilişkilere büyük etkilendiğini görmekteyiz.

Sonra Cıhangırla Safeviler'in iyi ilişkileri bozduğu için Osmanlılar'a dönmesi diplomatik ilişkilerinde kendi faydalarını tecih etmesini görüyoruz. Şah Cıhan, Evrengzeb, Farruhsiyar'ın güçlü ilişkileri bu konuda çok önemli örnekler olarak sunulmuştur. Özellikle dini duygularını paylaşmasını, ortak olarak meseleler çözümü, Elçiler gönderilmesi, Elçilerin seçim sistemi, Resepsiyn töreni, mektuplaşma, hediyeleşme diplomatik ilişkilerde çeşitli tür ve nasıl olduğunu açıkça anlatılmıştır. Moğollar'ın sonra Meysur Sultanlıklar'ın Osmanlılarla ilişkileri aynı şekilde devam ederken bir süre yeni tecrübeler olduğunu görüyoruz. Sonra resmi konsoloslukları açılması ve siyasi faaliyetlerden dolayı elçi kabul etmemesini günümüzdeki modern diplomatik kuralları hatılatır. Savaş zamanlarda kardeş devletler arasındaki ilişkileri, birbirlerine desteklenmesi, protesto ve toplantı düzenlenmesi, para toplanması, tebrik mesajları gönderilmesi, gelişmeler takip etmek amacıyla özel gazeteci göndermesi, savaşmak için gönüllü aranması, tıp heyeti gönderilmesi, karşılıkların mallarını boykot yapması gerçekten diplomatik ilişkileri olarak uluslararası hukukun ayrıntılı şekiller ve biçimler öğretilmiştir.

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ARAKAN'DA İSLAM VE ROHİNGYA MÜSLÜMANLARI: ARAKAN TARİHİNE KISA BİR BAKIŞ

Abdur Rahman FUAD

Giriş:

Arakan, tarihte Doğu Hindistan'ın bir eyaleti ve Burma sınırındaki bir ilçe olarak sayılmıştır. X. yüzyılda Moğolistan ve Tibet'ten Burmalıların gelişine kadar erken zamanlardan itibaren Arakan, Bengal bölgesindeki nüfusuna benzer bir Hint toprağıdır. Erken dönemlerde, İslam'ın Arakan'a yayılması ve özellikle Bengal bölgesine 1203'te Müslümanların gelmeleri sebebiyle Arakan üzerindeki İslam medeniyetinin etkisi iyice artmaktadır. Arakanlı Budistler (Rakhaineliler) aslında Arıyan Maghada Budistlerin torunlarıdır. VIII. yüzyıl civarında işgalcı Moğollar tarafından asimile edilen Hindistan'daki Bihar'dan göç etmişlerdir. Ancak, Müslüman ve Budist nüfuslu Arakan, 1430'da Süleyman Şah (Narmikhla) tarafından Mrauk-U hanedanının kurulmasından önce kendi özgürlüğünü devam ettirmiştir. Ama zaman zaman Burman ve Mon müdahalesinde bağımsız bir statüye sahip olmuşlardır. İngilizlerin sömürgesi altına girdiği zaman Arakan'ın toplam alanı yaklaşık 20.000 mil karedir. Aynı zamanda Bengal Körfezi'nin doğu kıyısına kadar dar uzanan dağlık bir şerit bölgesidir. Kuzey-Batıda Bangladeş, kuzeyde Hindistan ve kuzey-doğudaki Çin dağlarına uzanmaktadır. Doğudaki yüksek dağları sebebiyle Arakan, Burma'dan ayrı bir bölge olmuştur. İslam'ın Arakan'a ve komşu kıyı bölgesi olarak Bangladeş'in sadece Chittagong'a gelmesi Bengal ana bölgesinden beş yüzyıl önce geldiği için bu coğrafyayı daha önem verilmiştir (Yunus,1994, ss.1-3). Arakan aslında Chittagong'dan başlayıp devam eden ve Rohingyaıları içine alan bir bölgenin adıdır. Kuzey Arakan'ın Doğu Bengal ile olan yakın deniz bağlantısı sebebiyle Bengal bölgesine 1203'te Müslümanların gelmesi ve girmesinden dolayı Müslümanların kültürel ve siyasi nüfuzu Arakan tarihinde büyük bir öneme sahip olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Müslümanların Arakan'ı 1430'da fethetmesinden sonra, İslam'ın kara yoluyla Burma'da yayılmaması-

nın sebebi iki ülke arasındaki engelli dağ bulunmasıdır.

Hem kara yolu hem de deniz yolu ile İslam'ın Arakan'a girmesinden sonra Arakan Müslümanların çoğu bir eyalet olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Ama bunun sebebi ilk olarak, Arakan'da küçük ticaret kurumları kuran ilk zamanların Arap tüccarlarıdır. İslam'ın yayılışından sonra bu bölgedeki Müslümanlar 'Rohingya' olarak tanınmaya başlamıştır. Rohingya'lar, esas olarak Myanmar'ın Batı Rakhine bölgesinde yaşayan Müslüman olan azınlık bir gruptur ve Sünni bir inanca sahiptirler. Myanmar'daki yaklaşık bir milyon Rohingya, Rakhine nüfusunun neredeyse üçte birini oluşturmaktadır. Rohingya'lar Myanmar'ın baskın Budist gruplarından etnik ve dinî olarak ayrılmıştır. Rohingya'ların tarihine baktığımız zaman XV. yüzyıla kadar onların kökeni eski Arakan Krallığına dayandığı görülmektedir. Müslümanların çoğunluğu XIX. ve XX. yüzyıllarda İngiliz sömürgesi altında bulunan Bengal, Hindistan ve Rakhine bölgelerinden Rakhine bölgesini yönetmişlerdir. Sonra Myanmar 1948 yılında bağımsızlığını İngilizlerden almıştır. Bağımsızlıktan sonra otorite boşluğu sebebiyle iç karışıklıklar, bu ülke içinde tezahür etmiştir. 1962 yılına kadar demokrasi yönetiminden bahsedebiliriz fakat bu dönemde bile 1958-1960 yılları arasında askeri idare yönetimi vardı. 1988 yılında kanlı bir darbe ile yönetimi ele geçiren Devlet Yasa ve Düzen Restorasyon Konseyi adlı cunta, 1997 yılında Devlet Barış ve Kalkınma Konseyi adını alarak hükümet biçimini değiştirmişlerdir. Cunta döneminde Myanmar Müslümanlarının özgürlük ve demokrasi arayışları bastırıldı. Baskılara rağmen Aung San Sun Kyi ülke içerisinde demokrasi adına sesini duyurabilmiş bir aktivisttir (Akhanda, 2013). Rohingya olarak bilinen ve bölge olarak dünya çatışmalarından zulüm gören insanlar arasında Rohingya'lar birinci sıradadır. Şimdi ana konu olarak Arakan'da İslam'ın gelişi ve yayılışı, Rohingya Müslümanlarının tarihi üzerine temasa geçmeden ve ana konuyu daha iyi anlamak için bazı noktalar üzerine durmamız lazımdır.

Arakan Kelimesinin Etimolojisi:

Arakan kelimesi hem Arapça hem de Farsça kökenlidir. Her iki dilde de aynı anlama gelmektedir. "Temel direk" anlamına gelen rükn kelimesinin çoğul

hâli olan ‘arkan’ dan bozularak Arakan hâlini almıştır. İslam’ın beş şartına, İslam’ın temel direkleri denmektedir. Böylece Arakan kelimesinin köken olarak İslam ve barış diyarı anlamına geldiğini söylemek mümkündür. Bu kelimenin bugünkü Arakan bölgesi için ne zamandan beri kullanıldığını söylemek ise zordur. Ancak, bu ismin tahminen bölgenin 1430 yılında Müslümanlar tarafından fethedilmesinden sonra kullanılmaya başlandığı söylenebilir (Yunus,1994, s.6). Arakan kelimesi; Ayin-i Ekber, Baharistan-i Gaybi ve Siyerü’l-Mutahharin adlı eserlerde Arhakan olarak geçmektedir. Bu kelime ufak değişiklikler ile Alemgirname ve Fatya-i İbriya’da da yer almıştır. Ortaçağ Portekizlileri ve bazı Avrupalı seyyahlar, Arakan kelimesini Arracan, Arracoo, Orrakan, Arrakan olarak kaydetmişlerdir. Van Linscoten ise kelimeyi bugünkü kullanımına çok yakın bir şekilde kullanmıştır (Qanungo,1988,s.232). Ama aynı eserde bazı tarihçiler bunlardan değil, direkt bugünkü Rakhine münasebetli kelimeleri aktarmıştır. Mesela, bir Burmalı şair *Rakuin*, Reşiduddin *Rahan*, Nicolo Conti *Rachani* ve bir Türk olarak Ali Çelebi *Rakanj* gibi kök kelimelerini aktarmıştır.

Arakan kelimesinin ne zaman ortaya çıktığını bilemezsek de, Sultan Bahadır Şah (1557-1558) ve Sultan Muhammed Şah (1554- 55) tarafından bastırılan demir paraların üzerinde Arakan kelimesini bulunmaktadır. Bunlar sırasıyla Indian Museum’da (Hindistan Müzesi) ve İngiltere’deki British Museum’da (British Müzesi) saklanmaktadır. Bunların bulunduğu yer bugünkü Arakan’dır (Qanungo,1988, s.194). Bu paralardan şunu anlayabiliriz ki, Arakan kelimesi XVI. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren bölgenin adı olarak kullanılmaktadır. Ama eski zamanlarda Arakanlılar’ın vatanı *Rakhaingo* olarak adlandırmıştır (Phayre,1844, s.24). Diğer taraftan, Arakan kelimesi dışında bölgede kullanılan Farsça ve Arapça kökenli isimler de vardır. Arakan’daki birçok yer, nehir ve dağ Arapça ve Farsça kelimeler ile adlandırılmıştır. Örneğin, Şehir olarak Akyab’ı, nehir olarak Kaladan, Naf ve Kulapanc adlarının kökleri Farsça ve Arapçadan gelmektedir. Bu kelimeler şunu göstermektedir ki, Arakan toprakları İslam ve Müslümanlarla iç içe geçmiştir. (Uğur, 2012, s. 6) Albay Anthony Irwin’in ifadesinden de Arakan kelimesi Arakan’daki Müslümanlara işaret etmektedir (Irwin,1946, ss.20-21).

Ayrıca bir değerlendirme sonucu bize şunu bildirmektedir ki Burmalılar, X. yüzyıla kadar Arakan’a yerleşmiş gibi görünmüyor. Çünkü Rakhineliler, Arakan’a gelmek için son önemli gruptur. Eski Burma’da, Rakhine ismi XII. yüz-

yılın yazıtlarına göre ilk olarak köle isimleri şeklinde ortaya çıkmıştır. *Dr. Suniti Bhushan Qanungo*, Rakhine isminin Burman tarafından verildiğini ve bunu XII.-XV. yüzyılların Tuparon, Sagaing'daki taş yazıtlarında bulunduğunu söylemiştir. Arakan'da bulunan bu ilk günlerin eski yazıt şuna işaret ediyor ki, bunlar erken Bengalce yazıtlar ve oradaki kültürde Bengalce olduğu gösteriliyor. Dolayısıyla söyleyebiliriz ki bu soyunu Hintlilerden gelip Bengal nüfusuna benzer bir nüfusu yönetmiştir (İslam,2012, s.1).

Rohingya Tabiri:

Bu kelimenin doğuşu ve yayılışı üzerine görüş ayrılığı bulunmaktadır. Rohingyalılar Arakan'daki ilk Müslüman Araplar olduğu iddiaları vardır. İddialar şöyle kanıtlanıyor;

- Arapça 'Raham' kelimesinden Rohingya tabiri ortaya çıkmıştır. Erken dönemlerde yani VIII. yüzyılında bölgeye gelen Arap ve İranlı tüccarların bazı gemileri nehirde kaza geçirdiği zaman gemideki yolcular 'Raham' kelimesini kullanarak yardıma çağırmıştır. Sonra yerel halklar onları kurtarıp, kral tarafından oraya yerleştirilmiştir. Arapça bilmeyen yerel halklar onların 'Raham' kabilesinden geldiklerini zannederek 'Raham' olarak hitap etmiştir. Bu kelime sonra Raham>Roi>Ruayinga ya da Rohingya olarak ortaya çıkmıştır (Rahman,1986, s.24).
- Rohingyalılar, Afganistan'ın 'Gour' eyaletindeki 'Ruha' ilçesinden gelmiştir. Aslında onlar Türk veya Afganistanlıdır. Çünkü İhtiyaruddin Muhammed b. Bahtiyer Hilci'nin Bengal'i fethettiği zaman *Ruha* bölgesinden bir kaç kişiyi Arakan'a göndermiştir. Onlar Arakan'ın ismini 'Rohang' koymuştur. Sonra bu *Rohang* kelimesinden 'Rohingya' kelimesini meydana gelmiştir (Akhanda, 2013, ss. 152-53). Yukarıda Türk veya Afganistanlı olduğundan bahsetmiş olduysa bile şu bilgi bunun yardımı olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Yani, Bangladeşli, Myanmarlı ve Batılı pekçok tarihçinin aktardığına göre, Arakan coğrafyasının yerli orijinal dildeki ismi olan "Rohingya", bölgeye İslami

daveti götüren Kürt tüccarların bu coğrafyaya verdiği bir isimdir. Kürtçe bir isim olan “Rohingya”, Kürtçe’de “Güneşin doğduğu topraklar” anlamına gelir. Kürtler’in doğuda gittikleri en uzak topraklar olduğu için, bu isim verilmiştir. Willem van Schendel Francis Buchanan, Muhammed Ali Xuwdhurî, Amanullah gibi tarihçiler böyle aktarmaktadırlar (Tamer, 2017). Ama bunun doğruluğunu diğer kaynaklarda görmemekteyiz.

- Coğrafya bakımından iddialara baktığımız zaman IX. ve X. yüzyılında Arap coğrafyacıları tarafından Ceziretü’l-Rahmi ya da Rahma olarak söz edilen toprakların nerede olduğu şöyle söylemiştir:
- Arap coğrafyacı İbn Hurdazbih’in ifadesine göre Ceziretü’l-Rahmi, Serendip’ten (Sri-Lanka) sonra gelir ve buradaki tuhaflık tek boynuzlu hayvanlar ile küçük çıplak insanlar da yaşamaktadır. Ama tarihçi Ba Tha daha belli olarak İbn Hurdazbih, Süleyman ve İbn’ül Fakih’in ‘Rahma’ olarak Arakan ve aşağı Burma’yı kastetmiştir (Ba Tha, 1966, s.25).
- Mesudî’nin verdiği bilgilere göre ise bu bölge, Hint Okyanusu’na dökülen bir nehrin kıyısındadır ve Seylan’dan sonra gelir. Bir diğer coğrafyacı Yakut el-Hamevi’nin ifade ettiğine göre burası Malakka Boğazı’na uzanan en uzak Hint topraklarıdır (Mesudî, ss.129-30).
- Ama bu *Rahmi* yerinin nerede olduğunu ispatlamak lazımdır. O halde- IX. yüzyılında yaşamış bir tüccar olan Süleyman, Rahmi Krallının 50.000 fil ve 150.000 askerden oluşan ordusu ile çok güçlü bir hükümdar olduğunu söylemektedir. Filler bugünkü Arakan’ın ormanlarında ve Chittagong bölgesinin yüksek tepelerinde fazlaca bulunmaktadır. Bir bütün olarak bakıldığında, Arap coğrafyacıların Ceziretü’l-Rahmi olarak işaret ettikleri bölgenin Rohang Krallığı olduğu söylenilebilir. İngiliz Seyyah Ralph Fitch, Rahmi Krallığı’ndan Arakan’ın Budist nüfusu olan Mogen (Magh) ülkesi olarak söz eder. Tarihçi *Phayre* ise, Arap coğrafyacılarının Rahmi olarak kaydettikleri kelime ile Bangladeş’in Ramu arasında etimolojik bir ilişki olduğuna işaret eder (Uğur, 2012, ss.7-8).

- Tarihçiler, *Rahmi* kelimesini araştırdıktan sonra Arakan eyaletini anlatmıştır. Çünkü Arakan'ın eski adı 'Ruham' idi. Arapçada Ruham'ın manası beyaz mermerdir. Aynı zamanda Arakan'ın eski başkenti olan Mrohang'nın eski adı 'Kyakpru'dur. Bu Burma kelimesinin manası da beyaz mermerdir. O halde Ruham ve Kyakpru aynı bölge olduğu için ikisi de Arakan'a işaret ediyor olması gerekir. Bazı tarihçiler Rahmi ya da bir diğer tabiri olan Raham kelimesini biraz değiştirerek 'Ruhmi' olduğunu da söyler. Sonra Ruhmi kelimesini bazı araştırmacılar *Ramu* olarak söylemiştir. O da şimdi Bangladeş ve Myanmar sınırında bulunan bir ilçenin adıdır (İslam,2000, ss.264-275).

Arakan'da İslam: Arkadaki Önemli Elemanları:

Genel bilgilere göre, 712 yılında Emevilerin hüküm sürdüğü zaman Muhammed b. Kasım'ın liderliğinde Sind bölgesinde İslam'ın fethi kesinleştirildikten sonra güney ve Güneydoğu Asya'da siyasi olarak İslam'ın kurulması olsa da aslında Mekke'de İslam'ın yayıldığı zaman ve Peygamber hayatayken Hindistan alt-kıtası ile Güneydoğu Asya'da özel olarak Arakan'da İslam'ın daveti ulaştırmıştır. Çünkü V. yüzyılın öncesinde Arap tüccarları Güneydoğu Asya'da ticari yolu ile Hindistan, Burma ve Çin'in 'Canton' limanında (önceki adı Kanfu'ydu) ticari iletişimi kurduğu tarihi bilgilerden bilinmektedir. Ama burada bir tarihçi Habibullah yukarıdaki bilgilere itiraz ederek Arakan'a ilk Müslümanların gelişini ne zaman olduğu, onun tarihi, gün belli olarak bilmezsek de, Arap tüccarların sayesinde Arakan ile Müslümanların ilk tanışması olduğuna inanıyoruz. Biz de hem burada bu bölgede İslam'ın doğuşu üzerine farklı perspektiflerden vasıta olan elemanların üzerine temas edeceğiz.

Arakan'da İslam: Arkadaki Önemli Elemanları

XIII. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren Çin'in güney sahil bölgelerinde yaşayan Müslümanların sayısı artmıştı. Bu nüfus hareketinin nedeni sadece ticaret değildi, Şii-Sünni çatışması nedeniyle birçok Şii mülteci doğuya doğru kaçtı ve görünüşe göre Kore'ye kadar ulaştılar. Pers gemileri İslam'ın yükselmesinden çok önce bu kıyılara ulaşmış olsa da Persler, Çin'e Şiilerin göç etmesinin önemli bir bölümünü açıp Çinliler tarafından Araplara fırsat tanınması oldu. IV.- VII. yüzyıllar arasında kendileri ile bağlantı kurmuştur (Yegar,1972, s.1).

Buradan açıkça görüyoruz ki, Arapların Kureyş tüccarları İslam öncesinde bu ticari yol ile ticari faaliyetlere başlamaya çalışmıştır. Özel olarak H. V. ve VI. yüzyıllarda Roma ve Pers kralları arasında devam eden savaşlar Arapların kara ticaret yolunu kısıtlamıştır. O halde onlar deniz yolunu tercih ederek bu bölgedeki limanları ticari iletişime açıp VI. ve VII. yüzyılın başlarında Güney Hindistan'ın Malabar, Kaliküt, Cherar Bandar ve o dönemde Arakan ve Chittagong'un deniz sahilinde kalıcı olarak ticari bölgeleri kurmuştur (Khan,1992, s.39). Hem bu vasıtayla Arakan'daki insanlar İslam'ın güneşi, Arap savaşçı, denizci, tüccarlar ve misyonerlerin Arakan'ın eski limanını kullanma vasıtasıyla çok erkenden görmeye başlamıştı. Araplar aslında ticareti seven insanlardır. Onun için onlar ticaret ve misyoner faaliyetlerini sürdürmek için bir yerden başka bir yere ticaret yapıyorlardı. VIII. yüzyılında Burma, yabancı endüstri ürünleri için iyi bir pazar olarak hazırlandı. Orada değiş-tokuş sistemi olmadığı için Araplar Arakan kıyılarında kendi ticaret hedefi ile işlerine başlamak için iyi bir liman buldular (Ba Tha,1966, s.25).

Çinli Seyyahlar, 860 yıllarda Burma ve Yunan sınırlarında, Pers kolonilerini buldu. Birçok Müslüman Seyyahlar arasında Doğu'ya gidenlerden çoğu Çin'e gitmek istedi, aynı zamanda Burma'ya giden çok kişi de vardı. IX. yüzyılda İranlı gezgin İbn Hurdazbih ve Arap Süleyman ve X. yüzyılda İranlı İbnü'l-Fakih de onların yazılarında Güney Burma hakkında bilgiler vermiştir. Arap tarihçi El-Makdisi (X. yüzyıl) Hindistan, Burma, Malay Yarımadası, Doğu Hindistan Adaları ve Seylan kıyılarında ticari şubeleri açılarak ticaret faaliyetleri hakkında bilgi aktarmıştır (Khan,1936, ss.416-419). Bir iddiaya göre, 1287 yılında sona eren Pagan Hanedanlığının döneminde bir kaç kişinin faaliyetleri dışında Burma'da bir Müslüman cemaatin varlığı hakkında hiçbir bilgi mevcut değildir. Bu kaynakları güvenilir tarihsel argüman olarak kabul edenler ve reddedenler bile var. Ba Shin gibi "denizle ilgili olarak İslam ile Budist Burma arasındaki bağlar çok sınırlıydı. IX. yüzyılda, Araplar ve Persler, Andaman Adaları hariç olmak üzere, Sumatra limanlarının kuzeyindeki bölgeler hakkında az şeyleri biliyordu" (Yegar,1978, s.3). Ama Burma'dan bahseden Müslüman gezginlerin yazdıkları raporları ve daha sonraki dönemlerde Avrupa'daki seyyahların Burma'da gelişen Müslüman ticaret kolonilerini tanımlamaları üzerine, Ba Shin'in şüpheleri kabul edilecek bir şey değildir. Çünkü X.-XIII. yüzyıla kadar orada Müslümanlar vardı; fakat sayısal gücü ve değeri mevcut

değildi.

Bazı sahabelerin Gelmesi

Ticaret faaliyetlerin yanında onlar İslam'ın genişletilmesi ve insanlara İslam'ın davetini ulaştırmak ve bunun farz kılmasından dolayı da bu seferler düzenlenmiştir. O halde Habeşistan hicretinden bütün sahabeler döndüyse bile Sa'd b. Ebu Vakkas ile bazı sahabeler yani Kays ibn Hüzeyfe, Urve ibn Asasa ve Ebu Kays ibn Haris nübüvvetin VII. yılında Padişah Necaşi'nin hediye olarak verdiği gemi ile Güneydoğu Asya ticaret yolunu takip ederek İslam'ın yayılışı için çıkmıştır. Bu gemi ile ilk önce Hindistan'ın Malabar adasına gelip oradaki kralı Perumal'a ve çok insana İslam'ın davetini ulaştırarak onları İslam ile şerefletirmiştir. Sonra Chitagong'un bir yerinde mola vererek rahatlamak için vakit geçirdiler (Akhand,2013, s.35). Hem de şunu söylemek gerekir ki, onlar adalarına inip ticaret için gelen tüccarlar arasında da İslam daveti yapmışlardır. Normal olarak denizdeki insanlar, havanın şiddeti görünürse yakın bir yere duruyorlardı. Aynı yöntem o zamanda olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Denizciler o zaman Malabar, Çeror, Chittagong, Akiyab ve Canton gibi yerlerde duruyordu. Bunlardan tahmin olarak söyleyebiliriz ki, b. Ebu Vakkas Malabar'dan sonra Chittagong ve Akiyab'da da İslam'ın daveti üzerine çalışmıştı. Tarihçiler, bu çalışmalarından şu yöntem ile Hint bölgesinden bir kral tarafından Peygambere hediye gönderilmesini söylüyorlar. Ama bu hediye hangi kral tarafından gönderilmiş onu zikretmeyerek Hz. Abu Hudriden bir rivayet aktarılır. Hem de bu rivayette sadece Hindistan'ın bir kralı olarak rivayet geçmiştir. Ama çok önceden Ruhmi Kraliyetin hükümetleri bazen İran'ın hükümetlerine hediyeleri gönderiyordu (Akhand,2013,s.35). Her halde Ruhmi krallarından bir kral bu hediyeyi göndermiştir.

Ruhmi ya da Rahmi krallarından böylece Emevi halifesi Ömer b. Abdülaziz ve Bağdat'ın halifesi olan Ebu Abdullah Memun'a mektuplar gönderilmesi ve Memun tarafından bunun cevap vermesinin delilleri de bulunmaktadır (Zübeyir,1959,s.21-22). Buradan anlam şudur ki, Peygamber hayattayken Arap tüccarları ile Arakan'ın deniz irtibatını kurup İslam'ın davetini ulaştırmıştır.

Yerel Krallarına Davet ve Yardımı

Arakan'da Chandra-Surya (Ay-Güneş) hanedanının ilk kralı Mahat-Engu-chandra 788 yılında Vaişalı'da başkenti kurarak hüküm sürmüştür. Onun açık politikası ve yardımseverinden dolayı Vaişalı civarında Müslümanlar İslam'ın yayılışı için büyük bir imkân ile karşılaşmış Arap Müslüman tüccarları 'Rhambi' limanı ile diğer bazı limanları ticaret ve İslam'ın faaliyetleri için kullanmaktadırlar. Sonra kral onların zekâsı ve yüksek olumlu davranışlarından razı olup onları orada kalmaları için izin vermişti. Böylece bu tüccarlar orada kendi eşlerini götürmeyip yerel Hindu-Budist kadınlarla evlendi ve hem bir yandan öğulları hem de Müslüman sayısı çoğaltmıştı (Rahman,1942, s.24). Burmalıların denize gitmemesi sebebiyle bu kaynakta bahsedilen "Pegu" denizcileri olarak Pegu şehrine yerleşmiş olan Arap ve Pers gemicilerin veya onların torunları olduğunu varsaymak mantıklıdır. Müslüman ticaret kolonileri IX. yüzyılda Pegu'da kurulması ve Arap ticaret gemilerinin sık sık orada bulunduğu da bilinmektedir (Yegar,1972, s.2). Müslümanların VIII. yüzyıldan XI. yüzyıla kadar bu faaliyetlerinden sonra oradaki krallar biraz psikolojik olarak Müslümanlar tarafından etkilenmiş ve İslam'a biraz daha yakınlaşmış diye aşağıdaki bilgilerden söyleyebiliriz. Yukarıda bahsettiğimiz halifelere Ruhmi krallar tarafından mektup gönderilmiş fakat Ruhmi diye Arakan bilinirse, o zaman Arakanın kralı sıra olarak Surya- Khiti (M. 714-723) ve Surya-Engu-Chandra (M. 810-830) o mektupları yazmıştır. Onların bu mektupları vasıtasıyla İslam'a bir takım sevgisi ve Müslümanlara olumlu davranışların ispatı olarak görünmektedir.

Kast Sisteminden Kurtulması

İslam'a bağlı olmadan önce Arakan'daki insanlar İslamın özelliği hakkında pek bilgileri yoktu. Bu zaman içinde Arakan'da Pers ve Arap misyonerlerin gelişi başka bir uygar milletin üzerine etkisi oldu. Bunların kültürü tam İslam kültürünün karşısındaydı. X. yüzyıldan önce Arakan, Hintlilerin toprağıydı ve orada Hindular gibi bağlı Bengallılar da vardır. Bunlar yüksek düşünceli ve farklı kültüre sahipti. Sosyal bağlamda Bengal bölgesi onun tarihinin başlangıcından olmasa da, sonra ki bazı hanedanlar özel olarak Aryanların bu bölgeye gelmeleri sebebiyle insanlar arasında kast sistemi doğrudan başlamıştır. Bunlardan ilk olarak Brahmanlar, toplumun lideri idi ve aşağıdaki diğer sı-

nıflar onlara İlah olarak bakıyordu. İkinci olarak, Khaitriyolar, savaşçı olarak biliniyordu. Üçüncü olarak, Baişşolar, meslekçi ve son olarak Şudryalar, hem aşağıdaki sınıftan hem de diğerlerden zulüm gören bir grup olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Şunu söylemek gerekir ki, eskiden kalan Budist'lere yeni gelen Aryanlar kast sistemi oluşturarak zulüm yapıyordu. Aynı zamanda onlar Baişşolar ile dördüncü sınıf olarak sayılıyordu. Budistler dini kolayca yaşıyordu. Ama Aryanlar, şimdiki Hinduların yani Brahmanlar sınıfının oluşmasıyla dinin yaşanmasında zorluk çıkarmışlardı. Bu kast sistemi ve din uygulamasından siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal halin kötü durumda olmasından dolayı İslam ve Müslümanların bu bölgeye girmesine sebep olmuştur. Açıkça söylemek gerekir ki, Müslümanların ve İslamın bu müdahalesi Budistler tarafından o zaman çok hoşgörülü olarak karşılanmışlardır (Karim,2012, ss.13-14).

Kendi dinine bağlı olan Brahmanlardan negatif davranışları hisseden Şudralar İslam'da bunların yok olduğunu ve insanlar arasında fark olmadığını, özgürlük, eşit haklar ve sosyal, ekonomik, dine bağlı olan her şeyi aynı sırada ve eşit davranışlardan dolayı İslamı kabul etmeleri kolay oldu. Onun için o zaman onlar Hindistan ve Bengal bölgesinden zulüm görmekten kaçıp, Myanmar ve Nepal'a gittiler. Sonra İslam'ın güneşi onları aydınlatmaya başlamıştı.

Sûfi/Dervişlerin Gelişi

X. yüzyıl ve XI. yüzyılda Arap tüccarlar ve Sûfi-dervişlerden Badruddin (Badr Şah) Arakan'a gelip İslam'ın yayılışı için her yerde harekete geçtiler. Onun bu hareketi sonra büyük bir oranla dini ve sosyal etkisi haline geldi. Onun adıyla Assam sınırından başlayarak Malay adasına kadar 'Badr Mokam' diye bazı camileri inşa edilmiştir. Şimdiye dek denizde iş yapan insanlar onu deniz dervişi olarak hatırlatır (Akhand, 2013, ss.36-37). Bu şekilde Chittagong ve Arakan'a gelen ve orada ev tutan Arap tüccarlar, denizciler, Sûfiler, Dervişler ve XIII. yüzyıldan sonra Türk, Pathan ve Moğolların hükümet döneminde Bengal'dan gelen Müslümanlarla bu bölgedeki kalan Hinduların alt sınıfı ve Budistlerle Müslümanların bir karıştırması olup İslam'ın bu etkisiyle büyük oranda onlar Müslüman olmuştu. Sonra bazı dervişler Şah Munayem, Haider Ali Şah, Nurullah Şah, Ajaluddin Şah ve Seyid kardeşlerinin adları sayılan bir adıdır. Onlar Hindu-Budistlerin İslam dinine karşı bazı sosyal faaliyetlerini ortadan kaldırmıştır. Böylece Arakan'da İslam'ın yayılışının sebebi olunmuş-

tur. (Khan, 1978) İnsanlara bu yeni dini ve sosyal organizasyona girmek için hiç zorlanmamıştı. Aynı zamanda Prens ve çiftçiler aynı safta namaz kılmaya başladı.

Arakan'da İslam: Tarihçilerin İfadesiyle Müslümanlar

XV., XVI. ve XVII. yüzyıllarda Burma kıyı kentlerini ziyaret eden Avrupalı gezginler, orada bulunan Müslüman tacirlerin kolonilerini ve faaliyetleri hakkında gözlemde bulundular. 1470'te Asya'ya seyahat eden bir Rus tüccarı Athanasius Nitikin, Pegu'yu "Hintli Dervişler" tarafından yerleşilmiş bir liman olarak nitelendirdi. "Derviş" terimini kullanırken görünüşe göre Müslümanları kastetti (Yegar, 1972, S.4). Ayrıca, 1586 yılının Aralık'ından 1587 yılının Ocak'a kadar Burma'yı ziyaret eden İngiliz gezgin Ralph Fitch de, Müslümanların, Arap-Malakka-Burma arasında ticaret yaptığını anlattı (Locke,2004, s.60). 1501-1516 yıllarında Hindistan'ı ziyaret eden Portekizli gezgin Duarte Barbosa, Hindistan ve Pegu arasında Müslümanlar, kâfir (Hindular) ve Hristiyanlar arasındaki ticaretini anlatıyor. O ticaretin ayrıntılı bir listesini veriyor ve gemilerin Çin deniz yolunu takip ederek Malakka, Sumatra, Pegu, Bengal ve Seylan üzerinden Kızıl Deniz'e doğru geldiğini belirtiyor. Ayrıca, daha sonra Pegu'ya ait olan Martaban'ı Müslümanların yaşadığı bir şehir olarak bahsetmişti. XIV. yüzyılın Arap seyyah İbn Battuta ve XVI. yüzyıl Portekizli Barbosa, Müslüman denizcilerin kullandığı kavanozlardan bahsediyorlar. Müslüman tüccarların Burma limanlarında etkili konumlarına rağmen Burma kralları tarafından onlara katı kurallar getirildi. Yerel valiler, boykot ve diğer kısıtlayıcı tedbirlerle krallardan daha fazla zorluk çekti. Bununla birlikte, Müslüman tüccarların önemli bir kısmı kıyı kenti Burma'da yoğunlaştı. Ayrıca, Arakan krallarının birçok savaştan hem de Arakan ve Portekizli korsanlardan Bengal'a karşı süren aksaklıklara rağmen, Arakan, Pegu, Tenasserim, Malakkaa, Mekte, Basra Körfezi ve Maldiv Adaları güzergâhlarındaki düzenli ticaret daha sonra devam etmiştir.

Arakan'da İslam: Müslümanların Yayılışına Tarihsel Bakış

Arakan'da İslam'ın yerleşmesinin tarihini üç kısma ayırabiliriz; I) İslam'ın yayılışı ve tanıtım dönemi. Bunu İslam'ın doğuşundan IX. yüzyılına kadar II) Sosyal bağlamında İslam'ın yayılışı. Bunu X. yüzyıldan XV. yüzyılına

kadar dönemi ve III) İslam'ın etkisi yani 1430'dan sonraki hakimiyet dönemi de denebilir. İslam'ın yayılışı ve tanıtım dönemi olarak bahsederseniz, ilk İslam'ın mesajıyla Arap varlıklarının 788 yılında Arakan'da Müslüman toplumun çekirdeğini oluşturduğunu bilmekteyiz. Hem de Arakan ve Chittagong kıyılarında onların gemi kazaları oluşturup yerleşmişlerdir. Böylece Baişali'de Arakanlılar Hinduizm, Mahaşist Budizm ve İslam biçimi uyguladı. Birmanya Askeri Rejimi, 1997'de yayınlanan resmi kitabı 'Sasana Ronwas Htunzepho'nun "VIII. yüzyıldan beri Arakan'da İslam kökten sallanmış ve daha sonra Burma'yı da etkiledi" diyerek doğruladı. Bu arada «X. yüzyılın ortasında Chittagong'da Arap nüfusu büyük bir oranda artmış ve bu bölgede küçük bir Müslüman krallığı kurulup krallığın yöneticisine Sultan adı verildi. Muhtemelen Meghna nehrinin doğu kıyısından Naf'a kadar uzanan alan bu Sultan'ın yönetimindeydi"- dedi (İslam, s.2). 1203'te Bengal'a Müslümanların egemenliğinin gelişinden sonra, Arakan'ın Müslüman nüfusu artık artmıştı. Bu artma sayısı Mrauk-U hanedanı zamanında hızla gelişmiş oldu ve XV.-XVIII. yüzyıllar arasında Budistlerin İslam'a büyük ölçüde girdiği gözükmektedir. Arakan ve Chittagong arasındaki ilişkiler tarihsel, jeopolitik ve etnolojik hususlara dayanıyordu. "Chittagong bölgesi, VI.-VIII. yüzyıllar boyunca Baişali krallığı altındaydı ve XVI. ve XVII. yüzyıllarda Mukhumvahan Krallığı Arakan krallığının altındaydı." Arakan'ı, bu iki bölge arasındaki siyasi, kültürel ve ticari bağlantısından dolayı 'Uzatılmış Chittagong' bölgesi olarak adlandırılmıştır (İslam, 2012, s.2).

Bir diğer taraftan, XV. yüzyılı, Arakan'ın tarihi için çok önemlidir. Bu dönemde Bengal'dan büyük ölçüde Müslümanlar Arakan'a hüküm süren Prenslar tarafından davet edilmiştir. Çünkü bu davetinde Hint alt kıtasının bir parçası olan Bengal bölgesi ile Arakan'ın kültür, toplum ve idari bakımından bir benzerlik vardır. O halde, büyük oranda Müslümanların Arakan'a geldikleri 1430 yılında bağımsız Arakan'da Mra-Uk kraliyetin kurucusu olan Normikhla döneminde oldu. Normikhla, Oyuth'un oğludur. 1402 yılında onun amcası babasını öldürerek tahtaya geçti. Sonra 1404 yılında 24 yaşında prensi kendi amcasını tahttan kaldırarak onun yerine geçmiştir. Tahta gelir gelmez Normikhla Anonthiew adlı bir kralın kızını kovarak başkent Longariyet'e getirmiştir. Sonra onları geri almaya çalışmış ama yapamadığı halde Burma kralını onlar Normikhla'nın eyaletine saldırmayı emretmiştir. Bu saldırıyı gerçekleştirdi.

ği zaman Normikhla kendini kurtarmak için Bengal bölgesine sığınmıştı. Daha sonra 1430 yılında ‘Gouda’nun sultanı olan Celalettin Şah 20 bin askeri tekrar onu geri almaya gönderdi ve Arakan tekrar bağımsız hale gelmiştir (Karim, 2012, s.87).

Mra-Uk hanedanının (1430-1785) ilk 1430-1645 yılları arasında iki yüz yılı aşkın bir süredir Arakan’daki kralları Bengal bölgesindeki Sultanları takip ederek Müslüman unvanlarını almış ve sikkelerinde Müslüman isimleri ve aynı zamanda üzerinde *Kelime Tevhidi*’yi çizip kullanmışlardır. Toplam dokuz Kral böylece kullanmıştır. Krallar gönülden İslam’ı kabul etmezse de, evde Müslümanların gelenek ve kültürlerine bağlı idi ve Arakan’ı bir saltanat haline getirmiştir. Diğer taraftan Müslüman kişileri bakan olarak tayin etmiştir. Söyleyebiliriz ki, bu Müslüman bakanların sayesinde kötü ve fahiş faaliyetlerin azaltılmasının nedeni olmuştur (Akhanda,2013, s.245). Hem de Bengal sultanlarından bağımsız olduktan sonra bile Arakan kralları, Burma veya Pah unvanına ek olarak Müslüman üslup kullanma alışkanlığını da devam ettirdiler. Çünkü 1430-1645 yıllar arasında giderek daha büyük sayıdaki Müslümanlar ve sultanların etkisi vardı (Yegar,1972, s.19). Burma Tarih Komisyonu’nun o tarihteki başkanı Albay Ba Shin, “Arakan neredeyse Müslümanlar tarafından 1430-1531 yılları arasında yönetildi.” Hem Gauda ve Delhi gibi Müslüman geleneklerine uygun olarak, hem de Arakan’ın tüm krallığına santral imparatorluk emri tarafından yetkililer verildi (Ba Shin,1961, s.6). Gittikçe başkent etrafında Müslüman toplumu ve kültürün gelişi yavaş yavaş gelişmiş olsa da siyasi kaoslarından dolayı Burma kralı Budapaya 1785 yılında Arakan’ı işgal etmiştir. O zamandan bu güne Arakan, Burma veya Myanmar’ın bir eyaleti olarak kalmıştır.

Arakan, 1531 yılına kadar Gauda’nun bir eyaleti olarak kalmıştır. Bu zamanlar içerisinde Arakan’da sadece İslam’ın yayılışı olmayıp etkisi de olmuştur. Dokuzuncu Mrauk-U kralının zamanında Zeleta Saw Mun, Rum Paşa (Delhi İmparatorluğu) ülkesinden üç misyoner Kadir, Musa ve Hanu Meah Arakan’a gelip dinlerini ve İslam’ı yaymaya başlamıştır. Bütün ülke çapında camileri inşa ettiler ve her gün insanlar arasında vaaz ettiler. Bazı insanlar inançlarına inandılar ve bütün ülkeye yayılmışlardı. İnsanlar İslam’ı kabul ettiler. Baung Due, Ma-ruk-U’ya bir cami inşa etti ve diğer vaizler de ülke boyunca birçok cami inşa etti ve dinleri çok gelişti (İslam, s.4). Şimdi biz dört ana anahatları

ile Arakan'a XVII. yüzyılında Müslümanların dört farklı yerlerden geldiklerini zikredeceğiz. İlk olarak, Araplar, gemi ile dâhil olmak üzere ticaret faaliyetlerini sürdürürken; İkinci olarak, Kral Saw Mun'ı Arakan tahtına geri getirme sırasındaki iki büyük birliği altında Müslüman orduları; Üçüncü olarak, XVI.-XVII. yüzyıllarda korsanlar tarafından taşınan tutsak Müslümanları kurtarmak için el uzatması ve dördüncü olarak, 1660'da Kral Sah Şuja'nın ailesinin rehine alınması ve sonra onun öldürülmesi sebebiyle Kral Min Saw Mun'un Arakan'a giren ordu birlikleridir. Ama *FİDH*, onların 2000 yılındaki bir raporuna göre, Arakan'daki Müslüman göç dağılımını değerlendirmişti. Bu değerlendirmeye göre, aynı anda arka arkaya üç büyük göç dalgaları ile Rohingya'lar Arakan'a gelmiştir. İlk Müslüman denizciler (İran, Arabistan, Türkiye, Bengal'dan) VII. yüzyılda bölgeye yerleşti ve hiç zorlanmadan entegre oldu. XII. ve XIII. yüzyıllar boyunca daha büyük gruplar Arakan'a geldi ve hızla bütünleşti. Arakan'a ikinci Müslüman dalgası XV. yüzyılda başlayıp Burma kral Bodawpaya'nın Arakan'ı fethedinceye yani 1784'e kadar sürmüştür. İngiliz İmparatorluğunun sınırındaki bu genişleme politikası, 1824'te ilk İngiliz-Burma savaşına yol açan gerilimlerle sonuçlandı. Arakan ilhak edildi ve 1940'lara kadar süren üçüncü ve büyük "göç" dalgası başlatıldı. İngiliz egemenliğinde, Arakan'ın nüfusu, Doğu'da Müslüman ve Hindu Kızılderililerinin yerlerine yerleştirilmesi konusundaki bilinçli bir politika sonucu, en az 100.000 kişiden bir milyondan fazla kişiye yükseldi. Hinduların geniş ölçekli gelişleri, ekonomik durgunluk nedeniyle kötüleşen ilk toplumsal gerginliğe yol açtı (*FİDH* raporu, 2000, s. 5).

Yukarıda Müslümanların Arakan'da kaldığı ve tarihsel yaşamaları hakkında bilgileri aktardıktan sonra gerçekten, bugün Myanmar'da 135 farklı ulusal ırk olmasına rağmen, sözde Rohingya halkı onlardan biri değildir. Tarihsel olarak, Myanmar'da hiç bir "Rohingya" yarışı yoktu ama 1824'te ilk Anglo-Myanmar savaşından sonra, komşu ülkesinden Müslüman insanlar, Myanmar'ın Naing-Ngan'a özellikle Rakhine eyaletine yasadışı bir şekilde girdi. Yasadışı göçmen olduğu için ülkenin diğer vatandaşları gibi göçmenlik belgelerine sahip değil (*FİDH* raporu, 2000, s.5). Burma, ayrımcılık ve dışlanma politikasını haklı kılmak için Burma hükümetinin sürekli olarak bahsettiği resmi tarihsel ilanı budur. İngilizlerin tetiklediği son göç dalgası gerçekten de önemli olsa da, Müslümanların Arakan'a gelmelerini daha erken bir zamana işaretlenmektedir

ve 1430 yılından sonra Arakan'da İslam'ın yayılışı ve etkisi için Rohingyalı Müslümanların katkısı çok önemlidir.

Sonuç:

Arakan eyaleti şimdi 'Rakhine eyaleti' olarak Myanmar'ın bir parçası olsa da farklı olarak onun 4500 yıllık eski özgür bir devletin şekli vardır. Bunlardan Mra-Uk hanedanının 355 yıllık hüküm süren hanedanı güney-doğu Asya'da diğer kraliyetler gibi bayındır bir kraliyettir. Bengal Müslümanları gibi Arakanlı Müslümanlar idari faaliyetleri ve devletin özgürlüğünü ve egemenliğini korumak için önemli durumdadır. Yıllardır Müslüman topraklarda yaşayan Rohingya Müslümanları İngiliz çağında büyük bir kısmının Arakan'a girdiğini iddia etmek tamamen yanıltıcı ve rahatsız edicidir. Ancak, 1942 yılından bu yana Müslüman karşıtı etnik temizlik faaliyetlerinin bir sonucu olarak günümüze kadar ayaklanan milyonlarca Rohingya Arakan'dan ayrılmaya zorlandı. İslam'a katkı sağlayan bu Rohingyalılar kendi eyaletine hâkimiyetten vazgeçtirilmesi ile dünyada mahrum olarak kalmıştır. İdareleri olmazsa, en az kendileri vatandaş statüsünü kazanmayı düşünüyorlar.

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Chapter Four

Military and Politics

THE MYTHS AND REALITIES OF TURKISH CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS: A QUEST FROM THE CASE OF FETO'S JULY 15TH FAILED COUP ATTEMPT

Yılmaz BINGÖL, Md. Nazmul ISLAM

Introduction:

Turkish military, so called the protector of Kemalist principles particularly secularism and nationalism, have strong influence on civilian politics. Historically Turkish military plays an important role in protecting the state and national interests. Through military coup or statement on political issues, mobilizing civilian actors, Turkish military has directly or indirectly influenced on civilian politics. The previous four military interventions (i.e. 1960, 1971, 1980 and 1997 interventions) make an environment for coup plotters and putschists to interfere the democratic political power in different forms. However, changing civil-military relations in Turkey is very acute as the regime of AK Party government achieved substantial legal and institutional reforms that limit the military's influence on civilian politics. In the time of modern political role in Turkey and Turkish economic and political development along with democratization efforts gives courage, nerve and bravery to Turkish people to prove their role against this putschist mindset and structures which was strongly verified in the night of July 15 FETO failed military coup attempt. It was the first time in the history of modern Turkish state, people showed their strong support for democratic government over military power. Moreover, Turkey and the Turkish nation went through a dramatic chain of events that caught the millions in Turkey and beyond unaware.

During this bloody coup attempt, 240 people were killed and an estimated 2,195 were wounded by rogue military officers who are supported and belonged to the Gulenist Terrorist Organization (FETO). Turkish Parliament, Presidential Palace, Police and Turkish Intelligence Headquarters were bombed by FETO.

Coup plotters attempted to assassinate President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, which clearly proves that FETO coup members were desperate to commit any crime in order to achieve their goal. The Government, opposition parties, civil society organizations and ordinary citizens joined together and defended the democratic order. This was certainly an historic moment for Turkey and may be considered as a milestone in World's democratic history. Since the defeat of the coup attempt, numerous questions have been raised about the instigators, their motivations and Gulenist terrorists around the world. This paper discusses the theoretical and historical perspectives of Turkish civil-military relations to understand the military interests to intervene and interference over civilian political powers and democratic system of the country. The paper aims to explore the Turkish military interests to intervene on current democratic government and evaluate the consequences and implications of this intervene from the case analyses of FETO's July 15 failed military coup attempt with a detailed discussion on FETO's background, their role in Turkish military and by whom they are supported. This method will better enable us to analyze continuities and discontinuities in Turkish civil-military relations and to understand the military interests to influence and involve in civilian politics.

Theoretical Setting:

The methodology is the functional action strategy to carry out the study in the light of the theoretical framework and guiding research question. The study is basically based on qualitative method from the research analysis of previous theoretical discussion and empirical description on July 15 FETO's failed military coup attempt. Secondary data is used for the reanalysis of previously collected and analyzed data. There are clear advantages to working with an existing body of data, such as the reduction of costs, saving time and making difficult populations accessible (Punch, 1998). In order to collect secondary materials we used many books, journals, libraries and relevant websites which are related with Turkish civil-military relations and FETO's 15 July failed military coup attempt. In order to understand the theoretical background of Turkish civil-military relations we can discuss some theoretical framework which will help us evaluate the current FETO's coup attempt, such as "deep state theory"

which refers to the informal institutions influence on the formal institutions of the government which means the activities of input and output system between formal and informal institutions of any state in post-transitional period. According to the David Collier and Steven Levitsky (1997) deep state means the “moving up and down the ladders of abstraction.” Additionally, the symbol of deep state is to assist the undemocratic government and associate of informal government within formal government where informal institutions always fusion of formal institutions. The current FETO’s failed military coup attempt in Turkey is the best incident according to this theory. The coup planners used and alleged a strategy within the Turkish politics, military, security, judiciary and anywhere like informal institutions and parallel structure to have influence on formal institutions by the hegemonic ideology of Gulen. In this regard it is significant to note that FETO is also commonly called in Turkey as Parallel State Structure (Paralel Devlet Yapılanması – PDY).

Peter D. Feaver (1998) holds that civil-military relations are the relations of strategic interaction and hierarchy. This simple but useful approach can be useful to elaborate on the Turkish civil-military relations. According to this theory the civilian side holds the idea that the basic military task is to defend the country and use their capabilities only for protecting country whenever needed. Furthermore, the military side will agree on the decisions of the democratic and civilian government and policy of democratic governments. If military powers abuse their power to get control over the political domain, that means they are trying to shirk their responsibilities. As Feaver (1998) holds “the military agent is said to shirk when, whether through laziness, insolence, or preventable incompetence, it deviates from its agreement with the civilians in order to pursue different preferences, for instance by not doing what the civilians have requested, or not in the way the civilians wanted, or in such a way as to undermine the ability of the civilians to make future decisions.” The 1982 Constitution has given huge opportunity to exercise the political power in civilian politics as the Article 6 of that constitution described “the nation shall exercise its sovereignty through the authorized agencies” which gives extra advantages to military to influence over civilian politics. In this regard, FETO’s military group used this scope to capture political power over democratic government on 15 July 2016. The other theory of liberal-democratic

model can be proposed for post July 15 FETO's failed coup on democratic and civilian government model in Turkey. The liberal-democratic model is the pluralistic model of democracy. In North America and Western Europe, this is a very familiar model to run the government. According to this model military would be subordinate under civilian politics and civil power. There will be no option to disagree with civilian policies and civilian government will make the military policies in the spheres of defense and security which is foremost issue to enhance Turkish civilian and democratic power.

Historical Milieu of Turkish Military Interference in Civilian Politics:

The democratic processes directly interrupted by Turkish military for four times during in 1960–61, 1971, 1980–83 and 1997. The first coup happened in 1960 by the military to topple down the Adnan Menderes government by having the severe economic crisis which raised social disintegration as a pretext (Matos, 2013). This coup was against Democratic Party (DP) government and after this coup Adnan Menderes was executed with other ministers, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and Hasan Polatkan (Karacan, 2014, p. 74) and a new constitution was written by military which was approved by state referendum system (Mango: 2005, p. 20). The constitution had given a more active and influential power to military to have role in politics and state guardianship to protect and safeguard Atatürk's state system (Faucompret & Konings, 2008, p. 10). This was the first coup by Turkish military that made a path for the next coup on 12 March 1971. There were so many confusions raised at that period which was clearly defined by Erik Jan Zürcher (2004, p. 258): "Many on the left at first greeted the ultimatum with hope, interpreting it as a 1960-type coup against a right-wing government. This soon proved to be a dreadful mistake. It was a 'coup' by the high command, not by a radical group of officers and the high command by this time was mesmerized by the specter of a communist threat."

Subsequently the second coup happened in 1971 due to the social problems, liberal constitution prone to military political power, political instability, government system crisis and mass violence spread out in the state (Mango, 2005:21). The 1971 intervention is well known in the political history of Tur-

key as the “intervention by ultimatum” (Brown, 1987, p. 240). Ebru Deniz (2012, p. 48) evaluates this coup to a very depth extent. According to her, the main reasons behind the 1971 intervention were the result of over-accumulation of capital after World War II, the new economic regulations by government and radical changes in the whole society. From the same ground, Zürcher (2004) argues that the political crisis, oil crises and electricity crises constructed the road for this coup. Furthermore, the clarification of Zürcher (2004, p. 267) clearly defines the reason of second coup, “the rising price of energy and the irresponsible financial policies of successive governments fuelled inflation. Inflation had been running at around 20 per cent a year during the early part of the 1970s, but by 1979 it was at 90 per cent and rising. The government tried to keep inflation down by controlling prices through the price-control board (which existed from 1973 to 1980). The result was a huge black market.”

This interruption of military coup had immense impact on civilian politics which bought a more powers for military on the name of restrictive constitution by the system of National Security Council (Faucompret & Konings, 2008, p. 13). By this intervention democratic constitution and civilian political powers were dismissed, newspapers were closed and it was one of the most repressive interventions in the military coup history of Turkey (Gürsoy, 2010). The impact of this coup was very vast on 1968 and 1978 generation of Turkey even the repression was not only on the right wing politicians but also on the left wing politicians (Karacan, 2014). Following the previous military coups, Turkish military intervention in the civilian politics on 12 September 1980 where clashes between right and left wing create an environment to enforce and gave scope the military to intervene the civilian politics and lead to another military coup (Ustel, 2008). In the time of cold/proxy war between the USA and the USSR, there were armed conflict between right and left wing of Turkish political parties and Turkish military used these scopes and allowed these kinds of clash to escalate and build a strategy to capture the political power. The military newly established the National Security Council (NSC) and civil-political rights were limited by this council even the council declared martial law from 15 days to 90 days. Hundreds of thousands people arrested in following years. According to the Economist (2013), 50 people were executed and hundreds died in prison. After the intervention, the military declared that

this coup was for the unity and cohesion of the Turkish nation and to protect the country from probable civil war between right and left wing politicians. The head of National Security Council (NSC) Kenan Evren explained that from every aspect of Turkish social and individual peace, this coup was obligatory (Karacan, 2014, p. 82).

Military banned the political parties and trade union and the NSC established soldiers backed and governed cabinet to govern the country until forming the civilian government in 1983. Moreover, the military government simultaneously formed the academics from law faculties with the member of NSC to work on a new constitution. Additionally, the Higher Education Law implemented higher education system for armed forces which provided full control to armed forces. Literally, the main aim was to control the higher education for limiting the politics in the universities (Ahmed, 1993: 185). The freedom of thought and speech, freedom of press and media was abolished and oppressed by the new constitution. Furthermore in the new constitutions, the 26th issue of general laws requires a “permission system” which abolished the general and political strike even limited the NGOs’ and trade unions activities (Parla, 2006, p. 60). It was impossible to demonstrate anything against military government because it was prohibited by martial law. In addition, media was censored by the government before releasing anything according to the Articles 23, 31 and 57. Predominantly Article 31 gave the controlling power to military before publishing any news, programs (Karacan, 2014, p. 83).

In 1997, the rise of Islamic attitudes and values oriented Welfare Party increased concerns for Turkish military. Additionally, it was argued that the supporters of Welfare Party were demanding and demonstrating in favor of returning the Islamic Law and Islamic Society (Heper & Güney, 2000, pp. 640-642), which legitimated the Turkish military interference on the civilian politics. From the view of Alan Makovsky (1996), Erbakan government tries to Islamize Turkish society and makes an effort to add an Islamic oriented foreign policy. In that time, the powerful National Security Council (NSC) was controlling Turkish governments and foreign policy which was dominated by secular ideology. However, the sensitive issue for Turkish military is Islamist threat and 1997 civilian government rule was governed by pro-Islamic political party led by first Islamic Prime Minister Erbakan. Thus, Turkish secular and Kemalist

military thought that this government would be dangerous for Turkey Republican ideology and secularism. Therefore, on the name of military guardianship they put pressure on Erbakan's government and imposed series of recommendations. Finally, prime minister was forced to resign from the government and this coup was named as the "bloodless coup" in the history of Turkish military interference on civilian politics (Heper & Güney, 2000, p. 636).

Turkish Military on Civilian Political Powers: Case Study on FETO's July 15 Failed Military Coup Attempt:

The historical incidents we mentioned briefly above confirm that Turkish military have deep interest to intervene and interfere on civilian politics. Moreover, the tradition of civilian political power provides immense possibilities to the Turkish military to interfere on civilian politics and democracy. Interventionist strategy, role of guardianship sense and Western prone government provides excellent environment for Turkish military to interfere on civilian government. Additionally, somehow Turkish militaries are popular within specific professional groups for instance in the academicians (Sarigil, 2009). However, to understand the military influence and interest on civilian politics we have to discuss some points particularly after the incident of FETO's July 15 failed coup attempt. Geo-strategically Turkey's importance derives from the various factors as the reasons of Black Sea and the Bosphorus Strait, the effective and strong position in NATO, the position of Russia where Turkey balances that position with entire southeastern zone, and so on (Çakar, 1998). Active and influential geo-strategic player in the region, Turkey works as a crucial player in the Middle East affairs particularly in the current controversies in Syria and Iraq. Furthermore, Turkey and the USA relations cover the political and security fields, energy, trade, investment and cultural matters, which establish the strategic importance of Turkey with the USA. In addition, Turkey's desire to be a full member of the EU ascertains its strategic necessities in the World.

In this regards, the strategic position of Turkey constitutes one of the most important concerns in Turkish people mindset and the military used this soft corner of the people strategically to imply their role on civilian politics. Moreover,

security is the concerning issue for Turkish citizen hence they want to depend on military for their security and safety which ascertains the license to military to interfere the political issues of Turkey. Furthermore, PKK terrorism, the Aegean problem, former Soviet threat gives authorization power to military to intervene in civilian politics (Kuloğlu and Şahin, 2006). Additionally, the current insecurity problems raised by ISIS and refugees are putting the strong hands to the Turkish military on the democratic powers of Turkey.

The crucial legacy of Turkish culture is patriotism. Among Turkish people; self-sacrifice, courage and strength are the approaches to increase the military support to intervene their role on civilian politics (Kuloğlu and Şahin, 2006, p. 89). Additionally, the education system itself gives priority and respect to the activities of military for example the ideas of “every Turk is born a soldier” is one of the best example to understand the Turkish people’s love for military. Even to take the military training is one kind of joy and pride in Turkish society (Varoğlu & Bicaksız, 2005, p. 585) which establishes the legacy of Turkish military to take upon the role on civilian politics. The membership of NATO has increased the Turkish military prestige globally and nationally. Additionally, the historical background of Turkish society for example in the age Ottoman legacy, the Turkish independence war and Kemalism principles authenticates the strong position to the military to take upon their decision on civilian politics (Güney & Karatekelioğlu, 2005, pp. 442-443). After the Turkish independence, weak and fragile democratic tradition gave immense opportunities to military to step down the democratic government and significantly its impact on democratically elected government by authoritarian regime system of military (Demirel, 2005).

Case Study on FETO’s July 15 Failed Military Coup Attempt:

On the night of July 15, 2016, a group of plotters within the body of Turkish military organized a coup to uproot Turkey’s democratically elected government. Although it was a failed military coup attempt but after this coup the question raised who is FETO and why this terrorist organization used a group of soldiers to seize the legal political authority of Turkey like previous military

coup. The answer is very easy which we have discussed in the segment of military influence and intervene in Turkish civilian politics however, we will try to find out the FETO's background, how and why they used military for this coup, their foreign supporters and global relations in the following discussion.

The Background of FETO's Movement:

The movement has been founded and led by Fethullah Gülen in 1960s. Although Gülen and his followers have identified the movement as a religious and social movement and called themselves as a Cemaat (Community) and/or Hizmet (Service) movement, it has been clearly realized especially after July 15, 2016 failed coup attempt that the movement has rather worked like an organized crime ring. After the 15 July failed military coup attempt, the movement is now commonly and officially referred to as Fethullahist Terrorist Organization (FETO) in official documents and statements by Turkish government led by AK Party as well as by all other opposition parties. Moreover, Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) 43rd Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers has adopted Fethullah Terrorist Organization (FETO) by Resolution No: 47/43-POL (MFA, Turkey, 19 October 2016).

The disguise mission and vision of this movement is to create a “cultish hierarchy” and “global apocalyptic society” in the World. Especially after the 15 July military failed coup attempt in Turkey the movement has been openly accused from the “Hizmet” movement to terror organization even by intellectuals like Mustafa Akyol, who were once sympathetic to the FETO movement. Akyol (2016) indicates that the Gulen followers believe “he is the Mahdi, the Islamic version of the Messiah, who will save the Muslim world, and ultimately the world itself. Many of his followers also believe that Gulen sees the Prophet Muhammad in his dreams and receives orders from him.” The “cultish hierarchy” system of Gulen movement from top-level imams orders to second-level imams then orders to third-level imams, and then orders to the grass roots being accused for secretive “Islamic sect” in the worldwide (The Economist Magazine, 2016). The FETO movement has been very active in education sector, especially in the private schools and universities. More than 140 American

Charter Schools with more than 60.000 American students, are being operated by Gülen followers. It is claimed that these schools get about 500 million dollars a year from local governments (Çopur, 2016). Additionally, they operated these schools and universities over 180 countries in the World (Gülen Inspired Schools, 2016). In these schools the Gülen preaches and discourses are spread out to young minds of students. The controversies of Gülen movement has raised many questions about their activities across the World. One of the important study on “the Emergence of FETO: From the Service (Hizmet) to a Terror Organization” by Burhanettin Duran (2016) identifies that according to the US literature Islamic movements in Turkey means extremist or radical movements where Gulen movement as an Islamic movement prefers to use “moderate” and “smiling face of Islam”. Moreover, the CIA’s former chief of station for Turkey Graham E. Fuller to define the Gulen movement as “one of the most encouraging faces of Islam” even after the July 15 coup attempt who appeared as a “putschist” and “heretical” to its own country.

FETO’s Role Within the Turkish Military Before and After July 15 Military Coup:

After the 15 July bloodshed military coup, the question of how and why FETO cells infiltrating into the Turkish Military is frequently raised in the Turkish society. The research study on “Democracy Watch: Social Perception of 15 July Coup Attempt” shows how and why FETO members infiltrated into the Turkish military over a 40 years. Literally, they had planned to capture the Turkish political power by armed revolt. Moreover, “they have infiltrated all state institutions using a religious rhetoric”. In the military forces, TSK is their main infiltrated position which was very active on the night of July 15. Additionally, the study on “Gulen Movement and the Loss of Sunni Values” by Burhanettin Duran (2013) identifies that FETO has a distinct characteristic which make it differ from other Islamic movements. Their rigid hierarchical structure and organization confines its followers “ends justify the means” mindset where their main mission through the social networks, finances and human capital.

Some sources show that FETO recruited its members to the state bodies through

the state selection examinations by fraud, hoax exam system. For instance, “in 2010 on the orders of F. Gülen himself, the exam questions and answer keys of the Public Personnel Selection Examination (KPSS) were stolen and handed out to certain FETO members. Apart from this, Gülenists have also manipulated the selection committees and eliminated candidates who were not of their ideology. This was particularly the case during the interviews for career professions such as specialists, inspectors, diplomats, researchers, and so on. Currently F. Gülen himself is the “prime suspect” in over 50 different criminal indictments” (Coup Facts, 2016, p. 11). To investigate and explore the FETO role in military and the process leading to the coup attempt, two bills of indictment prepared by the prosecution offices may be put forward. The first of these two bills, “Parallel Structure Indictment” or “FETO Joint Indictment” prepared by Ankara Public Prosecution Office (Gunday, 2016), and the second one is an “Izmir Espionage Indictment” prepared by Izmir Public Prosecution Office. In second indictment, Attorney General Okan Bato indicates that “FETO member officers were being protected by Muharrem Kose, the former Legal Adviser at Chief of Staff and Colonel Oguz Akkus, who replaced Kose, acted in a similar manner” (Yeni Safak, 2016). According to the Attorney General Okan Bato, “Kose was the main actor in organizing the coup attempt” (Sabah, 2016).

After the coup attempt, it was found out that Kose was investigated on the allegations of being a Gulenist (Al Jazeera, 2016). Izmir Espionage Indictment was the main factors for which FETO members learned that military personnel whose name were included within the indictment would be arrested on July 16 and 17 (Milliyet, 2016) where the other factor was Supreme Military Council meeting which is held annually in August. As Bato’s statement suggest, the operations against FETO-member military personnel were planned to be commenced after the Supreme Military Council meeting; however, foreseeing that the FETO-member high ranking officers, who were to be removed from their posts, might resort to other means, the operation was set to an earlier date (Miş, et al. 2016: 26). It can be argued that the most basic method of the FETO members to infiltrate in the military through the distribution of stolen questions which consists to the stealing of military schools’ entrance exam questions to students affiliated with the FETO and manipulation of various legal processes (Mis, et al 2016: 28). According to the statement of Defense Minister Fikri

Isik, the role of FETO's in stealing the exam questions by referring to the statistics of exam held between 2000-2014 (Hurriyet, 2016). FETO's coup plotters attempted to use corruption to discredit AK Party government and to mobilize the troops and influence on civilians against the democratically elected government. But ultimately they failed to show their logic to the people of Turkey. Additionally, the coup was lunched two days before actual coup was happened. On 13 July, the President of Turkey signed a bill where Turkish soldier's immunity from the prosecution of domestic security operations and any soldiers can file a case against commanders (Hannah, 2016) which made advantage for coup plotters to create anger for some soldiers of Turkish military. Furthermore, the FETO's members in the military used some conventional strategies to step down the government such as an attempt to detain or assassinate the president and control the media (Kanat, 2016, p. 26) while some non-conventional methods were also applied to seize the legal government such as bombing on national parliament building, presidential palace and shooting on civilians but the people of Turkey beat off all of efforts of FETO's military members.

FETO and Its Foreign Perpetrators:

According to the findings of Coup Facts (2016), FETO obtains advantages and opportunities by their 'charter school' program in the USA, which gives them extra assistance to entering the educational institutions where they spread out their own academic goals. As of 12 January 2014, the organization is estimated to own and operate 139 chartered schools, in 26 different states, and at least 18 are currently in the works, and another 121 are known to have been in processing (Gulen Charter Schools, 2014). In 2015, a USA Today investigation revealed that "FETO had secretly funded up to 200 trips for members of Congress and staff to Turkey since 2008. The newspaper also discovered that the group was using proxies to make campaign contributions to individuals running for public office in an effort to secure their loyalty. Many contributors who participated in the scheme, USA Today found, had modest incomes and no knowledge of the candidates they were supporting – including whether they were men or women".

Although the United States remains FETO's nerve center, the organization implements the same model around the world "to buy influence, recruit new members and keep growing" (Singer & Firozi, 2015). Additionally, there are so many schools are funded and operated by Gulen and his followers in Europe especially in Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, Switzerland, Russia and Austria (<http://gulenforeignmedia.weebly.com>). The primary research conducted by SETA on the issue of 15 July military coup attempt in Turkey identifies that most of the people in Turkey think foreign powers were involved in July 15 FETO military coup attempt either as planners or organizers. According to this study peoples' opinion indicates that Fetullah Gulen living in USA, the foreign media news and publications after July 15 FETO military coup, the controversial attitudes of foreign countries confines foreign involvement with this coup. According to the people USA is the first perpetrator, while European Union is second and then Israel, Russia and Iran as possible that could have been involved (Mis, et all, 2016: 26).

Post July 15 Failed Coup Situation: The Journey for New Turkey:

The night of July 15 was the "Gift of God" (Champion, 2016) night for Turkish civilian powers over military powers. Turkish people have showed all forms of courage and brevity against the coup plotters and oppressive forces. Additionally, they demonstrated for sustaining democracy and against military rule in the country. The coup plotters fired from the helicopters, bombed on government institutions and ran tanks over the civilians, but ultimately they failed and made a strong environment against military powers which is a chance for a transition for civilian powers politics (Duran & Altun, 2016, p. 110). Not only the political environment after July 15 coup attempt but also the civilian politics for the last decade influence on military indicates that Turkish military lost its influence on civilian politics. The detention of former Chief of General Staff General Ilker Basbug in January 2012 may be taken as important development in this regard, as the members of army had once been regarded as untouchable. Additionally, the military leaders of the 1980 interventionist General Kenan Evren and General Tahsin Sahinkaya prosecution for life imprisonment indicates the lessening influence of military on civilian politics (Sarigil, 2012).

Civilian actors have indeed increased their influential role on military actors

since early 2000s. As Metin Heper (2011, p. 251) indicates “It seems from 2002 onwards, the High Command has arrived at the conclusion that the military should no longer play a guardian role even if in its view civilians made a ‘mess of things’. Furthermore, former Chief of Staff General Hilmi Ozkok (2002–2006) statement indicates the present military actor’s role in civilian politics. He stated (in Heper, 2005, p. 217) that: “The military intervened on May 27 (1960), March 12 (1971), and September 12 (1980). Were these interventions successful? No! Had they been successful, politicians who had been banned from active politics could not have been able to return to politics. Those who were banned from politics later became even prime ministers and/or the president of the republic. This shows that military interventions are not a panacea. From now on we should have greater trust in the people’s judgment”. The ultimate people judgment demonstrated and established on the night of July 15 military coup attempts where civilian power prevails on the military power.

The positive outcome of the July 15 coup attempt is unity of the people. Turkish people demonstrated courage and strength on the night of July 15 and its aftermath. Major political parties (CHP, MHP and HDP) unification and the role of charismatic power by president Recep Tayyip Erdogan decision to reach out to positive development against the coup in the national unity effort (Tol, Mainzer & Ekmekci, 2016) to influence the civilian power on military power. As Burhanettin Duran (2016: 149) puts it- “a civilian wave mobilized to protect Turkey’s welfare, security and integrity has been formed and a state of mind that goes beyond the daily politics has emerged, laying the ground of an all-encompassing mindset, which regards the notions of land, state and democracy within the framework of common national interests.”

Conclusion:

The study has discussed the civilian political influence on military and military influence on civilian political powers from the case analysis of 15 July FETO’s military coup attempt. Additionally this study has identified whether the Turkish military guardianship ended or contributed to the civilian political

powers for establishing democracy particularly after July 15 FETO's military coup. The July 15 coup attempt and its aftermath are totally out of the hand of military and the civilian role has established in the political environment of Turkey to sustain the democratic process. The coup attempt was not backed by the public. The charismatic leadership role of President Erdogan and AK Party government have established a strong civilian and democratic power in Turkey. The support of all opposition parties, media and NGOs role against the putschists make sure that the Turkish people are now with democracy and against others interference on civilian politics. However, as Advisor to President İbrahim Kalın (2016) puts it, the FETO military coup is not a political issue for Turkey; rather it is a national security problem. Kalın warns Turkey's friends abroad and other countries of the dangers posed by FETO. In order to defeat this new type of terrorism, international solidarity is highly crucial.

It is a great chance for Turkey's democracy that the recollection of past military coups in Turkish people mindset, the people of Turkey opposed the military interventions on democratically elected government. People understand that the ultimate power is people's power. Therefore, to strengthen the autonomy and independence of the country, civilian democratic based government is very much important. Furthermore, in this age of globalization economic, cultural and military independence should depend on political independence to establish development, peace and justice. Moreover, the main tasks of military to protect and to secure the political boundaries not to intervene the civilian politics.

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NEW DIMENSION OF THE MILITARY INTERVENTION: BANGLADESH EXAMPLE

Rahmat ULLAH

Introduction: Politics and the Military of Bangladesh

British authority ruled Indian sub-continent as a colony nearly two centuries and divided the sub-continent as two countries India and Pakistan in 1947, on the basis of religion. Bengal land was also divided as West and East Bengal on the basis of religious majority. East Bengal (now Bangladesh) included with Pakistan as a province, with thousands mile distance. Pakistan failed to build a strong democratic political system from the beginning and mostly ruled by military and bureaucracy till the 1970s (Huq, 1993). The Pakistani leaders both democratic and military failed to understand the intensity of the desire of the people of East Bengal. They also underestimated Bengalis' democratic demands and rights although the political movements organized by Bengali people had a democratic identity. The language movement in 1952, the six-point programme in 1966, people's uprising in 1969, the election in 1970 and finally the military action in March 1971 led to the disintegration of united Pakistan. Bangladesh has born on 16 December 1971 after a nine-month long Liberation War (Hasanuzzaman, 1998). Bangladesh established the democratic system from its beginning and succeeded to take its democratic constitution only after a year of the independence. The leading party of liberation war Awami League (AL); gained the overwhelming majority in the Parliament in 1973. But the founder of the country and the then Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman faced many problems to build the new nation. On 28 December 1974, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's government declared the state of emergency because of economic crisis, deadliest famine, uncontrolled law and order and radical opposition. The AL government drastically amended the constitution and established the one-party presidential system in 1975.

On 15 August 1975 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman the then-president was assassinated by a group of army officers. After this coup, a series of coups and countercoups occurred and military governments ruled Bangladesh till 6 December 1990 (Khanam, 2008). Although multi-party democratic system restored in 1991, Bangladesh politics still has some problems like weak leadership, oppression on the opposition parties, lack of tolerance, widespread corruption, weak election commission, questionable elections, political violence as well as the lack of democratic practice among political parties (Hasanuzzaman, 2009). On the other hand, Bangladesh military has inherited colonial tendency from British Authority before 1947 and experience of Martial Law under Ayub Khan and Yahya Kahn from 1958 to 1971 in Pakistan period. Military officers took responsibility for training the Freedom Fighters at various training centres and they themselves fought against the Pakistan army and lead the liberation war from 25 March to 16 December 1971 (Ahamed, 2004). So, it can be said that Bangladesh military's supremacy in politics is a traditional sequence from Pakistan to Bangladesh (Rahaman, 2009). Liberation war was also the beginning of politicization of the Bangladesh military because they lead the war and gained the independence without the presence of political leadership and proper political guidance (Masum, 2010). The soldiers, who participated in the liberation war, could not be separated from politics because the liberation war in 1971 was basically a political war (Major Rafiqul Islam in Rahaman, 2009). Morris Janowitz characterizes these militaries as "Armies of National Liberation" and these types of military wished to play role in the internal politics (Rahaman, 2009). In this study, we will discuss the nature and causes of the military interventions in Bangladesh politics and we will show the exceptionalities of the recent military intervention from the past interventions.

The Framework for the Analysis:

There are many theories to analyse military intervention in politics. But, some theories cover the area of analysis, as Önder (2010) categorises: (1) socio-economic development, (2) political development, (3) the centrality of military, (4) conflict, and (5) regional differences. As a developing country, Bangladesh is trying to develop its social, economic and political fields. New social

groups and norms are creating; new economic groups, fields, and functions are increasing and new political norms, views, groups and parties being taking part in the political system. So, ‘Socio-economic Development Theory’ and ‘Political Development Theory’ is more likely related to analyse the military interventions in Bangladesh politics. Socio-economic development theory is one of the most important theories to analyse military intervention in politics. Finer (1988) cited in Önder (2010) argued that, the density of military interventions is more likely to decrease with increased socio-economic development status. It means that the less socio-economic development would be an important cause of military intervention and it is still happening in the developing countries for socio-economic reasons. ‘Political Development Theory’ mainly focused on strong civilian government, strong political units and institutions and standard democratic values of a political system. So, the weakness of elected government, lack of political units and political participation and political crisis encourages military interventions. In the theory of political development and decay Huntington (1977) stressed the importance of institutionalization of political organizations and procedures. Political decay creates the imbalance between social mobilization and political institutionalization and it opens the way to military intervention. Non-institutionalized political organizations could not be able to ensure political participations and it fails to respond the public demands and opens the way to social conflicts and military interventions. Fragile political institutions, lack of consensual leadership and legitimacy, the power vacuum and low level of political culture may cause for military intervention (Ahamed, 1989).

The Military Interventions in Politics:

The military is one of the main parts of a country that work under the political authority and it plays the main role to protect a country’s security from the external military threat. But in the developing countries, military sometimes use their armed power in politics and become a parallel authority in the political process because of their organizational structure. In the case of developing countries, military intervention has been seen all over the world. Military interventions mean the attempt to control the policy process either legislative or

executive power or in some cases judiciary power by the military. They also try to exert strict control over other interest groups (Önder, 2010) and sometimes try to control political and interests groups directly. It also means the unconstitutional takeover of political power from the civilians by the armed forces by brute force (Edeh and Ugwueze, 2014). Sometimes military or a group of armed forces directly revolt against a civilian government and sometimes they make pressure and demand the resignation of the civilian government. In the case of Bangladesh politics, the military or a group of military officers directly intervened in politics six times. These are 15 August 1975, 3 November 1975, 7 November 1975, 30 May 1981, 25 March 1982 and on 11 January 2006.

The Military Interventions from 1975 to 1982:

The nine-month-long war against Pakistani military made a new military force of Bangladesh undisciplined, politicized and ambitious. The first political leadership Bangladesh has also failed to make the military disciplined (Masum, 2010). The size of the armed forces of quite small but the level of internal rivalry and cleavage was so high. The main problem among the military forces was the 'repatriates' and 'freedom fighters' issue. In the military, 28000 men were 'repatriates' among 36000 men including 1000 officers among 1200 officers in 1975. The freedom fighter military officers were offered two years' seniority and treated preferentially that caused animosity among the repatriates' because some of the repatriate officers were placed under new ranked officers who were junior to them in the Pakistan defence forces. These two groups were also divided ideologically. The freedom fighters regarded the repatriates as opportunists and pro-Pakistanis and on the other hand repatriates regarded most of the freedom fighters as basically secularists, socialists and Pro-Indian. Conflicts between the Bangladesh Rifles and regular defence forces assumed alarming proportions in 1972 which was started at the time of independence war (Ahamed, 2004). The questions about the economic system; the issues of the relations with China or Moscow and about the role of religion lead to the creation of some militant rightist, socialist as well as communist groups in the society. These societal cleavages caused the factionalism among the soldiers and some leftists' cells were created among the military forces (Wolf, 2013).

The government did not take effective measures for the reconstruction of the military infrastructures and the expenditure on defence services was gradually reduced. On the other hand, newly established militia group named Jatiya Rakhi Bahini (National Security Force) was introduced as a parallel organisation to the regular armed forces because Sheikh Mujibur Rahman intended to reduce the power of armed forces (Rahaman, 2009). AL on the other hand nationalized all important sectors of the country including banks, factories, airways and foreign trade and ruling party leaders, workers and sympathisers were given the opportunities in all the fields of the state and many of them became involved in blatant corruption and smuggling operations. (Maniruz-zaman, 2009). AL government failed to control extreme radicalisation after the liberation war and the law and order gone out of control. The government also failed to handle the problems of serious economic crisis, social and political instability (Ahamed, 1989); thus major groups of the society including political parties, bureaucracy and military went against the government (Khanam, 2008). The government deployed the paramilitary and regular forces to ensure law and order in the entire country. The successes of the military to manage the political problems made the military officers believe that only the Bangladesh Army could save the country.

The growing participation in the day-to-day affairs of the state made the military officers sensitive to political power. They were also being aware of the basic weaknesses of the regime, particularly the corrupt practices of some top ranking leaders, and of their unpopularity (Ahamed, 2004). The pro-Indian policy, taken by Mujib government created an anti-Indian and anti-Mujib feeling among most of the military men. In this complex political situation, on 28 December 1974, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's government declared the state of emergency; drastically amended the constitution and established the one-party presidential system in January 1975. Thus the pre-independence consensus on parliamentary democracy which was created by AL, been vanished by the same party only after three and half years of the independence (Ehsan, 2010). Thus the democratic government became authoritarian and the leader of the democratic movements became autocratic (Jahan, 1980). In this situation, a group of mid-level young military officers brutally killed the then-President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman including most of his family members on 15 Au-

gust 1975. They installed a new government headed by Khondakar Mushtaque Ahmed who was a minister of Mujibur Rahman's cabinet.

On 3 November 1975, Deputy Chief of the Army Major General Khaled Musharraf seized the power and the Army Chief, Lt. Gen. Ziaur Rahman was placed under house arrest. Soldiers of the Bangladesh military rose against Khaled Musharraf and killed him on 7 November and a new government was formed under the leadership of the Chief of the Army Major General Ziaur Rahman. He was a well-known role in the war of independence and his historic declaration of Bangladesh (on behalf of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman) as an independent sovereign state on 26 March 1971 had turned him into a legendary figure (Huq, 1993). Zia took several measures to consolidate and legitimise his regime such as referendum and the presidential election, formation of the political party, arranging parliamentary elections (Khanam, 2008: 4). Although Ziaur Rahman was tried to stop grouping among the military by giving officers important posts in the secretariat, public corporations, high posts in the police departments, business and industry sectors, foreign trade and foreign missions. He has also executed and arrested some military officers but failed to stop the conspiracy. The conflict among freedom fighters and repatriates, pro-verses anti-liberation forces, Manzoor (Mejor General Abul Manzoor) verses Zia (Ziaur Rahman), Manzoor verses Ershad (Lt. General H. M. Ershad) was divided the armed forces (Rahaman, 2009). One the other hand, AL supporters, and freedom fighters from the military as well as civil; criticized Zaiur Rahman's soft policy towards Islamist's, non-secular rightist's and the repatriate groups in the military as well as the killer of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He has faced at least 17 coup attempts (Ahmed, 2014), most were lead by freedom-fighter officers and at last assassinated by some Brigadier ranked officer on 30 May 1981. Although he was killed by some military officers; he made the military as strong part of policy and decision level. The military became a well-organised interest group and a dominant organisation in the political system. So, after the assassination of Ziaur Rahman, military demanded a constitutional right for playing an active role at the policy level. But the political authority denied military's illegal proposal and within a year, Chief of the Army Staff, Lt. General H. M. Ershad who was a repatriate officer imposed the martial law on 24 March 1982 and suspended the constitution (Halim, 2003).

Ershad gave the military more political opportunities than Ziaur Rahman and helped the military to control all decision-making areas. This coup d'état was importantly different from the first coups as Emajuddin Ahamed stated, "..... the coup d'état of 24 March 1982 too can be adequately accounted for in terms of the corporate interest of the military.....the Bangladesh military emerged as a force more well-knit than ever before, especially at the top behind the repatriate generals.....these generals under the leadership of H. M. Ershad developed a deep-seated interest in maintaining unity and cohesion among themselves" (Ahamed, 1989). Although Ershad was succeeded to solve the group conflict in the military, he totally failed to make a legitimate regime. The processes flowed by him for earning public support like referendum, presidential, parliamentary and local elections and forming political party were not been accepted by the democratic parties and groups. At the end, general Ershad was forced to resign on 6 December 1990, when the opposition political parties and groups organised against him and political crisis turned into mass upsurge.

The Military Intervention in 2007:

On 27 February 1991, a free and fair parliamentary election held under a Caretaker Government (CTG). Four big parties such as: Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) formed by Assassinated Army Chief Ziaur Rahman, Awami League (AL) the party of assassinated president Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Jatiyo Party (JP) formed by the Army Chief H. M. Ershad and Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh (BJI) won the different parliamentary seats in that election. The center-right democratic BNP formed a coalition government with the Islamic party Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh and the secular democratic AL and Ershad's Jatiyo Party became the opposition in 1991 democratic parliament. In that new journey of the democracy, Bangladesh politics has mostly divided into two major blocks one lead by center-right and Islamist democratic parties and another lead by secular-leftist democratic parties. Center-right and Islamist block formed a government in 1991 and 2001, on the other hand, secular-leftist blocks formed a government in 1996 (Hasanuzzaman, 2009). Such kinds of group politics created many problems in the political systems as well as in the civil and military bureaucracy. Two leading political parties in the democratic

period from 1991 to 2006 used state institutions for their benefit. That's why all local and national elections, election commissions, caretaker governments were being questionable to the oppositions.

Every government tried to appoint government and military personnel according to their political connection. Promotion, retirement, illegally dismissed or deployed in remote or rural areas (Wolf, 2013) on the basis of political identity became a well-known process from 1991 to 2006. Corruption, political conflicts, oppression on opposite political parties, long term political strikes by the opposition, noncooperation tendency among political parties and the authoritarian tendency of the democratic governments made the process ineffective. The political situation was getting more violating when the BNP-led coalition government was placing party loyalists in key positions throughout the important institutions and altered regulations to make a BNP supporter Chief Justice for the head of the non-partisan CTG which would be organised the general election in January 2007 (Ehsan, 2010). Demand for appointing the neutral persons in the Election Commission (EC) and the CTG and its early solution; opposition block created a political deadlock throughout the country. The government tried to control the opposition political movements ironically. Describing the political situation in the last days of BNP government in 2006 Mushrafi stated that "A sort of floating political process gripped the nation and the polity which sidetracked the people in the name of the people and banking on the slogan for democracy.....The political forces packed all fruits. Democracy of the people suffered from horror and holocaust at the level of the social dynamics" (Mushrafi, 2009).

On 28 October 2006, at the last day of the BNP-led coalition government; AL led secular-leftist bloc activists took to the streets, started setting fire to the markets and vehicles and attacked BNP and BJI activists and killed BJI supporters by bamboo poles and oars in the capital (Daily Star, 2006; Ehsan, 2010). The AL-led block rejected the BNP-appointed President Iajuddin Ahmed when he took the responsibility on 29 October 2006 as a chief advisor of CTG for the ultimate solution of the critical political situation. When the CTG decided to deploy military on December 2006 for the election; AL-led block seen it as an attempt by the president to manipulate desired political goals (Masum, 2010). On 3 January 2007, AL declared that they will boycott the election and will

continue the strikes. Thus all possible options for arranging a general election failed and national life comes to a standstill, “The entire nation suffered from deep tension that substantively sterilized its productivity in all spheres. It lost faith in the political forces and their leadership.....It began to search for an unimaginable alternative for governance” (Mushrafi, 2009). General Moeen U. Ahmed, the then chief of army staff wanted to take the power in such political crisis, as M Mukhlesur Rahman Chowdhury the then Adviser to the President of Bangladesh stated in an interview in 2014, ‘General Moeen wanted to declare military rule by creating a political crisis in the country and wished to be a President.

Actually, Moeen started his conspiracy for taking political power from 2005 and waited for the last day of the BNP-led government. He had taken preparation for declaring the state of emergency on 28-29 October 2006 but he could not do so for the discreet steps of the president. Again there was news that Moeen would be declared military rule in between 7 to 12 January 2007. But Moeen failed to achieve the support from the international community. Delegated from two powerful countries meet with Moeen on 7 and 8 January and warned against military rule. Moeen U. Ahmed moves away from the process of the imposition of martial law’ (Ittefaq, 2014). “United Nations, on 11 January, even warned the army against partisan intervention in politics that might jeopardize its lucrative role in worldwide peacekeeping operations” (Ehsan, 2010). On 11 January 2007, military pressured the President to declare a state of emergency and formed a military-backed CTG headed by a former World Bank executive Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed (Ahmed, 2014). The CTG with the direction of military Chief suspended all political activities, postponed the election, and declared the operation against the corruption and reforming electoral machinery and practices. They declared a time frame for election in December 2008. Masum stated in his analysis that, “the military as such quietly seized power without making it public.

The adoption of a populist approach to good governance stressing on immediately restoring law and order and bringing peace and stability proved to be fairly successful as it had drawn wide-spread support initially from the ordinary citizens” (Masum, 2010). It filed charges of corruption using Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) against politicians, bureaucrats, and businessmen

and tried major party leaders out of the country to reform the political system. They detained politicians including the heads of the two major political parties. This non-constitutional military-backed government continued almost 2 years and royally exceeded the constitutional limit of 90 days. They exercised all constitutional power like an elected government. Military taken all control over all policy levels of the state as well as over all other security forces, e.g. Bangladesh Rifles (BDR), Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), Police and the intelligence agencies. It also gained an increased influence over business activities (Wolf, 2013). The armed forces spread all over the country and acted to fulfil the agenda of the Generals (Ahmed: 2014).

Although military gained control over all the state instruments they failed to control the sky soaring prices of necessary daily commodities. Minus tow formula (initiatives to minus two lady leaders of the tow big party), initiatives to make new parties by civil society members, creating factionalism within the major party in the name of political reform were also the issues of losing their popular support (Ahmed, 2014). When pressures from major political parties to free their leaders and started raising the voice against military-backed CTG; on 17 December 2008, CTG lifted emergency and conducted the national election on 29 which brought secular-leftist block lead by AL in power. Thus democratic order was restored again (Ehsan, 2010; Masum, 2010) after two years national crisis.

New Dimension of the Military Intervention:

- The first coup of Bangladesh history was taken place on 15 August of 1975 by a small group of mid-level military officers which was mainly against the head of the government, the then-President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Who turned as an autocratic ruler from the democratic system and followed pro-Indian foreign policy.
- The second coup, which was taken place on 3 November 1975, was mainly against the anti-Mujib and anti-Indian civil government. This pro-secular group was also tried to gain control over the rightist and

repatriates military officers. For example, they placed the Army Chief Lt. Gen. Ziaur Rahman under house arrest, because he was known as a rightist army officer.

- The third coup organised by soldiers brought the Chief of the Army Major General Ziaur Rahman to the power on 7 November. Repatriates, leftist and rightist groups among the military lead the coup and was against the pro-Indian, pro-AL group of the army (Rahaman, 2009). He was tired to stop grouping among the military and especially the repatriates-freedom fighter's conflict and leftists groups and established control over the armed forces. He raised the military budget from Tk. 750 million in 1974-75 to Tk. 2194 million in 1976-77. The military personnel increased from 26,500 in 1974-75 to 77,000 in 1980-81 (Ahmed, 2014). Major General Ziaur Rahman made the military as a strong part of policy and decision level. The military became a well-organised interest group and a dominant organisation in the political system at that time.
- The fourth coup which was lead by some Brigadier ranked pro-secular freedom fighter officer on 30 May 1981, was against Ziaur Rahman who has mostly worked to unite non-secular rightist's, Islamist's and the repatriate groups in the military. Pro-AL and pro-Indian groups among the military were several times tried to revolt against Ziaur Rahman because he has posted the killer of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and given political rights to conservative Islamic parties.
- The fifth military coup lead by Chief of the Army Staff, Lt. General H. M. Ershad on 24 March 1982 was against an elected government. Ershad who was a repatriate officer took the political power for the organisational as well as the politico-economical interest of the military. Ershad gave the military more political opportunities than Ziaur Rahman and helped the military to control all decision-making areas. Ershad was succeeded to solve the group conflict in the military. The military emerged as a force better-knit under the leadership of the repatriate officers.

- The last and latest military intervention on 11 January 2007 was although not a direct coup, but military officers played the leading role using a non-constitutional government lead by bureaucrats; civil society members and retired military officers. The military has got the opportunity to take political power when political parties failed to arrange a free and fair election and create a horrible situation in the political system. Although the then Chief of the Army Staff General Moeen U. Ahmed had the intention to impose martial law and be a President; he could not do so because the international community had a little support for imposing martial law. But the international community like the USA, UK and India had a strong support for an Emergency. Moudud Ahmed stated that “Considering that Emergency could operate almost like a civil martial law, an idea found to be more in the administration of the country under a civil cover without being in the forefront.....It also fitted with the new phase of experiments being conducted now.....under the patronage of the United States where international or geopolitical needs demanded such control over certain areas or countries (Ahmed, 2014). Using the cover of civil government, General Moeen U. Ahmed played his role as like a military ruler and implemented the agendas given by the external communities.

Conclusion:

The recent intervention in internal politics lead by Bangladesh military was not a direct intervention. But the military did all the things that they do under the martial law. They use a group of bureaucrats and civil society persons to avoid internal and external criticisms. Actually, it was an experiment of a new paradigm of the military interventions in developing countries by the powerful imperialist countries. It is the simple way to control a country, where the military would be satisfied and the interest of the external powers would be fulfilled. Most of the western powers including USA and UK, and Bangladesh’s powerful neighbour India supported the military to impose the state of emergency and hold the power under a civil cover. The intervention was

happened at the time when, Bangladesh had achieved an annual growth rate of 6.7% and its projected annual growth rate was 7 to 8% in the next 5 to 7 years. Bangladesh was also termed as an emerging tiger in international media for its rapid economic growth. But the not-constitutional military-backed CTG made “emerging tiger” into a mouse in their two years rule (Ahmed, 2014). Although, the national election was held on 29 December 2008 and the political parties started to play their role; Bangladesh democracy and economy is still facing various pressures from external sources.

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TURKEY AND THE MEDIA: A HISTORICAL 15TH JULY'S ROLE BEHIND THE COUP ATTEMPT

Abdur Rahman FUAD

Introduction:

The failed coup attempt on the evening of 15th July, 2016 against the Republic of Turkey was successfully hindered by the great resistance of the state authorities with the nation's bloody sacrifice. Undoubtedly, both the media and the digital platforms have contributed greatly to the prevention of the coup attempt. From the very beginning of the flagitious coup, media played a crucial and instrumental role in mass mobilization. It has proven itself to be an effective means of communication between different political approaches, backgrounds and parties. President Erdogan's messages on live broadcast, and re-runs of his messages, played a tremendous role in raising national willpower and bringing the Turkish people to the streets to stop the tanks driven by the putchers. After that, the Turkish media took sides with the government and the people, not the coup-attempters; therefore, they prevented the atmosphere of fear and panic from spreading and contributed to the abortion of the coup attempt. But if we turned our eyes in the history of Turkish politics in past for the mainstream media that had mostly supported coup plotters from the May 27, 1960 military coup to the September 12, 1980 military coup and February 28, 1997 post-modern coup to the April 27, 2007 military memorandum. Generally, the media has acted as their mouthpiece and broadcast accordingly. However, on July 15, 2016 – the date of the failed coup attempt by FETO¹. The Turkish media set an excellent example of the power of journalism to oppose the perpetrators and sided with democracy and freedom.² Therefore, the media

1. Fethullah Terror Organisation is the name of a terrorist group which is probably the most sophisticated and large scale one among terrorist groups around the world. They have Turkish origins, but they have followers and sympathizers from other nations as well.

2. Yusuf Ozkir, A Turning Point for the Media, < <http://thenewturkey.org/a-turning->

in Turkey has experienced a turning point in its history. Also, many digital platforms contributed to this spread of information. Indeed, it has also shown that it is an illegal bloody coup attempt and a religious motivation from the holy mosque has been put on it. In this essay, here discussed about the role of media and besides with the digital platforms of communication that works as media and kind of factors worked behind this heinous coup attempt.

Media and Communication:

The greatest sacrifice, to resist the FETO coup attempt, undoubtedly belongs to the heroic Turkish peoples with its security forces. However, the media had played a vital role both in the strategy development for the security units and mobilizing people to stand against the coup. Literally every digital social media platform from end-to-end encryption to FaceTime communication tools were put to use both by the officers in the attempted coup, by the civilians and the political forces. The latter included the President himself, who not only tweeted his anti-coup message to mobilize his eight million followers to resist the put schists but also used a popular news channel and connected through FaceTime video chat app on the iPhone, calling on all the people to stage anti-coup protests by taking to the streets and guarding critical check-points including the bridges and airports.³ Seeing the President alive and well through the improvised video link assured the people of the authenticity and urgency of the call. The people's power and many Internet platforms not only stopped the participating soldiers but also deterred many other soldiers waiting their turn at the barracks.

Television Media: The Hub of the Resistance:

Those mainstream TV channels that managed to stay on air were quick to side and sync with the digital social media platforms helping to mobilize and inform the public. The news about the coup attempt speeded from the president Erdogan's appeared 31 times by "take to the streets" and the Prime Minister Yildi-

point-for-the-media/>, Viewed: 21.07.2017

3. Murat Yesiltas, Turkey's Thwarted Military Coup Attempt and the Media: A New Visual Front for Resistance, SETA, 2016, p. 112.

rim's appeared 21 times by "unfolding events as an insurrection" describes in difference TV program.⁴ The declaration of the coup was broadcasted in TRT 1 and other TRT channels while private TV channels continued to broadcast the tumultuous scenario as like as from the CCTV footages that increased the encourages of Patriotic Turk. After the TV satellite Digi Turk broke down, however, Turksat satellites continued to provide uninterrupted service throughout the night. Also, the media appearance for the patriotic peoples support from the government and non-government organ during the contaminated coup, throw an example in Turkish history as following-⁵

Table 1: The media appearance for the patriotic peoples support from the government and non-government organ:

Organ of the States	Media Appearances (In percent)
Ministers	19
President	15
Prime Minister	10
Military	10
AK Party	9
CHP	6
Local Governors	5
Chairperson of the Parliament	3
MHP	3
Turkish Intelligence Agency	2
Judiciary	1
Others	Less than 1

The News Agency and the Newspaper: Latest Study in Broadly

Having witnessed the most critical times in the Turkish history on 15th July, the Anadolu Agency provided most provocative information about the Chief of General Staff and some other Generals. This announcement was aired on

4. Cihat Battaloglu and Selahattin Guven, Media and 15 July Coup Attempt in Turkey, Journal of Youth Research, pp. 2-4.

5. Cihat Battaloglu and Selahattin Guven, Media and 15 July Coup Attempt in Turkey, Journal of Youth Research, pp. 4-6.

WhatsApp correspondence of Colonel Ugur Coskun of FETO as like “a situation that should be prevented immediately”.⁶ The coup attempt was conducted the outside chain of command adopted by this information, which was quickly followed by the public. Also, International news channels and agencies without some western media, news collection and updated their news pages by sourcing Turkish media create public sentiments.

Mosques: The Fuel of Resistance

The going out on the road was depended on in three separate times. These are- 1. President Erdogan’s call 2. Reading the coup declaration in TRT Television 3. Announcement from the mosque during the coup attempt. The last was so crucial that invigorated the religious officials to all walks of life to recommend call to prayer, devotion and to read the religious poem from the minarets against the coup. On July 15, *Diyanet Vakfi*⁷ sent a text message to the phones of 110,000 imams, who are government employees themselves, asking them to recite the Sala prayer at 85,000 mosques. Some imams just read the Sala prayer periodically, while others also read announcements to the public informing them where to assemble and encouraging them to be courageous. In more pious and active neighbourhoods, when the imam called *Takbir*⁸, the people passionately replied ‘*Allah-u Akbar*’ while marching on streets.⁹ Also, the Imams, Haters, Muezzins, Muftis and Preachers, religious exploiters, Azans, Prayer, Quran Recitations and preaches against paranoids were very effective to spoil the coup attempt by hook or crook and this is an example of 1st time in the Turkish history.¹⁰

6. Sertac Timur Demir, 15 Temmuz Darbe Girişiminde Medya, SETA, 2016, p. 16.

7. In Turkey, the Presidency of Religious Affairs is an official state institution established in 1924 in article 136 of the Constitution of Turkey by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey as a successor to the Sheikh ul-Islam after the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate.

8. A call during the distress and war normally.

9. Pinar Tremblay, How Erdogan used the power of the mosques against coup attempt, Al-Monitor, < <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/07/turkey-coup-attempt-erdogan-mosques.html>>, Viewed 21.07.2017

10. Ejder Okumus, 15 Temmuz darbe girişimi ve Diyanet’ in tarihi rolü, Anadolu Agency, <<http://aa.com.tr/tr/15-temmuz-darbe-girisimi/15-temmuz-darbe-girisimi-ve-diyamet-in-tarihi-rolu/660288>>, viewed 12.06.2017

Digital Platforms:

Digital Platforms Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Instagram and Periscope did not face any obstacle without a binding time during the hours of the coup attempt taking place. Thousands of broadcasting had been live on mobile devices through Facebook and Periscope. The information and news sharing were made swiftly by news organizations on digital platforms where access was normalized in 1:00 pm.

Twitter: Coup against the Coup:

Twitter made an official announcement at 00:53 and stated their services were deliberately slowed down. Social media services, which have been somewhat more relaxed since midnight, were used intensively by the public to understand that something is going to happen like coup attempt.

It was, however, the social media feeds that later carried the night with live-stream and critical information on the worsening of the situation. From the beginning of the coup attempt until 16 July midnight, there were approximately 180 tweets posted from the official Twitter account of the Prime Ministry itself. Clearly those tweets aimed to mobilize the people. The Presidency posted 35 tweets, whereas the main opposition party CHP's official page posted 7 tweets and MHP 24 tweets.¹¹

Twitter coups against the coups at a glance-¹²

- Between 15th and 17th July, nearly 35 million tweets have been posted and these tweets have reached to 15 billion people. The average number of tweets between 8th and 14th July was 5 million 773 thousand in bonds.

11. Murat Yesiltas, Turkey's Thwarted Military Coup Attempt and the Media: A New Visual Front for Resistance, SETA, 2016, p. 115

12. Sukru Oktay Kilic, Sosyal medya nasil darbeye direninin araci oldu, Al Jazeera Turk, < <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/al-jazeera-ozel/sosyal-medya-nasil-darbeye-direninin-araci-oldu>>, Viewed 20.07.2017

- According to Digital Interpretation on 15th-19th July, about 50.5 million Turkish shares on Twitter was about the resurgence and about 8 percent of them reached directly to the protesters.
- The most and high frequency issues of 15th July nights twitting was-

Table 2: Using twitter against the Coup

Issues of Twitter	In Percent
Closing of bridges	39
Speech of the President	32
Bombing in the Grand National Assembly	16
Publication	6
Call and gathering in Mosque	4
Hostages of the Chief of General	3

Moreover, thousands of Twits specially a particular hashtag, #darbehayir (no coup) that was gaining a lot traction. This hashtag being used by both pro-AKP and pro-Gülen accounts and also Kemalist accounts. It was interesting to see all those different political communities come together under that one single hashtag.¹³

FaceTime: Necessity Knows No Law:

We need to open a separate heading for Apple's FaceTime because; it helped to make a U-turn in the coup attempt. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has delivered his impromptu message to the patriotic people by connecting CNN Turk through the FaceTime, where he asserted the legitimacy of his government's authority and called on the Turkish people to come to the streets and airport against the coup.

Mobile: A Communication Media Against the Coup

13. Claire Sadar, The Turkish Media's Role During the Attempted Coup: an Interview with Bilge Yesil, MUFTAH, < https://muftah.org/interviews-bilge-yesil-turkish-media-role-attempted-coup/#.Wc_hiFSCw_M>, Viewed 14.07. 2017

Despite of vulnerable environment, Turkey's communication operators Turkcell, Vodafone and Turk Telekom gave their efforts by sending packages to inform and motivate the people. Such a critical situation can be pointed out as in the following- ¹⁴

- Those who downloaded VPN service Hotspot Shield from Turkey increased by 300% when social media service was closed about 2 hours.
- A significant number of 27689 messages were delivered countrywide between 15th and 18th Julys. In the previous week, the number was 3252. So, it was about an increase of 9 times.
- 66 million minutes has been talked between 14th July 22:00 and 15th July 06:00 hours, which increased to 184 million between 15th July 22:00 to 16th July 06:00of the during coup attempt.
- At the same time, mobile internet usage increased from 468 thousand GB to 646 thousand GB. That's an increase of about 40%.
- The Turkcell company declared free calling, SMS and internet uploading to all users so that the citizen can meet their urgent communication needs and reach their relatives.

On the night of the July 15th coup attempt in Turkey both social and conventional media played distinguished roles. Rather than inspiring and directing people, the Turkish media was used as a tool for communicating, motivating and disseminating reliable information throughout the world. The media and other digital communication platforms were the central factors aptly utilized by the actors. Despite all of the hurdles the actors left no stone unturned to save their beloved country from an evil force. Finally, Turkish democracy won over western hypocrisy.

14. Ahmet Gozutok, Darbe girisimine dair dijital dunyadan carpici rakamlar, <<https://www.donanimhaber.com/sosyal-medya/haberleri/Darbe-girisimine-dair-dijital-dunyadan-carpici-rakamlar.htm>>, Viewed 09.07.2017

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Gozutok, A. 2016, '*Darbe girişimine dair dijital dünyadan çarpıcı rakamlar*', Donanim Haber, Viewed 09 July 2017, <<https://www.donanimhaber.com/sosyal-medya/haberleri/Darbe-girisimine-dair-dijital-dunyadan-carpici-rakamlar.htm>>.

Chapter Five

Peace and Conflict

PREHISTORIC ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICTS AND MYRIAD FACTORS: A CRITIQUE TO THE CONTRIVANCES OF OPTIMISTIC CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Md. Nazmul ISLAM

Preamble

Israel and Palestine are two countries which are located on the bank of the East side of Mediterranean Sea in the Middle East. This place is crucial for the production of the 76 % oil production around the world (Hai, 2013:96) and this area is also crucial for the centre of three continents as Asia, Europe and Africa. Jordan, Syria and Iraq are the three Arabian countries of Asian Continent, located on the east side of Israel and Palestine as Egypt is located on the south side of Israel and Palestine in the African continent. Arabs along with Palestinian people engaged in this conflict for many social, political and economic factors in this arena. The Arab-Israel conflict is a complicated internationalized conflict in the Middle East. The construction of conflict is in the religious creeds of three major religious groups which make incentive for the construction of conflicting ground since 1300 B.C. and political doctrine has been amalgamated with that religiously constructed conflicting ground concomitantly. In this perception, the manipulation of history for the creation of facts that can be employed to vindicate a particular policy or reinforce an ideology, are common features of conflicts where adversarial interpretations of historical events are employed. In modern international politics, Israel is a salient alliance of the United States since 1950s. USA as a Christian dominated country provides most of the military assistances to the Israel to fight against Arabs and Palestinian people in the Middle East which makes sustain the propensity of the conflict and at the same time USA is trying to make peace treaty with Palestinian as bystander policy. These complex factors sustain a permanent conflict in the Middle East, particularly between Arab along with Palestinian and Israel conflict of Middle East.

Prehistoric construction of Arab-Israel Conflict:

The prehistory of Israel-Palestine/Arab-Israel conflict is rooted in the religious creeds of three religious (Franks, 2006: 120-134) groups such as Zionism, Palestinians and Christian religion who have been amalgamated with the modern political doctrines led to the construction of conflict.

The Belief of Israel in Promised Land and Zionism:

Israeli people believes in Zionist whose claim is located in Biblical Narratives of Old Testament period and the Twelve tribes led by Moses out of Egypt to the “Promised Land of Canaan” where they established “the Israelite era” in about 1300 BCE. After this region became known as Judea, Samaria and Galilee and later included the kingdoms of David and Solomon. Despite the weakening and decline of the kingdom following successive assaults by regional powers, it was the Roman Empire that Finally Ended the Israelite Kingdom in 63 BCE and following two rebellious in 66 and 70 BCE, Jews were driven into Exile and Dispersion. In this construction, there are two ways that Israeli claims to return their antique homeland given by god.

One is that Jews’ claims and rights to ownership of the land by inculcating “the principles of legitimacy and justice” (Bisharat, 1994:474-476). Their belief is rooted in religious belief and has unquestionable authority and legality for the Jewish people lead to claiming of right to land of which they were wrongfully dispossessed by Roman Empire and exiled from in the first century BCE. So, the right to return of all Jewish people to a homeland they were driven from. Another is “Zionism” which was originated in the Eastern Europe in the late 19th century with political voice by Theodore Herzl in his publication of *The Jewish State* in 1896 (Herzl, 1896:67). He developed that political doctrine with the ideas of European Enlightenment and French Revolution in response to increasing levels of Anti-Semitism in Europe at that time. The implications of Zionism resulted in first wave of Jewish immigrants who arrived in Palestine in 1902 for their safety and ethnic well-being. In the modern era Orthodox Zionist maintains that when the first Jewish immigrants arrived from Europe

in the nineteenth century, the land of Palestine was a deserted country and had no native population in which rootless Arabs were living as nomadic in that place which implies that Non-Jews were not intrinsically part of it resulted in revisionist Zionism was formulated in 1925 by the Ze'ev Jabotinsky that the justification for the use of force through violence, conflict, terrorism and holy war to achieve Zionist Objectives in modern period.

The Palestinian Belief on Canaanites, Philistines and Holy Land:

Palestinians believe that they were descendants of two ancient peoples, the Canaanites and Philistines which according to the Bible were the earliest known inhabitants of Palestine or the land of Canaan from 3000 BCE. During Israelite period they existed as a minority but were regenerated by the arrival of Islam in 610 AD. Palestinian legitimacy for action is based on their legal rights as not only the original but also the continuous occupants and inhabitants of the land. This land is also crucial to them because "Al-Aqsua" is situated in Jerusalem which have made themselves to consider that land as holy land. The Palestinian claim to justice stems from legitimacy and the right to maintain an unbroken inhabitancy of their homeland (United Nations Headquarters: 1984). This is a legal claim to permanent residency which in the context of the modern conflict is injustice by the Israel who have occupied and forced them out of their homeland. From both ancient historical narratives, legitimacy and justice can be employed to endorse methods to re-claim the land, such as just cause and just war theories, which are engaged to justify violence, conflict, terrorism and holy war their objectives.

Palestine nationalism originated during the end of the Ottoman Empire (Welty, 1995: 15-35). The final defeat of the Ottomans, the Old Arab order of political allegiance to the dynastic sovereign of the Islamic state was gradually replaced by the one of the allegiance to the country in which one lived. The beginning of this movement was the appearance of political Arabism in 1908-14 in response to growing Turkish Nationalism as typed by the 1908 young Turks revolt and resisting to Zionism which made nationalistic concept in Arab People. Arab nationalism replaced by Arabism after the defeat of Ottoman Empire at the end of 1st world war. Arab nationalism revolted against Turks in 1916 under the influence of western powers based on self-determination, individual rights,

freedom and they also envisioned of Pan-Arabism including Palestine. But the hopes of making Pan-Arabism were frustrated by the emergence of the 1916 'Sykes-Picot agreement' and 'Balfour declaration' in 1917 to establish an independent state of Israel that created the British mandate in Palestine in 1922 under the League of Nations.

At that time Palestine people were fragmented and were controlled by the indigenous Palestinian elites and the Zionist leadership under British Patronage. Palestinian elites were also divided in two major parts such as one part was the Old ottoman leaders and urban elites wanted 'an independent Palestine' but other part was the young elite leaders wanted 'Palestine with Arab unity of Great Syria' as pan-Arabism. Palestinian people established resistance groups by the help of 'Sheikh Al-Qassam' in response to purchasing the land of Palestine by the Zionist people from British which was dislocating the local peasants of Palestinian. At the same time Palestinian people employed counter the imperialism of the British Mandate and threat posed by Zionism. Arab revolted against land grabbing of Zionist in 1936 because Arab had envisioned of making a 'Pan-Arabism' (reinforced by the establishment of 'Arab League' in 1945) like Ottoman Empire and have similarities in culture, language, religion, ideology and identity to Palestinian people which demanded stopping the Jewish Immigration led to civil disorder until it was resolutely and progressively put down by the British by 1939. The overwhelming power of the British and growing strength of the Zionists compelled Palestinian to look to other more Arab Nations for assistance and protection. In this constructs, Zionists adopted 'Terrorist tactics' against Arabs in response to the resistance of intransigent Palestinian. That revolt in 1936 by Arabs established the framework of conflict between the Palestinian Arab and the Jews in 1939.

Christianism and Occident Assistance to Israel:

This region is also crucial for the Christian religion because Jesus (Christ) was born in Bethlehem (Jerusalem). In this contrast, western powers such as United States of America, United Kingdom and France always act on the behalf of 'Zionist' people in protecting that holy land.

The Salient Arab-Israel Conflicts in the Middle East:

There were four major Arab-Israel conflicts happened in the Middle East in 1947, 1956, 1967 and 1973 etc. which have sundry previous factors to be erupted in the Middle East.

The 1st Arab-Israel War in 1947:

There were provocative factors for the emergence of Arab Israel war in 1948 such as;

Arab Revolt and Jewish Revolt: As the mandatory power responsible for Palestine, in the 1936 Britain had faced an Arab revolt which it had crushed and then a Jewish revolt from 1945 onward demanding a Jewish state. This situation led to direct conflict between Arabs and Israel in that arena.

American Pressure Favoring Zionism: Faced with and American pressure favoring Zionism, Britain decided to abdicate its responsibility and handed the Palestine question over to the newly formed United Nations in February 1947 though British forces remained indirectly in Palestine to May 1948 (Barker, 2002).

The U.N. General Assembly Approval for Partition of Palestine:

The U.N. General Assembly approved recommendations for partition of Palestine into a Jewish and a Palestinian state in November 1947 led to intense civil strife between Jews and mostly Palestinian Arabs that resulted in the creation of Israel.

Initiation of Subversive War between Arabs and Israel: Basically envisioned regional Pan-Arab States were Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon and Iraq. The roots of war were in the Arab revolt of 1936 and the realization by the Palestinians and the Israelis that they faced conflict over their incompatible claims to the land of British Palestine. It is this construct; Israel employed Jewish Terrorist Organizations such as “the Irgun and Lehi” or “Stern Group” who incorporated national liberation into the Zionist discourse to justify attacks. The Jewish terrorist groups in this period employed solipsistic violence

that was intended to inspire and motivate the Jewish People as state-supported terrorism since they declared independence (Hertz, 2009).

The 2nd Arab-Israel war in 1956:

There were provocative factors for the emergence of Arab Israel war in 1956 such as;

Certain Factors: In 1956, three of the Twentieth Century's most dominant forces such as; nationalism, Cold War and Arab along with Palestinian –Israeli dispute in the Egyptian regions known as the Suez Canal and the Sinai Peninsula came concomitantly. The Cold War struggle between the mostly democratic and capitalist West against the Communist East dominated by the Soviet Union and China as both helped and hindered the Nationalist goals of many African and Asian countries (O'Ballance: 1960).

The 'Nationalization of the Suez Canal' by Egypt: The key issue is the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser in July, 1956. Tensions also mounted during 1956 as Israel became convinced by the western power that the Arabs were preparing for war. As part of Egyptian President Nasser's nationalist agenda, he took control of the Suez Canal zone away from the British and French companies which owned it (historyguy.com, 2016).

Israeli 'Pro-Active and Pre-Emptive measures' Against Palestinian and Arabs: In this war Israel took security policy by violence including 'pro-active and Pre-emptive measures' against the desire of Pan-Arabism by Palestinian Arab armed groups which increased the sense of isolation, frustration and disappointment with the Arab nations. This situation made space for the emergence of the 'Fedayeen' or irregular Arab Fighter. These fighters emerged from the refugee camps, initially in Gaza and were trained by Egypt. They embarked on continuous cross border guerrilla operations against Israeli military, settler and civilian targets. This was the beginning of coordinated and organized Palestinian military action against Israel and more importantly demonstrates the practice of the discourse of Palestinian.

The 3RD Arab-Israel War:

Short Line; Six-Day War: This is also called June War, Six days war or Third Arab-Israeli War. A brief war that was took place in June 5–10 in 1967. Israel's influential victory for example where included the capture of the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip, West Bank, Israel occupied Jerusalem, and the Golan border between Syria and Israel; the status of these territories subsequently became a most important point of argument in the Arab-Israeli conflict for a continued conflict in middle east (Oren: 2002). The 1967 Arab-Israeli War was failure of the Kennedy administration's which efforts to prevent renewed Arab-Israeli conflict again following the 1956 Suez War (history.state.gov, 2016).

The Pre-war Crisis: Causes, Rising Factors: There are mentioned some salient prewar conditions which propelled stimulus to go on war as;

The War and its Aftermath; Consequence:

There are major consequences are contemplated from political complexities at that time such as-

Israeli Occupation; A ceasefire was made on 10th June of 1967 After Israel had launched a devastating attack on Egypt, Jordan and Syria On 2nd of June 1967 in response to provocative troop movements and border skirmish. Israel captured the West Bank and the Old city of Jerusalem from Jordan and the Golan Heights from Syria and the capture of the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip from Egypt during the course of defeating the combined forces of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Iraq. The status of these territories afterward became a major point of disputation in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The 1967 war also had international ramifications for the Cold War as the Soviet Union saw its two principle Middle East client states, Egypt and Syria, defeated by an American Ally. Consequently, the Soviet Union sought to rebuild the shattered armed forces of both states.

The Development of the Palestinianism; effect of the June war on the Palestinians was dramatic and it fundamentally influenced the develop-

ment of the Palestinianism because they seemed that they have to take arm for their own independence without the help of Arab States. They used 'Fedayeen' (self-sacrifice for religion) infrastructure to develop and further its objectives of Autonomy, both from the occupation of Israel and from the Control of the Arab states. The new independence movement was driven primarily by the nationalist Organization 'Fateh' (established in 1956). This was the strongest of the Palestinian resistance groups and sought to exploit the post-1967 situation, by seeking quickly fill the leadership vacuum left by the defeated Arab states and assume management of the Palestinians and later PLO (Palestine liberation Organization, 1964). Palestine National Council (PNC) was established for their economic, political and social infrastructure. The appearance of PFLP (Popular Front for the liberation of Palestine) and DFLP were also revolutionary organizations employed Marxist or Structural anti-colonial discourse in achieving of their own independence.

The 4th Arab-Israel War

4th Arab- Israel war was fought among Arab states- Egypt and Syria and Israel on 6-25 October, 1973. It is also known as Yom Kippur war, Ramadan war, October war as Arab coalition launched a joint surprise attack on Israeli position on the holiest day in Judaism which was also the Muslim holy month of Ramadan (Rabinovich: 2005). The war was part of the Arab-Israel conflict following the wars In September 1967 in which the Khartoum Arab Summit issued the "three no's", resolving that there would be "no peace, no recognition and no negotiation with Israel". As a result the Arab countries refused to negotiate peace and repeated their goal of destroying Israel at the Khartoum conference (Milestones: 1969-1976). This was only for retrieving of their lost land in previous war in 1967.

The Salient Causes of the War:

There are mentioned dominant causes of this war such as;

Esperance of the Conquering the Lost Lands; After surprising Israel's victory in the Six-Day War of 1967 Israel was freed four times its previous size from Arab countries. Furthermore, Sinai Peninsula lost from Egypt about 23,500-square-mile area and the Gaza Strip, even Jordan lost the West Bank

and East Jerusalem, and Syria lost the strategic Golan Heights. By the results of this Six Day War brought one million Palestinians occupied under the rule of Israel. At this point, Israelis were divided to think about the West Bank, and a new religious-nationalistic movement, Gush Emunim, emerged, that pushed for settling these areas. Finally, the Arab Palestinians started to mark themselves as a people and to claim an independent state. Accordingly East Jerusalem reunited with West Jerusalem and in 1980 proclaimed Israel's indivisible capital but also claimed by the Palestinians as their capital which became a hub issue for both sides involve with conflict. The division of Jerusalem with its holy places leads another conflict between Arab and Israel (Simon, 1973: 2).

Perception of Anwar el-Sadat; When Anwar el-Sadat (1918-81) became president of Egypt in 1970, he found himself leader of an economically troubled nation that could ill afford to continue its endless crusade against Israel. He wanted to make peace and thereby achieve stability and recovery of the Sinai. He wished to go negotiation with Israel in response to an initiative by UN intermediary Gunnar Jarring but Hafez al-Assad, the leader of Syria, had a different view. He had little interest in negotiation and felt the retaking of the Golan Heights would be a purely military option (Simon, 1973: 2).

Camp David Agreement; Camp David Agreement was the inclusive and long-lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict through the conclusion of peace treaties by the resolutions of 242 and 338 based on Security Council in all their parts which would become a model for coexistence and cooperation among nations. Their purpose is to achieve peace and good neighborly relations. From September 5 to September 17, 1978 Camp David accords was signed. In that time Anwar al-Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and Menachem Begin, Prime Minister of Israel met with Jimmy Carter, the President of the United States of America, at Camp David in the United States for these accords. It was the first peace deal between Israel and an Arab state. It has been stated as the "framework for peace in the middle east". In order to achieve peace between them, Israel and Egypt agree to negotiate in good faith with a goal of concluding within three months of the signing of the Camp David peace accord.

Conflicting parties agreed on these basic points (The Camp David Accords: 1979):

- All of the principles of UN Resolution 242 will apply in this resolution of the dispute between Israel and Egypt.
- Unless otherwise mutually agreed, terms of the peace treaty will be implemented between two and three years after the peace treaty is signed.
- The full exercise of Egyptian sovereignty up to the internationally recognized border between Egypt and mandated Palestine.
- The withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the Sinai and near al-Arish, Rafah, Ras en-Naqb, and Sharm el-Sheikh for civilian purpose.

The Lebanon War in 1982:

The Palestinian-Israel conflict from the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 by the Israel was a result of the development and implementation of the Israeli ‘pre-emptive and pro-active security policy’. This was combined with a right-wing government facing the growth of the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) in both physical military proportions and psychology operating ability. By the time Israel forces withdrew in 1983. Israel had achieved a costly though decisive victory over the PLO in Lebanon. The PLO was not completely destroyed but relocated into exile. Basically Israel confronted in the Lebanon war as ‘Operation peace for Galilee’ for the security of Israeli settlements in Galilee from the PLO attacks and also Iranian backed ‘Hizbullah’ in Lebanon. This attack has been carried out by Israel for the major factors as such;

- To forge an alliance with the Lebanese Christians in countering the growing Muslim influence.
- To deal with the PLO (which had established a virtual state organization of Palestinian independence in Lebanon).

In this respect Israel countenanced a public criticism in international arena

because of invading on a sovereign and independent state of Lebanon Israel also attacked on 'IRAQI nuclear plant' in June, 1982 on charge of development of the mass destructive weapons against the people of Israel as pre-emptive and pro-active security policy. This led to make a breakthrough in establishing direct negotiations of USA with PLO.

Palestinian war of independence:

This event is constructed by two cardinal elements such as;

First Intifada (1987-1992):

The first intifada in 1987-92 was a popular movement with civil disobediences, strikes, protests, street demonstrations and riots without firearms to get Palestinian independence from Israel occupation and military rule. Socio-economic grievances and lack of opportunity coupled with the concentration of large population densities produced the humiliation, anger and hatred of which culminated in the mass expression of rage. This was a movement including-

- The peoples of Palestinians boycott the Israeli administration in the Gaza Strip and the west Bank.
- Civil disobedience.
- Economic boycott including refusal to work in Israeli settlements on Israeli products
- Refuse to pay taxes.
- Refuse to drive Palestinian cars with Israeli license.

The Israel army responded in a very heavy handed manner with 'iron fist' policy and instigated harsh counter measures such as the deportation of activities, physical punishments, political assassinations, mass arrest and curfews but Israel faced international criticism for these activities in which United Nations Security Council called for "the protection Human Rights" in that movement. To die for the nation was a personal sacrifice for the land and the people of Pal-

estine through the appearance of two Islamic Palestinian resistance groups as 'Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)' and 'Hamas' in 1988 by the help of 'Muslim Brotherhood' in Egypt in response to Israeli 'iron fist' policy. Israel has recognized PLO in 1989 as took unprecedented step of beginning direct communication with PLO for peace negation. This began major peace process 'Oslo Accord' in 1993 in Norway between PLO and Israel.

Oslo Accord (1993): This is Israel-Palestine peace process. Actors of this process were Yitzhak Rabin, PM of Israel and Yasser Arafat, Chairman of PLO. It allowed the PLO to relocate from Tunisia and take ground in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, established the Palestinian National Authority.

- Israel-PLO letters of recognition (1993).
- The "Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements" ("DOPOISGA").
- Dissolution of the Israeli Civil upon the inauguration of the Palestinian Legislative Council (Article VII).
- The Gaza- Jerico Agreement as autonomy (Israeli withdrawal within three weeks from Gaza Strip and Jericho area,) Article V of Oslo I (Nye and Welch: 2012).

Wye River Memorandum: This agreement negotiated between Israel and Palestine Authority at a summit in Wye River (U.S.A) held from 15-23 October 1998 .Agreement was signed on 23 October 1998. It dealt with security actions including outlawing and combating terrorist organizations , prohibiting illegal weapons , prevention of incitement .Bilateral cooperation , forensic cooperation and trilateral cooperation and legal assistance in criminal matters were included in this agreement as security cooperation and as security issues.

Sharm El-Sheikh Memorandum (1999): It was signed on 4 September in 1999 between Israel's PM Ehud Barak and PLO chairman Yasser Arafat at Sharm el Sheikh in Egypt. It was overseen by U.S.A Secretary of State Madeleine Albright .This was also cosigned by President Hosni Mubarak

of Egypt and king Abdullah of Jordan .This agreement called for;

- Israeli withdrawal from further 11% of the West Bank.
- The release of 350 Palestinian prisoners.
- The opening of safe passages between the West Bank and Gaza.
- Built seaport in Gaza.
- A framework agreement on permanent status was to be achieved by February 2000 and permanent agreement by September 2000.
- Both Israel and Palestine agreed on a number of Israeli redeployments. It also dealt with Jerusalem borders, refugees and settlements.

The Camp David Summit (2000): The peace initiative that was taken through the agreement named Oslo accord, further break down in July 2000. For this in July 24, 2000 Israelis Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian president Yasser Arafat meet with US president Bill Clinton at camp davit to negotiate a final settlement. But this was ended without any final agreement (Israeli Policy Forum, 2001:32).

The Second Intifada (2000-01) and Peace Initiatives (2002-11):

On September 28, “Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon” with 1000 security force visited the temple mount near the ‘Al-Aqsua’ mosque led to the resumption of mass protest and armed violence by the Palestinians in 2001. Palestinian protested and Israel responded forcefully. The 2nd Palestine intifada against the Israeli occupation began as a mob in Ramallah killed two Israeli soldiers, provoking Israeli helicopter gunship attacks on Palestinian official sites on October 2001. In that time, Palestinian carried on ‘suicide attack’ through ‘Al-Aqsa Martyrs brigade’ that are increasingly likely to operate without central command against Israeli military.

Constructing a Security Barrier by Israel (2002): Similar with the security fence in 1996 that was built by the Israeli to separate the Gaza strip from Israel in 2002, Israel built a security barrier that separated its citizens

from terrorist groups in the west bank. But it was criticized by the local people.

Arab Peace Initiative (2002): In March 2002, during the Beirut Summit of the Arab League, prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia proposed a peace initiative that was recognized by all members of the Arab League. The proposal offered Israel peace in return for Israeli withdrawal from all territories captured in the 1967 War and a “just solution” for Palestinian refugees. But Israel does not accept all of its demands.

The Roadmap for Peace in (2003): The Roadmap for Peace was proposed in 2003 by the “Quartet” the United States, Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations. It involves reciprocal steps by the Israelis and Palestinians with the ultimate goal of an independent Palestinian state and a secure Israel. It has three phases (Migdalovitz, 2010: 50);

- Phase I calls for the Palestinians to unconditionally end violence, resume security cooperation, and undertake political reforms, and for Israel to withdraw from areas occupied since September 28, 2000 and to freeze all settlement activity.
- Phase II will produce a Palestinian state with provisional borders.
- Phase III will end in a permanent status agreement which will end the conflict.

The 2006 Lebanon War (2006): Hezbollah is a radical Islamist organization committed to destroy the Israel. On July 11, 2006, it crossed the Lebanon-Israel border and attacked an Israeli army unit, killing eight soldiers and kidnapping two more who were later murdered. In response, Israel launched air strikes on suspected Hezbollah military targets, particularly rocket launchers, and mounted a ground offensive. Hostilities officially ended with UN Cease Fire Resolution 1701 passed on August 11, 2006 (CNN: 2006).

The Battle of Gaza (2007): After won the Palestinian election in January of 2006. In June 2007, Hamas militants attacked Fatah members throughout Gaza. Hamas controls Gaza and the Palestinian Authority controls the West Bank. In response, Mahmud Abbas, the Palestinian Authority president, dis-

solved the Hamas government. Western sanctions to the Palestinian Authority were lifted after the Hamas government was dissolved.

Annapolis Conference (2007): On November 27, 2007, US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice organized a conference between Israel and the Palestinian. The Annapolis conference marked the first time that a two state solution was publicly referred to as the mutually agreed-upon framework for a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Nonetheless, Israelis and Palestinians have not reached a formal agreement and conflict continues (The White House: 2007).

The Gaza War (2008 – 2009): Israel attacked Hamas targets from December 27, 2008 to January 18, 2009, in Gaza in order to stop rocket attacks on southern Israel. Hundreds of militants were killed and there were also much civilian causality and Gaza's buildings and economy were heavily damaged.

Gaza Flotilla Incident (2010): Israel and Egypt began a blockade of Gaza after Hamas seized control from the Palestinian Authority. They required all goods to be inspected before entering Gaza to prevent Hamas from smuggling in weapons. Some groups argue the blockade is collective punishment and is illegal.

Existing Factors & Contrivances of Optimistic Conflict Resolution:

The pretext violent conflict between Israel and Palestine from January' 2006 to January' 2009 which was accomplished with the ceasefire agreement in November' 2012, as frequently launched of Operation Cast Lead and Operation Pillar of Defense. Israel-Palestine conflict over Gaza has begun from 8th July' 2014 again after that bloody conflict was closed previous time through agreement and this conflict endured 50 days long. The main vulnerable site of this conflict was Gaza valley. There are various existing reasons for this intractable conflict between Israel and Palestine in Gaza valley. In the spare of discussion, the main existing factors of Israel-Palestine conflict in Gaza valley are represented with the distinct solutions of overall conflict.

Factors of the Current Conflict:

The Occupation: Simply put the conflict is about the control over land. This is not principally about religion at present time. For decades, Israel has kept the Palestinians under tormenting military occupation. On the other hand, Palestinian Gaza occupied political linkage military groups terrorize Israelis citizens & military in response to occupation by Israel. The conflict has been made worse by the long, bitter and violent history between these two countries for more than 70-plus years in modern time (Abir: 2014). Israel maintained illegal Jewish colonies in the Gaza Strip as well. Even the UN, US State of Department, global NGO's and legal scholars all consider that Israel occupied Gaza is the world biggest prison because Israel exercises complete military control over it.

The Siege: Since 2007 Israel has laid a brutal siege, sanction and embargo in the Gaza Strip. It has blocked off air, land and water access to the Strip by Israel. As a result of the blockade by Israel almost 80 per cent people of Gaza Strip are dependent on aid. "The UN has warned that Gaza will be inhospitable by 2020 if the siege continues".

Water Crisis: "Israel's discriminatory division of water that Palestinians get 70 liters a day per person, far below the 100 liters per capita minimum. Limiting the water supply results in Gazan households receiving water for only six-eight hours at a time about every other day. Israel severely damaged the sewage treatment infrastructure in Gaza during its 2009 assault; the blockade means the resources needed for repairs are unavailable". About 90 per cent of the water supply in the Gaza is unfit for human consumption. Due to over-pumping and sewage contamination Gaza's only water source, its Coastal Aquifer is damaged past the point of no return it will expire in 2016 (Ahmed: 2014).

Scarcity of Fuel and Electricity: Gaza's electricity, only 46 per cent of needs is being met currently. For this reason hundreds of crucial medical devices at hospital are non-functional, including Gaza's only MRI machine.

Leveling of Land and Destruction of Property: The Israeli army

conducts weekly incursions into the Gaza Strip to destroy the land it has declared as ‘no-go zone.’ Additionally Israeli authorized tanks, bulldozers and military jeeps, accompanied by helicopters and drones destroy fruit bearing trees and agricultural land in the Gaza strip. Even mostly civilian infrastructure is also destroyed or demolished which includes hundreds of houses, wells and chicken farms, mosques and schools are flattened as well (Ahmed: 2014).

Travel Bans: For the dividing Palestinians Gaza peoples can’t seek asylum in other countries due to this restriction on movement by the authority of Israel. Even for students, this is very tough and prohibited to go abroad, or even the West Bank, for higher education; **Suppression of Agriculture:** The Israeli army created a ‘no-go zone’ along the Israel-Gaza border that Palestinians cannot enter. “This ‘buffer region’ extends up to 1,500 meters at times into the Strip and includes some of its most fertile land. As a result, 35 per cent of the agricultural space in Gaza is off-limits to farmers” (Ahmed: 2014). It has seriously damaged the food economy and harshly penalized Gazan farmers.

Restrictions on Fishing: According to the rules of Israel that access to the sea six nautical miles is prohibited for fisherman of Gaza beyond the Gaza’s shore that means that 85 per cent of fishing waters is now inaccessible which was granted to Palestinians under the Oslo Accords (Ahmed: 2014).

An Optimistic Solution to the Israel and Palestine Conflict:

According to the Rashidul Bari, a CRISP scholar at New York University has proposed three solutions to end this never-ending war by using the spirit of Camp David in 1978 and the Oslo Accord in 1993 (Bari: 2014).

One-State Solution: One-state solution which would erase the borders and put Israelis and Palestinians together in one equal, pluralistic state inspired by the prophecy of Dr. Martin Luther King. This is much the same way that integration dissolved the conflict between blacks and whites in America. This is possible in principle but the real scenario is totally out of control and different because in practice every Israeli Jew knows that Palestinians would very soon outnumber them.

Complete Destruction of One State: This conflict could end if one side outright vanquished the other, a complete destruction as Gilad Sharon, the son of Ariel Sharon, restated his father's agenda in the *Jerusalem Times*: "We need to flatten entire neighborhoods in Gaza. Flatten all of Gaza. The Americans didn't stop with Hiroshima. The Japanese weren't surrendering fast enough, so they hit Nagasaki, too. There should be no electricity in Gaza, no gasoline or moving vehicles, nothing. This needs to end quickly, with a bang, not a whimper". However, not all Israelis would agree with this view because it will generate catastrophic abuse of human rights. This option is preferred by extremists like Hamas, but they are not strong enough to destroy Israel anyway. If they could, they would have destroyed Israel a long time ago. So, although Hamas prefers this option, it is impossible for it to implement it.

Two-State Solution: This is a brain child of Camp David and Oslo Accord. It would allow for both Israelis and Palestinians to have their own independent states. Many people advocate for this solution, including the quintet and their two godfathers. Now the big question is this: would Israeli and Palestinian leaders be willing to make sacrifices to implement the third solution? They will not change their habits unless there is external pressure from the United States -- and, more specifically, from Nobel Laureate Obama!

There are another solution proposed by prominent author of "Extremist" book and writer Qasim Rashid (Rashid: 2014). He has developed several facts can be resolved the Israel and Palestine Conflict.

- Hamas rockets unconditionally stop.
- Before lambasting Israel, the peace should be lead and established by Muslim majority nations.
- Hamas is a symptom of this conflict, but not the root cause.
- Israel and Palestine must hold themselves accountable to justice otherwise peace is a mere fantasy.

- Palestine served as a haven for Jewish refugees before Israel's creation but at present it's a resemble of hell in the World.
- Arab and Israel should think that Arab blood and Jewish blood are human blood and all blood is equal.
- Both sides have committed potential war crimes and must be held accountable accordingly.
- Peace is only possible by ensuring the sanctity and dignity of all human life, so America must play fair, and so must worldwide Muslim leadership for the solution of this blood-spattered conflict.

Conclusions:

Basically 'Arab-Israel conflicts' were turned into Particularly 'Israel-Palestine conflict' after the emergence of 'Palestinianism' in 1967 war where Palestinians had lost 'Gaza strip and West bank'. Moreover after this war Palestinian people take arms against Israel by their own hand without any help of Arab States. In the 21st century, this conflict is crucial for political and economic interests of the United States of America in the Middle East. Before the 2nd world war in 1945, Britain colonized this land and after 2nd world war USA is continuing and contributing the central role for this conflict on behalf of Israel to preserve their national interests in the Middle East. USA never takes its 'constructive neutral position' in resolving this intractable and protracted conflict but their position always belongs to the Israel. This is only reason is that there have a strong 'Jewish Lobby' in USA, namely "The American-Israel Public Affairs Committee" was established in 1951, acts on behalf of preserving all kinds of Jewish interests and uses USA congress in propelling the foreign policy. Furthermore "There 2.3% people are Jewish who has possessed the ownership of 50% property in USA and 89% of these Jewish people are living in 12 important 'Electoral College states' who are the crucial to the presidential election in the United States" (Ahsan, 2006: 398). In this construct the political parties of the USA, which acts on behalf of the Jewish people, have chances of getting the whole voter bank in presidential election and gives an "uncritical

support” to Jewish people concomitantly which makes the intractable conflict for the future generation.

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THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN PROMOTING WORLD PEACE AND TRANQUILITY: A CASE STUDY ON THE MIDDLE-EAST CRISIS

Saeed Rashed Hasan CHOWDURY

Introduction:

The religion of Islam is a belief and a legal system which takes step for all the needs of a human being at every situations of his or her life. Islam did not appear into being care of mortal consideration. However, it has been disclosed by Allah as accurate and fulfilled without any deficiency. Considering these importance, The Muslim world consists of a large area in this world and also is diverse including 57 countries where at least 40 percent population is Muslim. It enlarges from Asia to West Africa. Greater Islamic world covers several countries with important Muslim minority. For example, India is the most significant of these countries together with Muslim Minority of over 130 Million people (12.5) percent of the population. However, Islam is mostly viewed as a propellant of percussion and oppression Universal correlations. The familiarity between oppression and Islam became a central concern for Policy makers inclusively after the September 11, 2011 attacks on the Pentagon and the World trade center. On the other hand, history provides that Islam has been a source and motivation for non-cruelty and peace-building. Islam has been proved in the world for peace and tranquility. Western media represent to the Islam as a terror or violence religion. This paper will discuss the familiarity between Islam and peace building and try to understand how Islamic customs can be employed for tranquility not only whole the world but also Middle East. The religion of Islam can be a positive force to establish tranquility and peace through non-cruelty activism. At these stages, this article exclusively looks at the customs of non-violence in adorned in the Islamic dissertation.

Objectives of the Study:

The main aim and objective of this study is to highlight the role of Islamic issues with crucial reference to the Middle East. The prime objectives are:

- The role of Islam is enhancing universe quiet and tranquility with focusing upon to the Middle East.
- The role of Islam in promoting world peace is broad and quite comprehensive and includes moral, spiritual, and component dimensions at the same time.
- Evaluating the role of Islam concept in Middle East and its present scenario.
- Identifying the Organization of Islamic cooperation models are to be followed for development to the Middle East.
- Providing some recommendations for advancing the Middle East with strong unity.

Research Question:

The research question of this study will be:

Is the role of Islam towards the Muslim counties especially into the Middle East in tranquility and peace with collaborate for making Unity on basis of dynamic democracy?

Methodology of the Study:

This study was made predominantly on the basis of secondary data and information's. The main secondary data has been brought from the literature of management, journals, book and several pertinent research studies. Some specialist and also academicians have recommended. There are some organiza-

tions have been appointed to regard their practical expertise pertaining the role of Islam's performances. Several survey reports like-Organization of Islamic Cooperation, United Nation Development program report have been reviewed.

The Role of Islam in Promoting World Peace and Tranquility:

Islam is the complete code of life given by the God for the betterment of mankind and for their peaceful co-existence in the worldly life and to pave the way for eternal peace in the life here after.

Definition of Islam:

The original word of Islam is SALAMA which indicates to the submission and tranquility (Nazar, 2014). However, Islam means submission to the Allah and tranquility to the humankind. According to the Holy Quran; Allah calls to the human being to the domicile of tranquility and put forwards whom he desires to a direct way (10:25). Islam is the Arabic word for the religion of tranquility and peace as preached and practiced by Prophet Muhammad (Pbuh). It also indicates the submitting to the will of making peace with creator. However, Islam means submission to the good will of Allah and allegiance to his favorable law. The religion of Islam desires to make human being delighted on earth and get tranquility in that hereafter and to reach that aims and perspectives Islam defines the mutual relevance between man and God and between man's relevance among themselves and nature. Islam is not only a religion but also fulfill extensive, progressive, potential and also a scientific code of life. Islam is the only religion which appears to me possesses assimilating capacity to the changing phases of humanity which can make its appeal of every age. (Barnard Shaw, 1912)

Peace and Quran:

The revelation of the Holy Quran brought including it the angels of tranquility and the night in which it was revealed became a nighttime of tranquility. According to the holy Quran, Actually! We have transmitted it (this Qur'an) down in the night of Al-Qadr (Edict) and what will make you know what the

night of Edict is? Al-Qadr's night (Edict) is better than a thousand months. It amongst them disassembles the angels and the Ruh (Jibreel) by Allah's authorization with all edicts. Tranquil! Until arrival of daybreak (97:1-5). The Holy Quran is an only one book that goes beyond community ideology, and punctuates consistency and religiousness. According to the holy Quran (3:64) declare: "O Human being of the Bible, let us arrive to a general appreciation between us and you that we do not serve up without Allah, and do not settle down anything at all along with him, and that none of us accepts one another as protectors in company of Allah." If they put off, then tell: "Bear attester that we have presented." The regard of peace, righteousness and equity is to be reared by the Muslim uphill all yet. Allah says O believer (a person who believes that a specified thing is effective proper as believe of Allah & Prophet) (Pbuh)! Stand out steadily for equity, as attester for the searching of Allah, nevertheless (if this may go) in opposition to yourselves, or your parents, or else your relative (4:135). In addition, the term of judgment and the emphasis Quran holds on it is exceptional in the annals of history. According to the Quran; not equal are the good and the bad response. You shall resort to the one which is better. Thus, the one who used to be your enemy may become your best friend (4:34).

Tranquility, Peace and Prophet Muhammad (Pbuh):

The prophet Muhammad (Pbuh) is the first man who practices the celestial massage. He illustrates it includes the assistance of God and then evangelizes human being consequently. The prophet has to do effectively whole matters so that human being can trust his massage. The purification of this society made by the prophet is not only metaphysical but the prophet reconstructs society multi-dimensional. For example: Social, political and also economical dimensions. The prophet has to be classical leader in the world while leading the Human being. He has to substantiate it be plucking up the injustice, cruelty, dishonesty and mostly the irreligiousness by evangelizing justice, honesty, benignity, cordiality, generosity, benevolence among the human being. On the other hand, history witnesses the fact in a society human being discords to temperaments. Some people would accede the speech of the prophet knowingly, some would accept time, some people would refuse and some people would react. But, the prophet manages all of them unimpeded. Tranquility was the fundamental mission of the philosophy of the Prophet Muhammad's mission.

He continuously adhered to the Holy Quran and invites to the human being decently towards the renewed belief. Prophet told that: A factual Muslim is one from whose tongue and hands bear no oppression and a perfect Mujahid is he who has given up those scandals which are interdicted by God (Bukhari, Vol: 12).

Abu Musa narrated that Once Companions asked to the prophet. O prophet of God! Which religion that means Islam is superior? The prophet told that: when human being is relieved from whose hand suffer and tongue no oppression (Tirmidhi, Hadith: 1011). The prophet Muhammad (Pbuh) told that, Allah is kind and chooses generosity in all matters (An- Nawawi, Vol. 1: 633). The prophet is also said that: Allah will not be compassionated to those who are not graceful to the human being (Muhsin Khan, Bukhari, and Vol. 9: 473). Prophet is also told that: He, who makes tranquility between human being by designing classical massage or telling well matters, is not a liar (Ibid. Volume 3, Hadith: 857.) N.K sing has written as a book of Islam- A religion of peace. He described in his book as biography of Prophet Muhammad (Pbuh) that the prophet is a glorious model not only Muslim but also another human being. He has disserted a lot story from the life of Muhammad in preaching to the humankind was based on neutral adoration and love. For example, he quotes in consequence of event from his biography which happened in one of the battles.

After completing the battles of Uhud, the prophet (Pbuh) was taking the rest under the tree, a one opponent soldier has seen this situation. He quickly come and also asked to the Prophet? Who is there to protect you know? The prophet unworried smiled and told that Good save me from you. After hearing this speech, the soldier has disappointed and also dropped the sword on the ground. The prophet swiftly picked up the sword and asked to the opponent the same question. Who is there to protect you know? The opponent does not belief the god and also despondent and confused. There are none except you. The prophet could have spontaneously chopped off his chump. On the other hand he handed back sword to him telling, trust to the God and have belief in him. (N.K Singh, 2002).

The Role of Islam towards the Middle East on Basis of History:

At the stage of 20 the century, Middle East has once and again been a region of battle, terrorism and Islamic extremism. Most of the problems in these territories indicate to be resulted from the backwardness of the territories in this geography as well as Oppression, terrorism and also violence originated in the name of Islam. It is included that the Middle East countries have abundant natural resources as well as the western countries attempts to get an extraordinary self-interest in absorbing their resources. There are lot crisis in the Middle East as well as especially this article will highlight to the three important countries in the Middle East. For example: Palestine, Afghanistan and also Syria.

At the Perspective of Palestine and Israel Relation:

The confrontment in the Middle East intensified with Israel's possession of the Gaza and the west bank at six days war in 19967 where as Palestinians peoples lived these areas. But, Jews extremist intended to establish modern Israel over the land of Palestine's. Considering these purposes, Israel has started war against Palestine's people and they also allocated a lot areas from the Palestine's to Jewish settlers. It also included that the conquest in the battle of 1967 was the starting of messianic era. In this way, Israel has gradually enhanced its repressive possession policy since then. The elaboration of the Jewish colony by the Israel knowingly propagated colossal transgressions of Palestinian rights. (Zertal & Eldar, 2004). At that time, Israel demanded that Palestinians people were living terrorist's area. For this reason, The Jewish colonies have been inspired while Palestinians have been oppressed by ferocious policy to leave from their area.

Many world leaders included to the clash and conflict resolution method to demand a solution to this confrontment between the two communities. These efforts evolved with the Oslo agreement which abstained from the transgression of Israel for a while at the end of 2000. The long-lasting classes of these two communities are temporally solved at Oslo with the impact of international, national and domestic enforcements. After that, the three norms and values were approved the United Nations resolutions 242 and 338 rules. The assignment of communal rights and identifies the establishment of a just different

system such as political and economic including the land to be identified by historic negotiations. On the other hand, Israel did not countermand from the possessed regions. Vice versa, Israel has expanded Jewish colonies in the area of Palestine. Israel wants to rebuke the Palestine people from this land. and also Israel want to compel to the Palestinian land to admit only one countries resolution through settlement methods, a lot of checkpoints in Palestine area and embarrassment activities (Jadou, 2009).

These authoritative oppressive policies breed radicalism in Palestinian people against Israel. Most of times, Israel intentionally attacks to the Palestinian community to get the land from this area. On the other hand Palestinian radical organizations fulcrum to protest in order to get rid of Israeli interfere policies. The 2000 Camp David Summit reconstructed between the two areas. Each area condemns the other sides for the failing in tranquility negotiations. After that, the Palestinian peoples want to recognize as the agitation of Intifada. Israel attacked at that time to the general people and 3200 Palestinian people also have been died. According to the Shor, The violence resulted with the death of 3200 Palestinian people and one thousand Israel people negatively affected tranquility notions (Shor, 2008). After completing the second Intifada, over 70% of Israeli Jews demanded that Arabs as security threat for the Israel (Rouhana & Sultany, 2003). Another survey shows that over 75% Israeli people don't want to stay with Palestinian people in the same area (Smootha, 2010).

As a result of Israel's submissive cruel policies, Palestinians people have more radical in their social, cultural, political and economic adaptation and highlighted on elucidating Israeli oppression, interventions and violence's around the world. These attempts have recently resulted with the approved the Palestinian flag by the United Nations. The dissertation of this clash in the Middle East cordially is 'the framework of Habermas theory of communicative action that strengthens freedom and involvement in within the practice of everybody communication (Habermas, 1984: 226).

He described that "social pathologies could be comprehended as forms of expression of methodically perverted communication." The philosophy of communicative action is to apprise movement that interrupts the communication between clashed communities and cause terrorism. The intensifying imbalance

in every sides in social, cultural and political life intervals the conversation between the Palestine and Israel and conducts the weak side to use oppression and violence. The redress for this problematic subject is an “authentic and categorical” fortitude which may conduct the adoption of the other with its distinctions (Borradori, 2003). This may comprise significant development towards the philosophic environment. The commitment of practical collaboration through the policies of multiculturalism is the dazzling intension for constructing sustainable tranquility in the Middle East.

From Osama Bin Laden to the Arab Spring:

Terrorism has been a marginal phenomenon after attacking the twin tower since eleventh September 2001. The USA demanded that Osama bin laden has attacked and also destroyed this Twin tower. For this reason, USA attacked to the Afghanistan including genocide this country in the case of capturing the Osama bin laden. In fact, the ceremony of the execution of Osama bin Laden raises a lot questions that –far from conspiracy theory –any scholars is uphold in asking (Ramadan, 2012). Far from every pleasuring, The USA represented the negative common idea against the Muslim around the world. The have searched for arresting bin laden in the Afghanistan. But, they did not capture bin laden. After five years later, they had arrested the bin laden from Pakistan. But, One question is here that how can Osama bin laden turned aside detection area in the nearest place of Islamabad for more than five years? What kind of classical intelligence relationship between Pakistan and American Security Council? USA has provided lot of money in the investing sector of Pakistani intelligence group every year. But, why was there no endeavor to capturing him? (Ramadan, 2012).

When American intelligence group arrested the Osama bin laden from the Pakistan, They have killed bin laden and thrown into the sea. But, every people in the world did not see the photograph of bin laden. For this reason, how have scholars illustrate the non-appearance of the photographs, the disposal of his dead body into the sea? Considering such kinds of these questions, the death of Osama bin Laden as an icon and evidence of terrorism. This is because, his aims and objectives were neither extensively emulated nor respected as manifold surveys by American governments and antiterrorism scholars have

ensured. After killing bin Laden, American president has announced on television live, was planned to carry the cachet of tranquil in the time of conquest over terrorism and over USA's ostensible number one (Ramadan, 2012). The later president of Barak Obama, who has strongly denounced for his obvious deficiency of potency ascertainment on domestic security matters including as on the battles in Afghanistan and Iraq, has scored a potential symbolic conquest that will have a dynamic impact on ostensible opinion.

It is high time to treat ferocious extremism for what it is the operation of tiny groups that illustrate neither Muslim or Islam, on the other hand deviant political attitudes that have ruined all credibility in numerous Muslim communities (Ramadan, 2012). The elements of a modern political philosophy prescribing the West's familiarity including Islam and also with the Muslim can only come out from the baptism of fire of the capacious-based movement for democracy, liberty, equality, independence and respect at present widespread Middle East and the North Africa. The Muslim communities have an undeniable responsibility for guiding own future. It cannot describe sharply numerous that the foghorn of oppression and extremism have never persuade the overpowering multiplicity of their peoples. Considering these importance, the civil society keeps integrated and concern; that it reveals corruption and the non-existence of the regulation of law and judgment; that it advances an authentic philosophy to rebuild democratic and free societies and that, at the final termination, it rebuilds the circumstances for new economic and political relations with the West (Ramadan, 2012). At the present situations, economic parameters are major issues in the world. For this reason, The USA, like another countries China, South America and India by way of Turkey, realize accurately what is holding place? It may definitely that the Arab spring is in fact, the autumn of the Arab world's relationship by means of West, and a new way to other, magnificent spring, determined this time by west to East.

Syrian Civil War:

Syria is a most important country in the Muslim world. But, at the present time, Syrian president Bashar al Assad is a dictator; his government policy is an autocracy. During the first days of oppression, a lot people tried to exculpate him of responsibility for the persecution and the genocide of general protesters and

also including women and children. He was not to condemn, they told, however, some old tortures yet in charge since his father's period. What a lie, what a distortion of the actuality and the abusive political reality? Most of the children, young aged no more than 9, 11 and also 15 have been arrested and persecuted, their nails pulled out, sexually abused and amputated. Men, women and also immaculate people have been killed as genocide by the Assad's soldier for allegation to the conspiracy against this country (Ramadan, 2012). When Egyptian and Tunisian uprisings has been started, the west media begun wide coverage and also supported about these issues. The western society claimed that the Egyptian and also Tunisian people demanded actual democracy. In Egypt and Tunisia, the revolutions were congratulated; the modern period of democratization attained prospect to western capitals. It also included that the Arab spring seems to have turned into winter in Syria as well as Bahrain. However, this area is very important as a geopolitical and economic consideration. For this reason, they supported to the soldier and secular people along with lot of investment behind this Islamic revolutions. But, when Bashar al Assad has persecuted as genocide to impoverish and immaculate people, the so-called international community was almost keep silent and also paralyzed. Why is nothing being done in the Syrian perspective? The truculence of the continuous al-Assad regimes with his father Hafez al Assad regimes is well documented.

At the perspective of Arab world, democracy is favorable matters as long as Western self-interests are preserved. On the other hand, at the perspective of Arab world, dictatorship is not a bad thing, as long as Western self-interests are preserved. The so called Arab spring smells of chill calculation and benefit. It has nothing to do including morality and didactics; every sector is to do with strength and money (Ramadan, 2012). Syria is a momentous and complicated country. This is because, Syrian's location beside Israel. Israel wants to control the Middle East by means of any attempts. For this reason, Israel cannot be endure democratic governance in the Middle East and propose to deal including relentless autocrats who can guarantee a subjugated tranquility. Another problem is that there are lots of Kurdish people live in the not only Syria but Iran, Iraq and also Turkey. They also demanded a new country in the four countries border. However, if Bashar's governance collapses, new coalition and demands can be created that could be very painful for the republic of Turkey and

the role it wants to lay bare domestically and internationally (Ramadan, 2012).

At the present, Syrian people are the victims of both brutal governance as well as very malicious economic and political calculations. Even if interfere is difficult, present international passivity is intolerable. It also included that there is no position for naivety in politics. Powers are guided by self-interests and it is the responsibility of the democratic forces around the world. Persecuted people will never forget as well as history will always remember.

The OIC's Role in the Conflicts Facing that Arab/ Muslim World:

Organization of Islamic cooperation (OIC) was created including aims and objectives to protection and self-interest of Muslim communities in the world and momentous inter-country multilateral as well as bilateral mutual understanding among the Muslim countries. On the other hand, OIC has not shown to the fruitful policy including dynamics issues to the Muslim world. But, OIC has been disable to effectiveness its aims and objectives due to the incapability of its organizational construction. It cannot be refused that the Middle East has been one of the most momentous and also uncertain places in the world exclusively after collapse of the Ottoman Empire during First World War (Brill, 2015). It should be noted that Israeli-Arab confrontation will never forward to an end because of the blunders made in the past. After that, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is a momentous and important organization to representing the voice of Muslim Ummah around the world. OIC is an exclusive organization in the world with 57 countries which serves the demands of the world calculated 1.45 billion Muslims. OIC has established on September 25, 1969 in Rabat, Morocco in repercussion to a Zionist arson onslaught against to the Palestinian people on August 21, 1969 in the Al-Aqsa Mosque. Even though the OIC did not play the important role and principle in the inward politics until the 21th century and also was not able to protect Islamic subjects and matters effectively. Its role and regulation have changed rapidly along with the current prosperity by means of universal variations.

On 23-25 march in 1970 the president of this OIC's president had organized

to the first Islamic conference in Jeddah who decided to take step against the Israel and also emphasized on their reciprocal collaboration in the members country and also build form for dissertation about principle affairs affecting the member of this organization (Brill, 2015). Throughout the history, a lot of conference made outstanding contributions to OIC's improvement, among others which held in Lahore (1974), Mecca (1981), Casablanca (1984), Kuwait (1987 and also Dakar (1991). Actually, one meeting held in Conakry in 2013 that the president of OIC called upon the every foreign minister to dissert the cutting bond including any countries that acknowledged Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. However, The OIC had effectively contributed to the Israel-Palestine conflict, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan (some crucial steps against the Soviet Union in 1980), the Iraq-Iran conflict, Iraq-Kuwait conflict, Saudi Arabia-Iran controversy, Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Libyan crisis, Tunisian revolution under the Arab Spring, Egyptian crisis, Yemen crisis, and most recent Syrian crisis have greatly etc.

However, beyond its interfering in confrontments, the OIC contributes in its limitations as matters of International law, to institutionalize society and amplify its sources with the perspective of Islam. OIC has taken the post of Champion in some related fields to human rights, eradication of terrorism, promoting education and also economy sector. At the age of 2005 in Mecca, OIC sanctioned the ten years action planning (TYAP) on behalf of the development of modernization, business, good governance and human rights in the Muslim countries. There are lots of domestic organ in OIC. For example: IDB, IINA ISBO and ISESCO (Brill, 2015). The Islamic development Bank is the crucial economic sector in the OIC that gives services to the member's states such as no-interest loans, fair participation which contribute to the development of social, political and economic prosperity. The Islamic Solidarity Fund (ISF) provides relief to the Muslim countries that suffer natural disaster. Another organization is that the Islamic Educational Scientific and Cultural organization (ISESCO) is established to the development of education sector.

In the perspective of education sector, Islamic ethics and values should be mobilized into this syllabus. In the field of science are emphasized to use of modern technology with the Islamic ideals with view to developing world

tranquility and security. The Islamic States Broadcasting Organization (ISBO) was established for broadcasting news of Muslim countries with the radio and television programs. ISBO announces the ethics of Islamic Dawah and enhances the teaching of Arabic languages in the member states. International Islamic News Agency (IINA) was established to interchange of information among news delegation with crucial issue of social, political and also economic matters among member countries on the basis of Islamic ethics and Values (Brill, 2015). The Middle East and also Africa have been suffered as a lot confrontments and social movements on basis of Political changes in the last few years. For example: the Afghanistan war and the percussions that took place in Somalia, Iraq, Libya, Palestine, Mali, Yemen, and also Syria. However, the United Nation (UN), and other western bodies like the North Atlantic treaty Organization (NATO) and also European Union have made significant role with irrespective of the stances and most of the time to support these wars. This is because; they have a lot of interests these wars. On the other hand, OIC has tried to significantly to manage regional percussions in the Africa and also Middle East. Eventually, OIC's role has been acknowledged by the United Nation. For example: OIC has effectively and permanently involved in the Iraq war. When the Iraq invaded to the Kuwait in 1990, OIC had taken proper steps against this percussion.

From the perspective of Syria, OIC has made a significant role with proper taking steps for collaboration. OIC has suspended to the Syria from this organization (Brill, 2015). At the present time, OIC is playing a crucial role in mediation and collaboration for advancement. Considering these importance, OIC reached a compliance with the Syrian governments in Dec, 2013 to transmit humanitarian assistance and a combined OIC-UN mission to Syria. OIC is also plying a crucial role to the United Nations and also international community as the recognized the Palestine like an independent country.

The Role of Turkey into the Middle East Crisis as well as the Muslim World:

The republic of Turkey is one of the most crucial countries of Middle East

regions. Turks, Arabs and Persians are prevalent nation of these territories. All Arabic countries have been governed for a long time. However, the relationship between Arab and Turks have not been as consider of boss-labor affinity. Turkey has played as crucial role into the Middle East. This relationship has been annihilated after the First World War. All Arab countries have been separated on basis of First World War. At the present time, Turkey is a political and economic power in this region with prospecting fruitful collaboration in these territories. At the present crisis in the Middle East, Turkey is plying significant role into the Arab World. For Example; the president of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has visited to the Arab world and North Africa (MENA) as well as he has achieved as colossal outstanding success. Over last seven years, his image has mutated significantly (Ramadan, 2012). His popularity and respect has enhanced for many multiple arguments. This is because, he has been elected and reelected president in this Turkey and even his antagonists despite their animadversion but they have confessed his creativity and administration of his government. At present, Turkey is advancing both at not only domestic but also abroad including less corruption, less confrontment, classical management and an outstanding economy.

After having attempted to change the Turkish foreign policy to the Arab World, South Africa, Latin America, East (China, India Malaysia, Japan) behind the reluctance of European Union and USA . It is also referred that the President Recep Tayeef Erdoğan's image has changed in the MENA conference on January 29, 2009 in Davos. At that conference, the Israeli President Shimon Perez claimed against Muslim and Palestinian people as a terrorist as well as Erdoğan interfered in his speech and he also stood up and left the room behind his dirty speech while the great multiplicity of Arab governments had been keeps silent (Ramadan, 2012). Mr. Erdoğan responded every question from the Israeli President Shimon Perez as well as protested against these false allegations and he also included that why Israel soldiers have killed a lot peoples as a genocide type at the Gaza in Palestine? The Arab world and Muslim looked on including astonishment and acclamation. Finally, he proposed to the United Nations General Assembly to recognize the Palestine as an independent country. Not only Mr. Erdoğan is a triumphant president leading his country towards strong economic and political transparence but he also the champion

of the international Palestinian cause. He cautions that if Israel intentionally control to the Mediterranean Sea, Turkey's Navy will take a proper steps as surveillance against them in the area.

After that, he has visited to the Egypt and Tunisia as well as he could get the overwhelmingly positive achievement. At the primary stages, he told the Ben Ali and Mubarak to tranquil and to accept the intentions of their people. After that, he has preserved the regulation of law, democracy and transparency and the Egyptian and Tunisian protesters heard his voice. In 2012, he visited to MENA in full self-confidence as well as he was on the right side of history (Ramadan, 2012). He attempts to solve ongoing crisis in the Arab World. Palestinians deserve as a democratic and also independent country as well as the Egyptian, the Libyans, the Tunisians, the Syria and all the Middle East exclusively Muslim explicit countries. His request is to both the Islamist group and also Secular group to divert the democratic system. He believes that democratic civil state is a very potential and exactly to the point. Mr. President of Erdoğan is very familiar with the substance of the ongoing debates. He attempts to solve this problem in the Qatar issues when Saudi Alliances have embargoed with the Qatar. Considering this importance, he sent the soldiers of Turkey with the bill of parliament to protection into the Qatar behind the falls allegations of Saudi alliance group.

The main objectives of democracy are to work for transparency and honor of the human being. For this reason, it is high time to take proper steps from worthless ideological debates to authentic policies and implementation. The Turkish president knows that democracy will not be secured without economic stability. For this reason, he visited The United States, the European countries (with Cameron and Sarkozy visiting Libya), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as well as he achieved a lot of sectors. At the present perspective, The United States, the European countries, the World Bank, the China, Russia, Japan, and India are competing to outplay markets and to preserve monitoring over future regional advancement. For this reason, Erdoğan visited a lot countries at last seven years, for developing economic sector as well as Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Yemen, Syria and other Arab countries as well as Muslim majority countries will study and also follow the Turkish example and involve in the dynamic situations(Ramadan, 2012). This may

be the appearance a pole of forthwith democratic states supporting to reconcile Muslim with freedom, confidence, pluralism and prosperity.

Playing with Islam:

The Arab uprisings are displaying that people of the countries are drawn to respect, honesty and also liberty but are not ready to commit treachery their customs and traditions and also religious faiths. But, the western countries encourage to the Arabian people for bettering with their countries policy. For example: when the Tunisia's Islamist Party an-Nahda has been elected as a democratic process, Tunisia's people to accept this election more intentionally. But western country demanded that it has a farce election. It is also included that The United states has established one terrorist group in the Syria as the name of ISIS along with lot of investment for the mass killing of Muslim Ummah. They have pleased to play the games with Islam and Muslim behind a lot of falls allegations. It is also included that No one can contradict that the AKP party has come from the Islamic background (Ramadan, 2012). But, this party has achieved a success more easily into three categories. They are also religiously protective, geopolitically ready to vocation with Western governments and also economically mobilized into prevalent capitalist system. They have displayed momentous sincerity together with European Union and also exhibited important flexibility. However, last year, when a few soldiers attempt to happen as uprising and also change the present government. The western countries have contributed as keep a silent role and they also supported to the soldiers of Turkey with a lot of Investments.

The western countries can actually do business along with Islamist party in the Arab world with their self-interest. In these momentous economic and political games, the western countries have displayed in the past along with the monarchies or in Afghanistan that they have no serious problem in conducting with political Islam to preserving their self-interests. The main factor in the Middle East will be Israel. All the Islamic parties in the world have accepted momentous position against the Zionist state including also Turkey which is the reason for their capacious popular assistance including current government

in Iran. For this reason, Israel attempts to control these states and also attack any countries without any reasons. The Islamists group may will be prepare to develop the democratic process and to sharing concentrically in the prevalent economic system. The western countries including European Union have supported antagonistic group in the Egypt with their self-interest for removing democratic first president (Ramadan, 2012). The western countries fear that when any Islamic party takes the power as well as they well changes the country more easily.

In the meanwhile, The BRICS countries do not have the analogous historical coalition with the Israel and they prepare to challenge the Western partiality towards the Arab World confrontment. The Islamic mention is at the momentous of the argument in the Middle East. Political Islam is at crossroad: it observes a lot of challenges and must deal along dueling self-interest. A magnificent approach can bestow the Muslim countries a consciousness of what is at stake. Most of the trends even some Islamic groups are plying along with Islam in endeavor to profit legitimacy (Ramadan, 2012). It is also included that there is no suspicion as well as Politics corrupts. Who, in the Middle East will be able to hold strong power while favoring the Islamic tradition, righteousness, transparency, no corruption, justice and also supporting to the Palestine with their independence from the Israel?

Findings & Recommendations:

From the perspective of dissertation on above, some proper steps are to be taken for tranquility, stability and prosperity in the Muslim world on basis of Islamic peace and ethics as an activation of OIC with long-sighted organization.

- The role of OIC should be determined to the mutual collaboration among the Muslim countries on basis of Islam.
- At present, the Muslim world should be united any matters when any country faces some problems. It is also included that the Muslim world is gradually far away from the Quran and Sunnah.

- There are some allegations against Islam and also Muslim world. However, Muslim countries as well as crucial leader will response very strongly against any allegations on basis of Quran and also Sunnah.
- Islamic knowledge should progress intercultural proficiency through extending tolerant sensibility and acclamation for the right to hold extraordinary dependence, sentiments based on the acknowledgement of the profound significance and elemental independence of every Muslim in the world.
- The OIC's institutional structure as well as appropriate operation that can able to contribute in energizing the OIC that will be able to control the Muslim affairs and also contribute to tranquility among the Muslim states.
- The aims and objectives of the OIC will define as promoting mobilization among the Muslim countries and provide them assistance in the event of crisis either it is national or international.

Conclusion:

The religion of Islam is the largest religion among others religions. It is not only a religion but also complete code of life. This religion teaches to the Muslim about meditate scholarly on differentiate things including new concepts to the tranquility and development for the advancement of society. This religion is not only wants spiritual but material benefits along with acquire the utmost belief. At the perspective of world history, Islam has conquered a lot of times. However, the 17 century, Islam has started to the collapse most of the sector in the world as well as the Middle East on behalf of forgetting to the holy Quran and lacking of unity. The Europe and West are played crucial one kind of games to the Muslim countries as well as the Middle East. At present, the relation between the West and Europe with Islam, exclusively in the territories of the Middle East will be filled with tension. This is because, the west epically, United Nation has played with this territory as an exploitation role and

brought to the natural resources where three magnificent religions were grown. However, Islam and the Middle East countries should be playing significant role with the West as well as build good governance with efficient and fruitful strategy in serving the people.

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Chapter Six

International Relations

SOFT POWER IN INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Hafijur RAHMAN

Introduction:

India made a revolutionary change in its foreign policy from hard power to soft power. As we see in very recent Kashmir Issue, the condition was very sensitive for India because of 18 soldiers killed in Uri Army Camp by an army strike of Pakistan Army. Most probably Indian people were waiting for a step by hard power but Prime Minister of India Mr. Narendra Modi didn't go forward within that way. In his first public speech after Uri attack Mr. Modi challenged Pakistan to go to war against poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and infant mortality instead, saying "let's see who wins those wars", India or Pakistan. "I want to say that India is a ready for a war... India is a ready for a war on poverty. Let both countries fight to see who would eradicate poverty first... I want to tell the youth of Pakistan, let's have a war on ending unemployment... I want to call out to the children in Pakistan, let's declare war on illiteracy. Let's see who wins. Let's declare war on infant mortality and maternal deaths" (The Indian Express, 2016). Modi also said in another public speech addressing Pakistani people, "We both gained independence in the same year but (today) India exports software and your leaders export terrorists" (Dawn, 2016). If we analyze Mr. Modi's step in Kashmir incident it is proved that Indian foreign policy has moved from hard power to soft power though implementation of soft power in Indian Foreign Policy is not new. Indian soft power capabilities and potentialities come from its history, culture, civilization and geography. With a glad history and old civilization, India is one of the rising power countries in the current world politics. India has a large manpower and population resource, extend geography, glorious culture and tradition which are attract easily to other nation. According to Joseph S. Naye, "Soft power is attractive power. In terms of resources soft power resources are the assets that produce such as attraction". (Naye, 2004: 6) In the present time extend of Bollywood,

rapid economic development, greater academic and research field, large number of Media, skilled manpower with a big number of diaspora is the main tools of Indian soft power. Hence, focusing of Indian foreign policy is more towards South Asian countries because of its culture appreciates in its immediate neighborhood. Moreover India continues to have tremendous potential in soft power with several countries in the world.

Soft power in Foreign Policy:

As a new form of power “soft power” has become increasingly discussed in the post-Cold War era. The term ‘soft power’ was first coined by the American Scholar Joseph Nye (1990), in his book, “Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power”. Nye (2004) developed the concept further in his book, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. Soft power in foreign policy arises from factors such as the dominant values, internal practices and policies, and the manner of conducting international relations of a State. Soft power is the getting others to want the outcomes that you want, co-opt people rather than coerces them (Naye, 2004: 5) It is the ability to establish preferences tends to be associated with intangible assets such as an attractive personality, culture, political values and institutions, and politics that are seen as legitimate or having moral authority (Naye, 2004: 6). Moreover the success of implementation of soft power depends on the reputation of the states in the international system as well as the utilization of diplomacy between states. In fact, soft power is frequently related to the rise of globalization and neoliberal theory. Culture and media is identified as sources of soft power since those can extent national language, or a particular set of normative structures. Therefore the nation with a large amount of strength of soft power and determination of winning other states inspiration will avoid the requirement for expensive hard power expenditures.

Major tools of Indian Soft Power:

Joseph Naye in his book, “Soft Power, the means to success in World Politics”

mentioned three primary resource or tools of soft power. According to Naye, “The soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources: its Culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its Political values (When it lives up to them at home and abroad) and Foreign Polices (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority) (Naye, 2004: 11). With this statement I want to discuss major tools of Indian foreign policy in the following:

Culture:

Indian culture is one of the oldest, most diverse and popular soft power tools which are assist to build positive image of India. Specifically the classical music, Indian dance, language diversity, Indian Movies, Bollywood film industry, arts and food of India are effective elements that are able to make a difference in this world. Indian Film Industry with Bollywood is one of the greatest film production houses in the world. For good content, qualified actress, use of high technologies and professionalism of Bollywood Movies, Bollywood is the most popular film producer house. In terms of the number of films produced each year, Bollywood is firmly on top of the pile with 1,602 in 2012 alone. The U.S. churned out 476 films that year while the Chinese managed 745. In the same year, Hollywood sold 1.36 billion tickets compared to Bollywood’s whopping 2.6 billion (McCharty, 2014) After declared an industry in 1998 by the Indian government, Bollywood has produced a lot of movies that portrayed the image of India as a progressive global power capable of playing a vital role at international and regional levels. The culture industries invariably offer unconditional support to the core foreign policy initiatives of a nation-state, and work together with the policy-makers in image building endeavors in order to promote key cultural, economic, and military interests of their countries (Pindle, 1993). Bollywood Actress like Shah Rukh Khan, Aamir Khan, Salman Khan, Amitabh Bachchan, Aishwarya Rai etc are well-known and the most popular actress in the World. Probably those who don’t know anything about India he/she also know many things about 3 Khans¹ of Bollywood.

Indian film or cinema is not end within Bollywood. The term “Bollywood” is often used by non-Indians as a synecdoche to refer to the whole of Indian cinema; however, Bollywood proper is only a part of the larger Indian film industry,

1. Amir Khan, Shah Rukh Khan, Salman Khan

which includes other production centers producing films in many other Indian languages (Corliss, 1996). Bollywood is one of the largest film producers in India, representing 43% of the net box office revenue, while Tamil and Telugu cinema represent 36%, and the rest of the regional cinema constitutes 21% as of 2014 (FICCI- Deloitte report , 2013). The popularity of Bollywood is increasing day by day. Besides being popular among the India diaspora, such far off locations as Nigeria to Egypt to Senegal and to Russia generations of non-Indian fans have grown up with Bollywood during the years, bearing witness to the cross-cultural appeal of Indian movies (Larkin, 2002). Over the last years of the 20th century and beyond, Bollywood progressed in its popularity as it entered the consciousness of Western audiences and producers. Bollywood is now so popular in a lot of African countries like Nigeria, Sudan, Chad, Ethiopia, Egypt, Somalia, Congo, South Africa etc. classic Bollywood actors like Kishore Kumar and Amitabh Bachchan have historically enjoyed popularity in Egypt and Somalia (Baru, 2012: 442).

Ashok Sharma, Indian Ambassador to Suriname, who has served three times in the Commonwealth of Independent States region during his diplomatic career said: “The popularity of Bollywood in the CIS dates back to the Soviet days when the films from Hollywood and other Western cinema centers were banned in the Soviet Union. As there was no means of other cheap entertainment, the films from Bollywood provided the Soviets a cheap source of entertainment as they were supposed to be non-controversial and non-political. In addition, the Soviet Union was recovering from the onslaught of the Second World War. The films from India, which were also recovering from the disaster of partition and the struggle for freedom from colonial rule, were found to be a good source of providing hope with entertainment to the struggling masses. The aspirations and needs of the people of both countries matched to a great extent. These films were dubbed in Russian and shown in theatres throughout the Soviet Union. The films from Bollywood also strengthened family values, which was a big factor for their popularity with the government authorities in the Soviet Union” (Ashreena, 2013). More ever Bollywood is one of the key tools of Indian soft power. For this reason Bollywood has also cultivated strong ties with the Indian Foreign Ministry. Joseph S. Naye stated his book to describes influence of culture in soft power mentioning Indian Foreign Minis-

ter, “When the Taliban government fell in Afghanistan in 2001, The Indian foreign minister flew to Kabul to welcome the new interim government in a plane not packed with arms or food but crammed with tapes of Bollywood movie and music which were quickly distributed across the city” (Naye, 2004: 10).

According to Chatterji (2008), the Public Diplomacy Division of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs cooperated and financed Saregama India Ltd to produce a special volume of Indian popular songs that would be gifted to diplomats and foreign dignitaries as a part of diplomatic courtesy. Interestingly, this album was presented for the first time to the officials of Pakistani Foreign Ministry when an Indian delegation visited Pakistan in 2006. The Indian government is actively exploiting Bollywood’s potential as a tool to achieve foreign policy goals. In the recent decade, Bollywood has produced movies revolving around political themes and advancing Indian government’s political agenda in the region. Especially after the Kargil War between India and Pakistan in 1999 and ensuing tension in the region due to terrorist activities in India, Bollywood had produced movies that reflected the nature of relationships between the South Asian neighbors. These movies had strong patriotic and jingoistic undertones that were in consonance with the government’s foreign policy. However, when a process of détente had caught momentum in the region after 2003, a few movies were released that aimed at promoting harmony and friendship between India and Pakistan (Chatterji, 2008). After that Indian dishes & spices also took a firm hold throughout the World. Especially Indian Masala shops and traditional cuisine -some of them vegetarian- are widely spread through the World and particularly, these cuisines are very famous in the United Kingdom (Tharoor , 2007). Interestingly, most of Indian restaurants can be seen in Asian and western countries.

Yoga:

Though Yoga² is a part of Indian Culture but I have mentioned it here sepa-

2. Yoga is a group of physical, mental, and spiritual practices or disciplines which originated in ancient India. It is one of the sixth orthodox systems of Indian Philosophy. Says Mahadev Desai in his introduction to the “Gita According to Ghandi”, “the yoking of all the power of body, mind and soul to good; it means the disciplining of the intellect, the mind, the emotions, the will, which that yoga presupposes; it means a poise of the soul which enables one to look at life in all its aspects evenly. (Iyenger, 1997)

rately because of its necessity Yoga is an important soft power tools in Indian Foreign policy. In recent years, India use Yoga elaborately as a gift to World from Indian Philosophy. In the speech of United Nations General Assembly Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi described yoga as “India’s gift to the World” and successfully lobbied the forum to declare June 21 as World Yoga Day. Around 177 Nations supported the proposal, including the United States and China (Wade, 2016). Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi is a big fun of Yoga and after sweeping to power in 2014, Modi even appointed India’s first government minister for yoga. But yoga is also a key asset in Modi’s push to promote and develop India’s soft power – described by Harvard academic Joseph Nye as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments” (Wade, 2016).

Historical or Traditional tools:

India has long sought to utilize its soft power to offset its lack of hard power and to honor the intellectual and political legacy of Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Addition to this Gandhi is so popular for his non-violence movement in politics throughout the World. In the 1950s and 1960s, in the global anti-colonial movement and in the Non-Aligned Movement that succeeded it, India sought to leverage its democratic credentials, its extraordinary history and cultural heritage, and its contributions to anti-imperialism and non-violence. During the early Cold War, Indian leaders took advantage of high-level international platforms to show off these assets, using the U.N. in particular as a forum to project India’s messages to an international audience (Dixit, 2004) Employing these resources, Nehru was able to promote his philosophy of international relations “non-alignment” and pursue what he perceived to be India’s interests (Babaa and Crabb, 1965)

Education exchange and Academic Co-operation:

With 677 universities, 37,204 collages and 11443 stand-alone institutions (Department of Higher Education, 2017), India is using education as an important soft power tools. India established Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) in 1950 to exchange cultural relation with other countries. In recent years ICCR is using boldly for academic co-operation. With patronage

of Indian Foreign Ministry, ICCR offers a lot of scholarship for International Students to study in undergraduate and postgraduate program in India. With scheme of 900 scholarship for African Countries, 499 scholarship for developing and non-developing countries, 200 scholarship for Bangladeshi students, 195 scholarship for Sri-Lankan Students, 64 scholarship for Nepal's students, 1000 scholarship for Afghanistan and several scholarship for BIMSTEC, ASEAN, SAARC, Commonwealth countries are offered by ICCR every year (ICCR, 2017). ICCR also provide many awards for International renowned personality and intellectuals like Nehru Award which is given annually, for outstanding contribution to the promotion of international understanding, goodwill, and friendship among peoples of the world (ICCR, 2017).

It currently has 36 centers in abroad as well as 20 regional offices within India (ICCR, 2017). These centers perform different functions depending on their location. Some serve expatriate Indians or people of Indian heritage, while others—those located in major capitals such as London or Moscow—have broader roles. The smaller centers, for example in Kabul, opened in 2007, concentrate on promoting Indian literature, music, dance, and yoga. The larger centers, such as that in Suva, Fiji, which has been operating since 1972, provide Hindi language lessons and maintain contacts with NGOs in the local Indian community. Another important institute is The Indian Council for World Affairs (ICWA) which fulfills a different role. Founded in 1943 as an independent think tank, it has recently assumed a semi-official role and was recognized by an Act of Parliament in 2001 as an “institution of national importance” (ICWA, 2017). The ICWA's main function is producing and disseminating research on foreign affairs, holding seminars, and publishing briefing papers and a major journal (*India Quarterly*), but it also plays a significant and growing role in outreach. Since 2001 the Council has signed memoranda of understanding with 19 other institutions, three within India and 16 beyond it, from Russia and China to Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates. The ICWA is also a member of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP), which facilitates Track 2 dialogues between scholars and officials concerned with regional security, as well as research on issues of mutual concern. Most important, the ICWA offers a prestigious forum to which foreign leaders, diplomats, and other notables can be invited to speak. In addition to these, India

has a lot of institution both public and private which are working for academic exchange, organizing international academic conference, congress and seminar, exchange of professional experience like journalism etc.

Rising Economy and rapid development:

Rising economic sector of India and rapid development are also important tools of Indian soft power. India is one of the world's fastest-growing economies. Indian economic sector has widely expanded since independence. India's diverse economy encompasses traditional village farming, modern agriculture, handicrafts, a wide range of modern industries, and a multitude of services. Services are the major source of economic growth, accounting for nearly two-thirds of India's output but employing less than one-third of its labor force. India has capitalized on its large educated English-speaking population to become a major exporter of information technology services, business outsourcing services, and software workers. With the liberalized economy India has abled to maintain its economic growth around 7% since 1997 and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) rate are composited with 17.4%, 25.8% and 56.9% in agricultural, industrial and service sector respectively (CIA, 2017). India's foreign exchange remittances were US\$70 billion in year 2014, the largest in the world, contributed to its economy by 25 million Indians working in foreign countries and the export of manpower is on the top of economic diplomacy initiatives for the governments of India (Sherani, 2017). In the recent time India's GDP surpassed UK GDP. According to Forbes magazine report, "UK's 2016 GDP of GBP 1.87 trillion converts to \$2.29 trillion at exchange rate of ~GBP 0.81 per \$1, whereas India's GDP of INR 153 trillion converts to \$2.30 trillion at exchange rate of ~INR 66.6 per \$1" (Shah, 2016)

Internal Beauty and Effort:

With 29 states and 7 territories, India has a largest function in central government, state administration, local government, election process etc. But it maintains its all functions successfully with efficiency. Specifically India has proved functioning democracy is a realistic thing even in poor and illiterate countries as well. Since the independence India has held free and fair elections to select public representatives to the legislations though India has marginal-

ized society in terms of multi caste, multi religion, multi languages and multi culture. Women participation in politics is also an outstanding feature of Indian soft power. Political instability, separation of power with independent judiciary is also internal beauty as well as soft power of India. Indian Armed Forces is one the largest forces in the world for its manpower and expenditure. But Indian Army never snoops in politics. Compared with Pakistan, Pakistani Army snooped in politics for several times and probably it's a great factor for lake of political instability in Pakistan.

Freedom to press and freedom to express opinions are spectacular features of Indian internal beauty. Indian peoples do not hesitate to take their accusations to the court and challenge to the decisions of the government. The independent judiciary plays an active role in India by taking up many sensitive and current issues which directly affect to the public on the open forum. These implications clearly indicate that India is practicing not only democracy but also balance of power (the concept of check and balance) and good governance in some extent. In fact it is noteworthy mention Indian commitment to build and remain its democracy causes to enhance the moral power as well as soft power of India.

Media:

With more than 600 television channels, 100 million pay TV-household, 70000 newspaper (Ernst & Young Pvt. Ltd. and La India Film Council, 2017), Indian media is one of the key tools of Indian soft power. All India Radio service is a great tool in Indian foreign diplomacy. Today, the External Services Division (ESD) of All India Radio broadcasts daily in 57 transmissions with almost 72 hours covering over 108 countries in 27 languages, out of which 15 are foreign and 12 Indian. The foreign languages are Arabic, Baluchi, Burmese, Chinese, Dari, French, Indonesian, Persian, Pushtu, Russian, Sinhala, Swahili, Thai, Tibetan and English (General Overseas Service) (All India Radio, 2017). According to All India Radio's website, External Services Division projects to the world India's viewpoint, progress and policies along with its art and culture. With the changing scenario, its role has been further expanded due to an increasing number of Indian Diaspora, PIOs and NRIs as well as foreigners interested in knowing India. ESD endeavors to provide them with information,

education and entertainment with programmes on India's varied and multi-faceted society. It prioritizes its broadcasts on the following factors: Political Relations, Economic Compulsions, i.e. India's trade with other countries and Social Relations: Broadcasts for NRIs and PIOs living in other countries. The programmers of ESD project are:

- Emerging India abroad.
- The country's democratic institutions and policies.
- Indian art and culture.
- India's point of view on major issues.
- A link with the Indian Diaspora.

Presently ESD is broadcasting to:

- West, North, East and Southeast Asia.
- North, West and East Africa.
- Australia and New Zealand.
- United Kingdom and some other European countries.
- Indian Sub-continent.
- (All India Radio, 2017)

Cricket and Sports Diplomacy:

Sports especially Cricket is an important tools of Indian soft power. There is a unique relation between Cricket and Indian diplomacy in Commonwealth nation and South Asian Countries. "Cricket diplomacy" has been particularly prominent in Indo-Pakistani relations since the mid-1980s, with Test matches between the two states being arranged by one or the other to signal a readiness to negotiate or to provide a means of lowering tensions (Crick, 2009). In the time of 1983-1987 the India-Pakistan relationship was like about to war.

Because of nuclear installations of both countries, the foreign relation was so critical. In this moments President of Pakistan General Ziaul Hoque visited India in Feb 21, 1987 for watching a cricket match between India and Pakistan. Indian Prime Minister (that time) Rajib Ghandhi received him in the Airport. In the stadium watching cricket Genrerel Ziaul Hoque told media personnel, “Cricket for peace is my mission, and I have come with that spirit” (Aziz, 2015). In the context of Pakistan and India, cricket diplomacy has a special place. After Gen Zia’s visit, General Pervez Musharraf also visited India on the pretext of watching a cricket match, and ultimately led to more dialogue and better friendly ties between the two neighbouring countries. In 2011, after democracy returned to Pakistan, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh invited his Pakistani counterpart to visit India and witness a cricket match between the two countries. PM Yousuf Raza Gilani accepted the invite, and went to Mohali which helped defuse tense situation between the two countries after the 2008 Mumbai attacks (Aziz, 2015)

Tourism:

Because of homeland of three important religions³ and oldest civilization, there are many touristic places in India. A lot of people over the World visited India for visiting touristic places. In addition to a lot of people from South and East Asia visit India for medical treatment. In 2015, a number of 8.03 million tourists visited India (Ministry of Tourism, 2016).

Indian Diaspora:

Diaspora is one of key tools of Indian soft power. Today around 25 million Indian diaspora lives around the World (Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, 2012). Among them about 3.99 million live in USA, 3 million in Saudi Arabia, 2.9 million in United Arab Emirates, 2.85 million in Malaysia, 2 million in Nepal, 1.45 million in United Kingdom, 1.24 million in South Africa, 1.21 in Canada and rest of them in Australia, South Korea, Europe, Arab World and Africa (ibid). Indian Diaspora plays a significant role in different country of the World. In last election of USA Indian-origin Kamala Harris elected as a senator for first time as Indian origin politician (Time of India, 2016). With ten MPs

3. Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism

in current UK parliament (Times of India, 2015) and nineteen MP in current Canadian Parliament (FIRSTPOST, 2017), Indian diaspora has an important contribution in several countries politics, economics and development.

Indian Foreign Policy towards South Asia: Implementation and Impact of Soft Power:

India implemented basically hard power in South Asian foreign policy in most of the time before 1990s. In the three phase of Indian Foreign policy like The Nehru period⁴, the Indira-doctrine⁵ and the Gujral-doctrine⁶ describes different type of foreign policy in South Asia. Nehru formulated the concept of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. It was not automatically used in the relations with the neighbors (Maxwell, 1970). Nehru's South Asia policy was characterized by a differentiated approach that was shaped by India's bilateral interests and conflicts and not necessarily by a regional perspective. Relations with Pakistan were dominated by the Kashmir issue, relations with the Himalayan kingdoms were overshadowed by India's China policy, and Indo-Sri Lanka relations were shaped by the problems of the Tamil community on the island (Wagner, 2005). The different interests resulted in a South Asia policy that was a mix of hard and soft power strategies in Nehru Period. Indira Gandhi applied more coherent concept of regional policy. The main topic was that the neighboring countries were regarded as part of India's national security. Domestic conflicts should only be solved with the help of India and not by interference of outside powers or international organizations (Hagerty, 1991). These ideas laid the foundations for India's military interventions for instance in Sri Lanka in 1971 and 1987 to 1990 and in the Maldives 1988 (Wagner, 2005). In contrast to Nehru Indira's regional policy was implemented much

4. Indian Foreign Policy in the time of Jawaharlal Nehru (first Prime Minister of India, He served about 17 years as Prime Minister from 15th August 1947 to 27th May 1964).

5. Or South Asia Doctrine Refereed to the Foreign Policy of Indira Ghandi (Ex-Prime Minister of India, She served about 15 years as Prime Minister from 24 January 1966 to 24 March 1977 and 14 January 1980 to 31 October 1984).

6. Refereed to the Foreign Policy in the time of Inder Kumar Gujral (Ex-Prime Minster of India, He also served as a Foreign Minister from 5 December 1989 – 10 November 1990 under Prime Ministry of V.P. Singh)

more by hard power strategies than by soft power approaches.

The doctrine of Gujral reflected the domestic changes especially the economic liberalization after 1991. He implemented the principle of no reciprocity, emphasizing that India not only had a bigger responsibility but also should give more to the smaller neighbors than she would receive (Gujral, 1998). South Asia did not figure very prominently in the BJP's concept of extended neighbourhood after 1998 (Sing, 2001). According to Christian Wagner, "The Southern Asia doctrine broadened India's regional ambitions to West-, Central- and Southeast Asia and underlined the BJP's aspirations for India's future global role. Within the South Asian region the BJP followed mainly the policies of its predecessors. Despite her Hindu-nationalist ideology and the emphasis on national security the BJP did not interfere directly in conflicts like in Nepal despite their repercussions on India's domestic security. Even more astonishing was that the BJP accepted an interference of outside powers especially the United States in the region that was unprecedented before" (Wagner, 2005).

So, Implementation of Soft Power in Indian Foreign Policy basically started from Gujral Doctrine. The electoral victory of the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) under the leadership of the Congress Party in 2004 gave the regional dimension again a greater importance (Wagner, 2005). In February 2005 foreign secretary Shyam Saran and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh tied up more explicitly to the Gujral doctrine and stressed the need for increased economic relations and promoted the idea of partnership with the neighbours. They also underlined that the promotion of democracy will not be a tool in India's relations with her neighbours (Mohan, 2005). Indian Current Prime Minister also Priorities to improve the relations with immediate neighbors as peace and tranquility in South Asia. Modi Said, "India's foreign policy has many facets, But I want to focus on our relations with our neighbours" (Gateway House , 2014). Modi is using Soft Power with his charismatic leadership. In 13th January, 2016, Modi made a surprised visit to Pakistan to wish Nawaz Sharif's birthday that a historical visit as an Indian Prime Minister to Pakistan (Dunya-news, 2016).

More ever, India using its soft power tools in South Asia. Especially Bolly-

wood movies have been regionalized in the modern century. Not only movies but also Indian music has become more modernized. Bollywood music currently contains more modern themes and also uses the English and Tamil. Box office hits such as PK, Three Idiots and Devdas draw lasting attraction in regional countries as well as from western audiences. India never had it so good. These movies and soap operas promote Indian popular culture and potentially play a role in enhancing the attractiveness of India. These sights and sounds reflect regional cultural patterns and hold people's interest. Therefore these Bollywood themes are very much popular in the south Asian region - Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal. Hence we can clearly assess, to what extent India's soft power skills are winning the hearts & minds of masses around the region. In addition to this, Indian dishes & spices also took a firm hold throughout the region. Especially Indian Masala shops and traditional cuisine -some of them vegetarian- are widely spread through the region and therefore Indian influence has informally caught-up with the regional populace. Today more students from South Asian countries come to India for their higher study than before. The number of South Asian tourist is increasing rapidly.

Conclusion:

Soft Power is all about attracting power. India is using its soft power in foreign policy boldly with its culture, diaspora, media, yoga, education, touristic place and others capabilities. In addition to this Indian current government and previous governments have taken many policies and project to extend utilize of soft power tools. As an example of current government's project, "Make in India". "Make in India" is a project of many facilities and programs to attract foreign investor with this slogan, "come, make in India". Prime Minister Narendra Modi in his first Independence Day speech told the world, "Come, make in India. Sell anywhere, but manufacture here. We have the skill and the talent." (NDTV, 2014). On the other side, India has a lot of challenges to extend its soft power. For example, India currently has the largest population of illiterate adults in the World with 287 million (The Hindu, 2016) and it has also the largest number of poor population in the World. Reduction unemployment is also a great challenge for India. Keeping unity among several cast, religion and culture is a big challenge for India in this modern period. If India can manage effectively its huge population, vast territory, effective manpower

as well as its diaspora and overcome the challenges, it can make a significant image in World politics.

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THE ROLE AND EFFECTIVENESS OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL (UNSC) TODAY: A CASE STUDY ON SYRIA.

Ehteshamul HAQUE

Introduction:

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations which was established on 24th October, 1945. United Nations Headquarters in New York City is being used as the head quarter of the UNSC consisting of five permanent and ten non-permanent members. According to the UN Charter, the United Nations has four purposes: to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect for human rights; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations (Charter of the United Nations Article-1). The UN charter also defines that principles of the UNSC are to recognition of the sovereign equality of all Member States; settlement of disputes through peaceful means; non-use or threat of use of force; respect for territorial integrity and political independence of states (Charter of the United Nations, Article-2). In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, members of the United Nations confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf (Charter of the United Nation Article 24:1) In its pathway, UNSC has gained sometimes reliability in the world to maintain peace and order but in most cases it could not see the light of success which has been massively clear after beginning the Syrian conflict in 2011.

Theoretical Background of UNSC:

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations which established on October 24, 1945 consisting of five permanent and ten elected members. United Nations Headquarters in New York City is used as the headquarter of the UNSC. Its first session was held on 17th January 1946 at Church House, Westminster London. The power and responsibility of UNSC to maintain peace and security in the world deserves the brief discussion of some important articles of UN Charter. Such as....

- Article 1... ‘The United Nations has four purposes: to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect for human rights; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations.’
- Article-2 ‘The principles of the UNSC: recognition of the sovereign equality of all Member States; settlement of disputes through peaceful means; non-use or threat of use of force; respect for territorial integrity and political independence of states.’
- Article-24(1) ... ‘In order to ensure prompt and effective action [emphasis added] by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.’
- Article-33 (1)... ‘The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.’ (2). ‘The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.’
- **Article-34** ‘The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or

any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.’

- **Article 35 (1)**..... ‘Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.’ **(2)**. ‘A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.’
- **Article 42 ...** ‘Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.’
- **Article 39**..... ‘The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.’
- **Article 41**..... ‘The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.’
- **Article 47(1)**..... ‘There shall be established a Military Staff Commit-

tee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament. (2) 'The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.' (3) The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional subcommittees.'

- **Article 48 (1)**..... 'The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.'

To What Extent the UNSC is Effective Today:

Some Unanimously Passed Resolutions Regarding Syrian Conflict Solution:

If we see the resolution adopted in UNSC regarding maintaining peace and security in Syria from the beginning of the conflict till April 2017, it is supposed to be a tangible effectiveness of UNSC but its immediate aftermath condition represents completely a different picture which is discussed below.....

- The UNSC **resolution S/2017/315** ,12th April,2017 and UNSC **resolution S/2017/172** on 28 February 2017 recalled the Protocol for the

Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, and the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on their Destruction (CWC) acceded to by the Syrian Arab Republic on 14 September 2013, and its resolutions 1540 (2004), 2118 (2013), 2209 (2015), 2235 (2015), 2314 (2016), and 2319 (2016)

- The unanimous adoption of UN Security Council **Resolution 2139** at the end of February 2014 brought with it much needed hope for people in Syria and across the Middle East. In the resolution, the UN Security Council (UNSC) – the body responsible for international peace and security – called for an urgent increase in access to humanitarian aid in Syria and demanded that all parties immediately cease attacks against civilians, end arbitrary detention, kidnapping and torture, and lift sieges of populated areas.
- In July and December 2014, the UNSC adopted two additional **resolutions – 2165 and 2191** – which, among other things, authorized UN aid operations into Syria from neighbouring countries without requiring the consent of the Syrian government
- **S/2011/612 4 October 2011** condemned use of force by Syria authorities; expressed intent to consider further options, including measures under article 41 of UN Charter after 3,000 people were killed.
- **S/2012/77 4 February 2012** Supported Arab League’s 22 January decision to facilitate Syrian-led political transition in the case of 7,500 people’s death.
- **S/2012/538 19 July 2012** Stipulated that Syrian authorities cease troop movements—and use of heavy weapons—in population centres; stipulated that article 41 measures would be imposed in case of non-compliance. This resolution was tabled after 13,000 people’s death in Syria.
- **S/2014/348 22 May 2014** referred Syria to the ICC where death toll

was 150,000.

Adoption of UNSC Resolution but Irony in its Reality:

After discussing the resolutions passed in UNSC regarding Syrian conflict, they can be supposed as effectiveness of UNSC but aftermath situation make someone compelled to say it ironical or a myth. In the bellow, we can consider some specific cases which will prove those ironies.....

Protection of Civilians:

The UNSC resolution 2139 in February 2014 “Demands that all parties immediately cease all attacks against civilians, as well as the indiscriminate employment of weapons in populated areas,” (Operational Paragraph (OP 3) ; “[D] emands that all parties take all appropriate steps to protect civilians,” (OP 9); “...demands that all parties demilitarize medical facilities, schools and other civilian facilities and desist from attacks directed against civilian objects;” (OP 10); “Strongly condemns the arbitrary detention and torture of civilians,” (OP 11) (UNSC resolution 2139 ,February 2014).

But after the enactment of this resolution reports says that at least 76,000 people were killed in 2014, including thousands of children, out of total of 220,000 (Syrian Observatory for Human Rights,2014). At least 160 children were killed in attacks on school s in 2014 (Human Rights Council 2015). A 26% increase in the number of people forced to flee their homes inside Syria and across international borders in 2014(UN, SHARP,15 December 2013). Huge increases in the number of people in need of humanitarian aid inside Syria; 1.33 million more children (OCHA, 2015 Syria Response Plan) are in need and there has been a 31% increase among the population as a whole (OCHA (2015). The use of explosive weapons was responsible for 53% of civilian deaths since 2011, has worsened in 2014. (HRW, December 2014). Moreover, deliberate attacks, including the organized murder, rape, and torture of men, women and children continue to be committed by different sides in the conflict throughout Syria every day (Human Rights Council 2014).

According to the UN Secretary-General: Despite the adoption of Presidential Statement 2013/15, Resolutions 2139 (2014) and 2165 (2014), the protection

situation has worsened. Reportedly, over 1,000 civilian deaths have occurred in August (2014), the deadliest [month] since the start of the war. Civilians live in appalling conditions (Secretary-General, Report to UN Security Council, 21 August 2014). In the past year an additional 2.5 million people, including more than a million children, were forced to leave their homes and are now displaced inside Syria or have fled across international borders. This represents a 26 % increase compared with 2013 (UN, SHARP, 15 December 2013). 12.2 million People or two thirds of the population within Syria were in need of emergency assistance. This represents a 31 % increase over 2013 and an 80 % increase compared with two years ago (OCHA (2015)).

At the same time, countries neighbouring Syria are making it increasingly difficult for people fleeing the conflict to seek asylum. It is estimated that hundreds of thousands of people are living in camps or with host families near or even on the borders of neighbouring countries, many unable to leave Syria (Syria Needs Analysis Project SNAP, 13 October 2014).

Besieged Communities and Humanitarian Access:

According to UNSCR 2139 in Feb.2014, “Parties to the conflict should: facilitate humanitarian access to all parts of Syria; end attacks on humanitarian workers; and remove administrative barriers to aid, including Syrian government restrictions on travel and working with Syrian organizations. Influential governments should press countries bordering Syria to facilitate cross-border aid delivery, including by streamlining administrative processes for aid agencies and maintaining timely access through border crossings” (UNSC Report, February 2017). While the Old City of Homs and Madimayet El Sham were no longer besieged, at least 212,000 people remained trapped in other locations (and the number is likely significantly higher (OCHA, 2014)). Since June 2014 UN agencies have delivered 1,130 aid convoys through NGO partners, using cross-border routes from Turkey into Syria. Humanitarian goods, but almost no services were being delivered and NGOs continued to face restrictions at border crossings. There were 2.3 million more people living in “hard to reach areas” compared with 2013 (OCHA 2015). Food aid received by people in these areas fell by 97% in the four months following UNSCR 2139 (OCHA, 2014). A 63% reduction in the number of people reached by inter-agency con-

voys from within Syria during 2014 compared to 2013 (OCHA, 2015).

From July 2016, Syrian government forces trapped some 275,000 people in eastern Aleppo, subjecting them to intensified air strikes, including bombing by Russian forces. A suspected Syrian government as well as Russian aircraft bombed a UN/Syrian Arab Red Crescent aid convoy destined for eastern Aleppo on 19 September at Urum al-Kubra, killing at least 18 civilians including aid workers, and destroying aid lorries (Amnesty International Report on Syria, 2016/2017). On 19th September 2016, an airplane attack on a humanitarian aid convoy and a Syrian Red Crescent warehouse in Urum al-Kubra in Aleppo killed 20 civilians and one staff member as they unloaded trucks. According to Syrian Red Crescent, this aids included food and medical supplies was aiming to be distributed to at least 78000 people (Reports of Human Rights Watch on Syria Events 2016)

International Contributions to the Humanitarian Response:

UNSCR 2139 and 2191 in Feb 2014 “Urges all Member States to contribute or increase their support to the United Nations humanitarian appeals.” (OP 16). UNSCR 2191); “urged once again all Member States [to provide] increased, flexible and predictable funding as well as increasing resettlement efforts,” (PP 16)

But combined Syria crisis appeals were only 57% funded in 2014, compared with 71% in 2013 (OCHA, 2013). A twelve-fold increase in humanitarian needs over the last three years (2012-2015) (from 1 to 12 million), with funding only increasing threefold (OCHA (2015)).The number of refugees entering neighbouring countries rose to 3.7 million by the end of 2014 (Ibid).

Attacks Against Children and Schools:

The UNSC, in February 2014, strongly condemned violations of international humanitarian and human rights law committed against children, including attacks on schools (Report to UN Security Council, United Nations’, 22 May 2014). However, since then the situation for children in Syria has continued to deteriorate. The first six months of 2014 alone witnessed at least 1,200 grave violations committed against children including recruitment of children by

armed actors, abduction of children, as well as their unlawful detention.

Children's education is also suffering, with millions unable to attend school due to the on-going fighting, including the deliberate targeting of school buildings and their use by armed groups. Roughly a quarter of Syria's schools (over 4,000) have been damaged, destroyed or used for other purposes (UNICEF,2014). According to the United Nations Children's Fund, 160 children were killed in attacks on schools in 2014(Human Rights Council 2015). In January 2015, NGOs reported attacks on schools that resulted in at least 37 deaths, including nine children (NGO Access Report', 14 January 2015).Since UNSCR 2139 was passed, an additional 500,000 children are estimated to be out of school compared with 2013, 38 bringing the total to 1.6 million. On 26 October 2016, suspected government or Russian aircraft bombed a school compound in Haas, Idleb governorate, killing at least 35 civilians including 22 children and six teachers (Amnesty International Report on Syria 2016/2017).

Indiscriminate Attacks on Civilian Infrastructure:

In February 2014, the UNSC demanded that all parties to the conflict respect international law and desist from attacks directed against civilians or 'civilian objects'. Yet in his reports to the UNSC throughout 2014, the UN Secretary General noted the increased use of barrel bombs by the Government of Syria in densely populated civilian areas. For example, since the start of international military actions in Iraq and Syria in the autumn of 2014, the Government of Syria reportedly doubled its use of barrel bombs in civilian areas including attacks on medical facilities, schools, markets and displaced-persons' camps. Armed opposition groups have also been responsible for indiscriminate attacks, subjecting some government-held areas to indiscriminate shelling. Furthermore, according to the February 2015 report by the Commission of Inquiry on Syria, "terrorist groups have used suicide and car bombs" which "mostly target civilians" (UNSC Secretary General Report to UN Security Council'24 September 2014). Between February 2014 and February 2015, at least 83 separate attacks by different parties to the conflict on health facilities were reported (a 20% increase on 2013) and more than 172 medical personnel were killed (Human Rights Council, 2015).

Over a million homes have been partially or totally destroyed in 2014 and more than one-third of all water-infrastructure has been damaged. Water supplies have been reduced by at least 50 per cent, compared with pre-war levels whose impact has been devastating, resulting in massive population displacement, destruction of livelihoods, hunger, disease and death (Ibid). Though the number of civilian deaths from airstrikes and artillery decreased slightly following internationally brokered ceasefires in February and September 2016 but only briefly, and unlawful attacks on civilians by all parties to the conflict persisted throughout the year (Human Rights Watch Report 2016 on Syria). Syrian and Russian indiscriminate airstrikes continued on civilian areas, including homes, markets, schools, and hospitals, using wide-area explosives, barrel bombs, cluster munitions, and flammable incendiary weapons (Ibid). In 2016, Human Rights Watch documented several attacks on homes, medical facilities, markets, and schools that appeared to be targeted, including a major airstrike by the Syrian-Russian coalition that hit al-Quds Hospital and surrounding areas on April 27, 2016, killing 58 civilians and patients (Ibid). The UN reported that 44 health facilities were attacked in July 2016 alone. Four hospitals and a blood bank in eastern Aleppo city were struck in aerial attacks on 23 and 24 July. One, a children's hospital, was hit twice in less than 12 hours.

Sexual Violence:

In the history of wars in the world, women and children have been particularly affected by the violence and Syria is not exceptional in this case. After declaring a "caliphate" across Iraq and Syria in 2014, IS committed mass rape and sexual enslavement against the Yazidi minority, with Sunni women under IS-rule claiming arbitrary detention, beatings, forced marriage, and rape were commonplace (The New Arab, 4th May 2017). The UN Commission of Inquiry and other bodies have documented the use of rape as a systematic and widespread method of war in Syria. 'Sexual violence' refers to sexual slavery, rape, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, enforced sterilisation, forced marriage, and other forms of sexual violence committed against women, men, girls, and boys (UNSC Report, 20th April, 2017). Sexual violence against men, women, and even children has reportedly been perpetrated on a large scale in government detention facilities, alongside ever-increasing incidents of sexual harassment, intimidation and rape of women at checkpoints.

There are also documented cases of opposition groups specifically targeting women and children for kidnapping, for use in prisoner exchanges. Under-reporting and delayed reporting of sexual violence continues to be endemic, often because medical documentation does not exist or because assistance is denied to women held in detention facilities (Human Rights Council, 2015). According to UN Report on 17th April 2017, at least 1,882 remain enslaved in 2016 (UN Report 17th April, 2017).

UNSC and Contradictory Character of Veto Power:

From the beginning to till today in Syrian conflict, the peace and security issue was raised in the UNSC but in most times due to application of the ‘Veto’ power, most of the resolutions were not passed in the UNSC. Actually UNSC is the organization whose duty is to ensure peace and security to all member countries of United Nations where as only five permanent members enjoy the veto power which in most cases satisfies their own interest which can be clearly understood by the Syrian conflict and the role of UNSC there. How did Veto power restrict the implementation of adopted resolution regarding Syria is sketched out briefly in the below:

Table 1: UNSC and Contradictory Character of Veto Power:

Date	Draft	Meeting Record	Agenda Item	Permanent Member Casting Negative Vote
12 April 2017	S/2017/315	S/PV.7922	Middle East	Russian Federation
28 February 2017	S/2017/172	S/PV.7893	Middle East	China Russian Federation
5 December 2016	S/2016/1026	S/PV.7825	Middle East	China Russian Federation

8 October 2016	S/2016/846	S/PV.7785	Middle East	Russian Federation
22 May 2014	S/2014/348	S/PV.7180	Middle East - Syria	China Russian Federation
19 July 2012	S/2012/538	S/PV.6810	Middle East - Syria	China Russian Federation
4 February 2012	S/2012/77	S/PV.6711	Middle East - Syria	China Russian Federation
4 October 2011	S/2011/612	S/PV.6627	Middle East - Syria	China Russian Federation

(Source: Security Council - Quick Links <http://research.un.org/en/docs/sc/quick>)

‘Veto’ Satisfying P-5 countries’ Interest:

In the case of the Resolutions (S/2017/315, S/2017/172, S/2011/612, S/2012/77, S/2012/538, S/2014/348 and others) tabled in UNSC after beginning the Syrian crisis till today, China and Russia jointly have cast six vetoes between October, 2011 and April, 2017 preventing action on the Syrian conflict, which has now claimed over 320,000 lives, (The New Arab, 4th May 2017) displaced 11.7 million people, and shown no signs of abating. Not only in the case of Syria but in most cases where permanent countries suppose any issue going against their own interest, they cast veto. It has been also clear for some years, perhaps mostly strikingly so since the Dayton Accords of late 1995 that the United States has emerged not only as the sole remaining super-power but also as the principal driver of the Council’s agenda and decisions. Many cases were seen where all permanent countries except USA cast positive vote for resolution adoption. So it is not wrong to say that in many cases P1 (USA) is working in disguise of P5.

Policy Recommendations

- There must be veto restraint initiatives in some cases like war crimes, genocide or crime against humanity.
- UNSC agenda should be restructured in accordance with non-traditional or human security approach approved by maximum UN member states.
- In the case of war crimes or crimes against humanity, aggressor must be punished on the agreement of all UN member states not only by P-5 states.
- UNSC is responsible to maintain global peace and security on behalf of the United Nations but only five UN member state have the veto power which simply raises question about their appropriateness of preserving the interest of all or majority UN member states. That's why veto power also can be allowed to all UN members.

Conclusion:

In concluding remarks, this paper argues that today's Syria is under both traditional and non-traditional threat. According to the nature of UNSC, it can be said that mainly UNSC tries to reorder peace and security where a conflict or war has already begun. In this regard UNSC certainly traditional security oriented. But most importantly, when a war begins in a country, many non-traditional security threats create automatically including food, health. Shelter, cloths, environment etc. Today's Syria is certainly affected by both of these. Though some resolutions were passed in UNSC to reorder peace and security in Syria but its aftermath reality represents a complete distinct feature. As in most cases, no effective resolution was passed to halt the conflict or war in Syria either due to application of veto power or the issue was not raised at all feared for not to pass it.

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A barrel bomb is an improvised explosive device that is typically made from a barrel that has been filled with high explosives and then dropped from a helicopter or airplanes. The large quantity of explosives and their poor accuracy mean the use of these weapons is essentially indiscriminate in nature. See for example, Secretary General (2014), 'Report to UN Security Council', UN, 24 September 2014, p.2, noted 55 civilian deaths caused by barrel bombs including seven women, and nearly 20 children. Secretary-General, 'Report to UN Security Council', UN, 21 November 2014, pp.1–2, "Since 20 October, at least 239 civilians have reportedly been killed by government airstrikes, including barrel bomb attacks".

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HOW THE RELATIONS BETWEEN NATO-RUSSIA CARRIES ON AFTER UKRAINE CRISIS

Mamun BILLAH

Introduction:

The relations of NATO with Russia seem like to grow in ups and downs during their entire history. But at the periods of collaboration they have followed the ‘one step forward, two steps back’ formula. In this article I will try to show the current status of relations and the impediments to deeper cooperation, including lack of trust and interoperability. The Ukrainian crisis and Russia’s annexation of Crimea marks a new low in Russia–NATO relations. The Ukraine crisis sparked when the Ukraine government ceased political and economic association agreement with the European Union. This caused a crash between Russian and Western powers interests. As a result, the nervous situation between Ukraine and Russia represents one of the most important and actual politic affair in international relations. This dissertation offers a brief summary of the Russian and the NATO’s strategies and foreign policy evolution from 1991 to 2010 and new strategy after 2010. I would like to highlight the concepts and the factors that underlie the Russian and NATO’s strategy mainly.

Historical Background:

Historical strategies and Relations between NATO and its former cold war opponent Russia have been difficult and often strained since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the ending of its equivalent Warsaw Pact military alliance in 1991. NATO -Russia Council created in 2002. Moscow then suspended its military cooperation with NATO. In late April, 2009, NATO expelled two Russian diplomats in retaliation for a spy scandal in which a former Estonian official. Moscow responded by expelling two Canadian diplomats from NATO’s

information office in Moscow. On August 2008 Georgia-Russia conflict was a cause of breaking relation between NATO and Russia. Then from 2008-2012 they are containing good relation and after 2012 they have taken new strategic plan to maintain international relation.¹

Strategical Relation between NATO and Russia:

After end of the cold wars, NATO has tried to build a partnership with Russia, developing dialogue and useful cooperation in regions of mutual interest. The response to Russia's military intervention in Ukraine, Cooperation has been suspended, which the Allies condemn in the strongest terms. Political and military connection remain open. NATO remains worried by Russia's continual destabilising arrangement of military activities and aggressive rhetoric, which goes well beyond Ukraine.² Relations between two powers started after the end of the Cold War through the joining of Russia with the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (1991) and the Partnership for Peace programme (1994). In 1997, NATO-Russia Founding Act provided the official basis for relations. From that time gradually Negotiation and cooperation were supported in 2002 with the establishment of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) to assist as a forum for discussion on current security issues and to direct practical cooperation in a wide range of areas. Russia's unequal military action in Georgia in August 2008 led to the suspension of official meetings of the NRC and assistance in some fields, until spring 2009. NATO remain to call on Russia to reverse its recognition of the Georgian regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia as independent states.³ Civilians and military cooperation under the NATO-Russia Council with Russia was suspended in April 2014 in response to the Russia-Ukraine conflict. But connection of military and political communication were kept open. The NRC is an essential forum for dialogue and information exchange, to decrease misunderstandings and increase predictableness; meetings are being held pe-

1. Gardner, H. (2013), "NATO Expansion and US Strategy in Asia: Surmounting the Global Crisis", Macmillan: Palgrave, P. 92.

2. Pouliot, V. (2010), "International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy", P. 95.

3. Smith, J. (2008), "The NATO- Russia Relationship", Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), P. 6.

riodically on the basis of reciprocity. NATO and Russia have profound and persistent disagreements; however, the Alliance does not seek confrontation and poses no threat to Russia.

Strategical Co-operations between NATO and Russia:

In 1991 Russia joined with the North Atlantic Cooperation Council but later name of the forum was change as the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, this forum was created for discussion with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe following the end of the Cold War. The Soviet Union actually dissolves at the same time as the inaugural meeting of this body takes place. Russian militaries deploy as part of the NATO-led peacekeeping force in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1996. At the summit in Paris On 27 may 1997, Russian and Allied leaders sign the NATO-Russia Founding Act on Mutual Cooperation, Relations and Security and establish the Permanent Joint Council (PJC). In 1999, Russia suspends participation in the PJC for a few months because of NATO's Kosovo air campaign, at that time Russian peacekeepers deploy as part of the NATO-led peacekeeping force in Kosovo. In Florence, a meeting was held between NATO and Russia for broader cooperation in the PJC resumes in May 2000. In 2001, A jointly NATO-Russia Resettlement Centre was formally opened to help discharged Russian military personnel return to civilian life. NATO and Russian leaders signed an announcement on "NATO-Russia Relations: A New Superiority" and establish the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) to replace the PJC, at a summit in Rome, on 28 May 2002. In 2003, Russia declares that it will withdraw its troops from the NATO-led peacekeeping forces in the Balkans and the next year as first time NRC theatre missile defence command post exercise takes place in Colorado Springs, United States. In the same year, a meeting had held by NRC foreign ministers in Istanbul, Russia offers to contribute a ship to NATO's maritime counter-terrorist operation in the Mediterranean, Operation Active Endeavour. In the wake of several terrorist attacks in Russia, NRC foreign ministers approve a comprehensive NRC Action Plan on Terrorism. These are the Strategical co-operations between NATO and Russia. At the Lisbon Summit on 20 November 2010, NATO Russia Council leaders pledge to "work towards achieving a true strategic and modernised partner-

ship". They authorize a Joint Assessment of Common Security Challenges and agree to continue collaboration in the field of theatre missile defence as well as to improve a complete joint analysis of the future framework for broader missile defence cooperation. NRC also agree on a number of initiatives to help in the stabilisation of Afghanistan and the wider region. Thus many Strategical co-operations have between two parties such as, June 2011, A Russian submarine takes active part in NATO exercise "Bold Monarch 2011". On the other hand for joint exercise NATO provided operational fighting aircraft "Vigilant Skies 2011". For useful cooperation NRC foreign ministers met in Brussels to discuss practical cooperation and they agree to increase cooperation in key areas under the NRC Work Programme for 2013. On the other hand most of the time there relation was contained unfriendliness.

Response to the Russia-Ukraine conflict:

In November 2013, the Ukrainian crisis started, we have to consider the Ukraine crisis as one of the key topics on the arena of international relations and on the bilateral relations nowadays. With the Ukrainian crisis we have realized a thoughtful argument on international relations system. It has caused a shake in the Russian relations with the outside world. NATO followed enlargements in Ukraine closely from the beginning of the crisis, which has had serious implications for NATO-Russia relations.⁴ After Russia's illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea in March 2014, the NATO took instant steps in terms of its relations with Russia. It suspended the planning for its first NATO-Russia joint mission and put the entire range of NATO-Russia cooperation under review.⁵

NATO strongly support the settlement of the conflict in eastern Ukraine by diplomatic and peaceful means and welcome the ongoing diplomatic efforts in this regard.

4. Wilson, A. "Protecting the European Choice: Ukraine under Poroshenko", *Journal of the European Council on Foreign Relations*, London: 35 Old Queen Street, July 2014, P.10-21.

5. Özdal, H. "Ukraine Crisis within the Context Of Domestic-Regional-Global Dynamics", 2015.

Changing and New Strategy between NATO-Russia after Ukraine Crisis:

NATO's Strategies

After Ukraine Crisis NATO's new Dynamics Enlargement Policy:

The enlargement of NATO has contributed significantly to the security of NATO member countries; the outlook of more enlargement and the spirit of cooperative security have advanced stability in Europe more broadly. NATO's aim of a Europe whole and free, and sharing common values, would be best assisted by the ultimate integration of all European countries that so desire into Euro-Atlantic configurations.⁶ The door to NATO membership remains completely open to all European democracies which share the values of the Alliance, which are willing and able to assume the responsibilities and obligations of membership, and whose inclusion can contribute to common security and stability.

NATO after Wales: Dealing with Russia:

At the NATO Summit in Wales in September 2014, NATO leaders condemned Russia's military intervention in Ukraine and demanded that Russia comply with international law and its international obligations and responsibilities; end its illegal and illegitimate occupation and 'annexation' of Crimea; refrain from aggressive actions against Ukraine; withdraw its troops; stop the movement of weapons, equipment, people and money across the border to the protestors; and stop fomenting tension along and across the Ukrainian border.⁷

NATO Summit in Warsaw in July 2016:

At the NATO Summit in Warsaw in July 2016, NATO leaders repeated their anxieties about threatening actions and policies of Russia, which go beyond Ukraine and include offensive military activities near NATO's borders extend-

6. Bilinsky, Y. (1999), "Endgame in NATO's Enlargement: The Baltic States and Ukraine", Westport, Connecticut London: Westport, ss. 19-35.

7. Bieri, M. (2014), "NATO after Wales: Dealing with Russia", *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, N0. 161, October 2014.

ing from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea; irresponsible and aggressive nuclear-powered, military position and underlying attitude; as well as the dangers posed by its military intervention and support for the regime in Syria. NATO has replied to this reformed security environment by enhancing its deterrence and defence posture.⁸

Defence and Deterrence:

The highest duty of the NATO is to shelter and protect their territory and their inhabitants against attack, The Alliance does not consider any country to be its enemy who will stand against the alliance. Deterrence, based on an applicable mix of nuclear and conventional abilities, remains a core component of NATO's overall strategy. As long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance.

Finally, The Alliance will confirm that NATO has the full range of capabilities required to deter and defend against any threat to the safety and safety of their residents.

Security through Crisis Management:

All the time Alliance wants to provide security for member countries. Crises and conflicts beyond NATO's borders can pose a direct threat to the security of Alliance territory and populations. NATO will therefore engage, where possible and when necessary, to prevent crises, manage crises, stabilize post-conflict situations and maintenance reconstruction.

Arms Control, Disarmament, and Non-Proliferation:

NATO try to find its safekeeping at the lowest potential level of forces. Arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation contribute to peace, security and stability, and should ensure sufficient security for all NATO members. In the field of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), NATO cooperates with the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), other regional organizations and multilateral initiatives to address proliferation issues. The aim of NATO should

8. Yalinkiliçli, E. (2016), "NATO's strategic vision between old and new: The Warsaw Summit and its aftermath", Dayly Sabah, Journal of the Global Vision.

be to seek out Russian agreement to escalation transparency on its nuclear armaments in Europe and relocate these weapons away from the region of NATO members.

Strategic Nuclear arms Negotiation:

After the new “START” treaty between US-Russia, NATO had also a plan like “START” because of that On 9 July 2016 the NATO Summit in Warsaw, NATO wanted to negotiate with Russia about nuclear arms. NATO argued that these negotiation would contribute to NATO security even in the absence of strategic defenses and could usefully be merged with defenses to provide the transition to a new national strategy that would provide a more secure and stable form of deterrence in the future.⁹

Finally, the NATO continues to seek to integrate its strategic offense, strategic defense, and space arms-control policies.

Russia’s Strategies:

Russia’s attitude towards NATO expansion:

Russia defined as ‘an historic error’ NATO’s eastern enlargement, but effectually gave an unwilling green light when on May 27, 1997, it signed the Founding Act, a treaty with NATO countries recognizing post-cold war borders. In 1999 on 12 March NATO admitted three former Warsaw Pact countries they are the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. Then Russia expressed NATO against admitting a former Soviet republic. However, on March 29, 2004, NATO opened its doors to the three Baltic former Soviet states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.¹⁰

Russia has designated Nato’s activities:

A threat to its state security and suspect the US of pursuing a policy of containment towards it, in the latest sign of failing relations between Moscow

9. Weltman, j. j. (1995), “Challenges to American National Security in the 1990s”.

10. Hellie, R. (1977), “The Structure of Modern Russian History”, no. 1, p. 11.

and the west. The declarations are contained in a paper on Russia's national safety strategy, at this point Russia has criticized against NATO, including "the proliferation of military activities of member countries", 'Further extension of the NATO, and 'moving military organization closer to Russia's borders', which it defines as a threat to national security. Against these, Russia has taken plan to secure the border by adequate arms and military forces. The strategy paper accuses the US and its allies of 'trying to maintain their dominance in international affairs' by carrying out a 'policy of containment of Russia'. It states, leads to "political, economic, military and informational pressure" on Russia. Because of these Russia has been instrumental in supporting rebels in east Ukraine and Russian Special Forces had been involved in the conflict.¹¹

The Russia has sharply criticized the west's position on Ukraine and also criticised NATO extension and the US move to build a missile defence system in Europe. Answer of these, Russia all time prepared to self-defense and ready to increase nuclear power. Finally, Russia knows NATO's Master Plan to Crush the Soviet Union in Battle because of it Russia's fighting aircraft T-35 ready to attract against NATO's F-35 fighting aircraft or protect anytime that could dominate the skies and also prepared the most destructive nuclear weapons for Russia's national security.

Conclusion:

NATO is the only successful party to maintain order and peace in the world. At present, a new political-military atmosphere is threatened by Russia's actions, but it is clear that this new climate has not been to the benefit of all parties as a number of security threats have been seriously challenging to both the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasia.

On the other hand, Russia so aggressive against the enemy for self-defense and Russia's national interest. Russia could take any step for security. For this, Russia has prepared from all side to attack any bad situation. After end of

11. Umland, A. (2016), "Russia's Strategy: Look Scariest Than You Are", *The National Interest*. URL: <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/russias-strategy-look-scarieryou-are-16517?page=show>

the Cold War, the military balance between NATO and Russia, From NATO's vantage point, Russia poses a serious military threat to its eastern side and to Euro-Atlantic security more broadly.

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