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Kalyoncu Middle East Research Center

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
ACTORS, PROBLEMS AND QUEST FOR PEACE
SYMPOSIUM

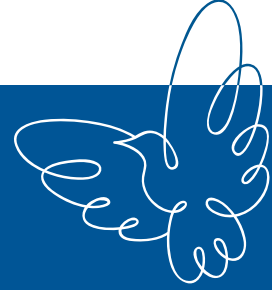


2014 December, 19th - 20th
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GAZIANTEP



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Publications of Hasan Kalyoncu University; 4
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2014 December, 19th - 20th, Hasan Kalyoncu University,
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HASAN KALYONCU ÜNİVERSİTESİ

The stage backdrop features a large white screen with a blue border. On the left side of the screen is the university's logo, a stylized diamond shape with red, white, and blue geometric patterns. In the center, there is a map of Turkey. Below the map, the text reads "HAYATINDA SAĞLIKLI YAŞAMAK İÇİN" and "SAĞLIKLI YAŞAMAK İÇİN SAĞLIKLI YAŞAMAK İÇİN". On the right side of the screen is another instance of the university's logo. To the right of the main screen, a smaller screen displays a close-up of a person. On the stage, three men are seated in white armchairs, engaged in a panel discussion. A grand piano is positioned on the left side of the stage. A podium with a microphone is located on the right side of the stage. The stage is decorated with white flowers along the front edge.





Acknowledgement

Middle East Region, starting from The Atlantic Ocean and continuing until The Indian Ocean through The Mediterranean coast, has done the honours to many civilisations. It has become a centre of rich trade and culture with the benefits of being intersection, which connects Europe, Asia and Africa.

However, the denominational and ethnic conflicts at the present time have led the Middle East to war, poverty, starvation and misery from this richness that they have. It is obvious that The Middle East needs international collaborations with states, institutions, universities and non-governmental organisations to lessen conflicts and develop operative solutions.

On the other hand, either root causes of conflicts and their feeding of suspicions about international ecosystem or unsuccessful attempts to build peace of international organisations has obliged to answer some questions immediately. Which steps have to be taken for Syria, diffused in terms of both economic and sociologic, to be reorganised? What are the region countries doing for a permanent solution? How is route of NATO, an alliance that EU countries form, for permanent peace in the region?

We, Hasan Kalyoncu University Middle East Research Center, wish Peace in the Middle East: Actors, Problems and Quest for Peace Symposium to contribute to possible tranquility and peace in the region by answering these questions.

Prof. Dr. Tamer YILMAZ
Hasan Kalyoncu University Rector

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E-EAST LIVING REFUGEE
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PURPOSE OF THE SYMPOSIUM

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In the last ten years, we have witnessed a lot of incidents with regional and global results such as September 11 attacks, conflicts in the Middle East, the Syrian civil war that is still going on, and the fact that the religion-based terrorism has started again and religious and ethnical discrimination has flared. Among these incidents which continue to affect local, regional and global communities in very different levels and manner, the Syrian civil war that is still going on causes conflicts, one of which is the military coup in Egypt. As a result, problems such as deaths, mass migrations, devastation of historical cities, radicalization, terrorism, religious and ethnical discrimination have occurred. In this respect, the incidents in question cause serious political, economic and human crisis and, even worse, the problems mentioned above have not been limited to the countries they have occurred and have involved region's countries as well. This points out that the incidents in the Middle East have effects beyond the region. From this point of view, it is very clear that to decrease conflicts and to be able to develop effective solution proposals for the problems, international cooperation to generate a consensus point with governments, institutions, universities and non-governmental organization is needed.

Turkey, which is a country that shares the same region, culture, history and, most importantly, common dangers, has developed extremely valuable economic and political relations with the countries in the region before the conflicts occurred in the Middle East. Therefore, the wave of change and inner conflicts

which occur in the Middle East endanger Turkey's both safety and economic relations. As a result, Turkey had to mediate resolution process to protect its benefit in the Middle East. According to the data expressed by the United Nations (UN), the number of Syrian refugees entering Turkey has exceeded 1.6 million. If we think that Syrians who have entered Turkey by passing the border illegally are added to this number as well, it can be easily said that the number of refugees in Turkey has exceed 2 million. In this respect, Turkey face a lot of problems such as increasing crime rates and their costs, ethnical and religious tensions which occur because of the on-going conflicts in its south neighbors. Therefore, it is necessary to solve the present conflicts for both the communities in the aforesaid countries and Turkey's national safety and economic benefits.

The Symposium took place in Gaziantep, which is one of the important historical cities established on the Silk Road in the Southeast. The economic improvement and the strategic importance it has make Gaziantep the region's attraction center for the local and international players such as Iraq and Syria. Gaziantep has become a center for the operations of International institutions such as Mercy Corps and Norwegian People's Aid, which carry out operations for the crisis in Syria. UN has opened an office in Gaziantep to administer its operations in Syria. Gaziantep runs its course to be an important center for international academic symposiums, conferences and panels. Moreover, 400 thousand Syrian refugees in Gaziantep set an important example for both social analysis and humanitarian aid.



The summary of the world from the view of the artist



A depiction showing the objection of the world against self defence move of attacked Syria



Countries of world and Arab who watch the situation of Syria demanding freedom behind the wall



The answer of the Palestinian woman to the "When will the Arab countries help us?" question of young Syrian woman: "Come and sit here. I have been waiting for them for 64 years but they haven't come yet."

As Hasan Kalyoncu University Middle East Research Centre, our aim is to discuss the origins of the problems mentioned above, and to develop solutions for policy makers, civil society organizations and international organizations bringing a group of important people together including academics, politicians, activists and representatives of non-governmental organizations recognized at an international level. Although it is known that most of the political turmoil taking place here is affecting the people of this country, inevitably, it is a known fact that the developments have regional and global impact. Therefore, our common goal is to come together and develop solutions for such conflicts. We invite you, distinguished participants, to support "Peace in the Middle East: Actors, Problems, and Quest for Peace Symposium" by offering your valuable contribution.

The symposium has assumed to host the distinguished guests including the Middle East experts, civil society representatives, academics well-known at the international level.



We see a daisy, which shows up at the end of "Syria" in Arabic, can cause a war plane fall. This means that peace and love prevail war.

1st DAY - 19th December 2014

09:00 Welcome

The Turkish National Anthem
and "A Peace Message" Piano
Concert Tambi Asad Cimuk

09:30

09:50
Opening Speeches

Prof. Dr. Tamer YILMAZ
Rector, Hasan Kalyoncu University
Cemal KALYONCU
Hasan Kalyoncu University Chairman of the
Board of Trustees

Fatma ŞAHİN
Mayor of the Metropolitan Municipality of Gaziantep
Anders Fogh RASMUSSEN
Former Secretary General of NATO (2009-2014)
Prof. Dr. Numan KURTULMUŞ
Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey

10:30 - 12:15
1st Session

Question & Answer

Syria Camp Visit
Nizip / Gaziantep

13:30

15:30

16:00 - 17:30
2nd Session

Question & Answer

2nd DAY - 20th December 2014

09:30 - 11:00
3rd Session

Question & Answer

Coffee Break

11:00

11:15

11:15 - 13:15
4th Session

Question & Answer

Coffee Break

11:00

11:15

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SYMPOSIUM PROGRAM

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Welcome



The Turkish National Anthem and “A Peace Message” Piano Concert Tambi Asad Cimuk



Opening Speeches

The Middle East region, which reaches from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean, has hosted many civilizations for centuries. Situated at the crossing point between Europe, Asia, and Africa, it has been the cradle of cultures and businesses. Unfortunately, the Middle East has been regarded in current history as a region, where today there is no day without war, nor peace or welfare. In the last decade some inseparable issues and developments have seriously been threatening the regional and global peace and stability.

The September 11 attacks, the Arab Spring that commenced in 2010, and the ongoing Syrian Civil War make it necessary

to examine the political, social, and economic dynamics of the Middle East. Turkey, one of the most important actors of the region, has essential historical ties with the Middle East. Turkey is followed by all countries around the world because of its efforts to put an end to the crisis and instability, and the attempt to establish peace and brotherhood in the region. Our country did its best, if not more, for the conflicts in Syria to be resolved. All the Turkish authorities have been paying attention to the Syrian issue and drawing the attention of the international community to the serious crisis in Syria. Due to the current sectarian and ethnic conflicts, a rich region has been dragged into a war, poverty, famine, and misery. In order to ease the conflicts and to provide

Prof. Dr. Tamer YILMAZ

Rector, Hasan Kalyoncu Üniversitesi



effective solutions, there is an absolute need for an international co-operation supported by governments, institutions, and non-governmental organizations.

On the other hand, there is a need for an urgent answer to some important questions due to the skepticism about the conflicts and the international ecosystem in the Middle East and the failure of international organizations within the region to establish peace. What steps should be taken for the reconstruction of Syria that has fallen apart sociologically and economically? What should

the neighboring countries do to provide a permanent solution to all these issues? What road should be followed to establish permanent peace according to NATO?

We hope that the symposium titled “Peace in the Middle East: Actors, Problems, and a Quest for Peace” organized by the Middle East Research Center of Hasan Kalyoncu University will find answers to contribute to the establishment of peace within the region.



Anders Fogh RASMUSSEN

Former Secretary General of NATO (2009-2014)

Danish politician who was the 12th Secretary General of NATO from 2009 to 2014. Rasmussen served as Prime Minister of Denmark from November 27th, 2001 to April 5th, 2009. His term as Secretary General of NATO was to end in the summer of 2014. However, on December 11th, 2013 the North Atlantic Council extended his term until September 30th, 2014. He authored several books about taxation and government structure.

There is a human tragedy in Syria now. Today we are planning to go to Nizip to visit the refugees living in tents there. The citizens of Syria have two options: to live in a tent abroad or to try to survive in a war-torn land by staying in their country. For the ones who decided to flee, Turkey meant security. Furthermore, Turkey, which is fighting against constant uprisings, the civil war, and terrorism in the region, is a shining beacon of hope in terms of stability, progress, and relief.

The recent development of Turkey is truly remarkable. Turkey's economy has grown rapidly in the last decade and it has continued to increase by at least 4% ever since, thus the country has gained financial power and could maintain a balanced rate of inflation. Turkey also has an open market economy system. A globalized business model is applied in Turkey, therefore international investors and financing institutions are attracted to Turkey. The growing prosperity makes Turkish people happy.

Unfortunately, Turkey's success and stability are under threat at the moment. The chaos and the conflict in the region are threatening its development. Syria has been plunged into a civil war. Assad is trying to retain the power no matter what the cost is, Iraq continues to struggle with a weak government which has resulted in sectarian conflicts. In both of these countries a group that calls itself 'The Islamic State' has emerged under the name of ISIS. In reality, this group is neither Islamic nor a state at all. ISIS conducts only terrorism, torture, and murder. Hundreds of thousands

of Syrian people have fled from the conflicts. Today, Turkey is hosting more than 1.5 million refugees. A lot more Syrian people have sought refuge in the other neighboring countries. As a result, we are witnessing a rising wave of violence. This wave of violence goes beyond the borders so the whole international community has concentrated its efforts to try to reverse these occurrences.

Of course, we need to understand the subject better before being able to solve this problem. What we have to understand today is the reason why these conflicts began and what we need to do in order to be able to terminate them. We need to come up with the idea of how to rebuild the community and how to guarantee its prevention from another breakdown in the future? As a first step, obviously, we need to find the source of these conflicts. What is the origin? What is the source?

The Arab youth in the country could see that the living standards in free countries are better, and that is why they longed for a change for themselves, too. This was a legitimate demand. The demographic structure in these countries worked like a time bomb that eventually exploded in 2011. A Tunisian greengrocer set himself on fire after an official treated him disrespectfully. Following this, a great wave of protests flooded the Middle East. Initially, they screamed out that they want a government with better economic opportunities. Demonstrators in Syria also uttered their demands.

Against unemployment, corruption, oppression and dictatorship that lasted decades by the government in the Middle East, these mass movements brought together secularists, leftists, and Islamists. People from the liberal economy also joined this group. Surely, each group had a different vision for the future, but their initial objectives were the same. Their sole purpose was to overthrow this corrupt regime that was managing the country all this time.

However, the regime attacked them. Assad assaulted the civilians with his troops, tanks and missiles. The protests that started as a chance for freedom, turned into a struggle of survival. Of course, this created opportunities for people with extremist ideologies. Despite the fact that ISIS emerged from Iraq, it took advantage of the chaos in Syria and continued to grow. Today ISIS dominates a very large area in the Middle East. The financial sources of ISIS are oilfields which are under its control, individual contributions, and donations. ISIS aims to establish a barbaric dictatorship all over the Middle East. And this threatens every culture all over the world and all the people who want better management and lifestyle. These are the demands that created the Arab Spring. Now the situation seems to be different from an uprising.

The reality is the question how we will discuss all these challenges? How can we act? I believe, there are a number of steps which need to be taken immediately. First of all, ISIS must be stopped. ISIS is the biggest threat, and it needs to be focused on urgently. The air strikes to undermine the military capabilities of ISIS should continue. Under US leadership, with the help of NATO, and the contribution of other states, this struggle can be sustainable. What's more, we need to support people fighting against ISIS forces on the land. In fact, while they defend the places where they live courageously, they do defend us as well. Therefore, helping those people means that we help ourselves. Also, we need to block the supply transportation lines and the aid from our own countries to ISIS. Of course, if we keep in mind how ISIS operates, how it exports terror to other places, and how these people come to attack others, we come to the conclusion that there is an urgent need to slow them down and to stop them eventually.

The current situation in Syria must change and the conflicts must come to an end. I know that this is not an easy process because of how stubborn the regime is, and how worn out the opposition is. In addition, if the Assad Regime is terminated, the factions, which now form the Syrian opposition, are likely to fight each other. In the future, the 'Bosnia model' should be applied in Syria in order to avoid these conflicts. A soft division could share the ruling power with public within the legal framework. Obviously, this is not a perfect solution.

Bosnia shocked the international community since it lacked the power to bring about reforms. The ethnic, religious, and political

divisions in Syria are deeper than the ones in the Balkans. However, twenty years after the onset of the conflicts, the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims started fighting again in Bosnia. Despite time wasted on fighting in Bosnia, human lives were not taken at least. Now the international community has to find a solution in Syria, just like they did in Bosnia. By convincing the government to renounce its claim to power, we must ensure that the power needs to be shared within the framework of ethnic and sectarian borders.

How can it be possible to convince Assad to accept a solution like this? The way is to support the moderate opposition such as the Free Syrian Army and other moderate groups. Surely, a civil war doesn't end overnight, but at least, we can make it possible to obtain some new acquisitions for the moderate opposition and to get the Assad Government around the table. Politics is the art of conversation. It is the art of preferring to speak rather than fight. We should do our best about Syria so that we can reconcile and find a political solution. Due to this, ensuring security in the Middle East must be provided as well as a holistic reform and growth. Much greater opportunities need to be created. Free, fair, and equitable societies should be formed to create these opportunities.

Democracy is the only regime to act with dignity and equality, and this is the only way to long-term stability. Another thing to highlight is that democracy is not the only implementation of a power taken by vote. In the states where the rule of law is applied, the power is divided between the legislation, the executive, and the judiciary branches. Law should be guaranteed to all citizens. Freedom of expression, freedom of belief, and freedom of property is a must. In a democracy, people should be able to utter whatever they want to. Everybody has this right to demand and duty to fulfill. In a democracy, people should defend the same freedom for others as well. This is a difficult task to learn. Democracy is not to accept all the ideas we agree with. It is to meet different ideas kindly. It is difficult to learn this, but it is one of the prerequisites for a democratic culture. That is what we need. We need to encourage all the people and the countries in the region to embrace this because we cannot utter the word 'democracy' where democrats do not live. Free societies should start a democratization process for the Middle East. Citizenship rights, democratic practices, and a civil society should be developed and strengthened. The concept of democracy should be an opportunity as well as an application.

Turkey should play a very strong role in this issue. It may play a role as a catalyst because it is the champion in the region to make reforms. Turkey has a large enough democracy concept, it is an open society, and it applies fundamental rights and freedoms, freedom of expression, freedom of belief, and the open market economy. Turkey has gradually provided prosperity that led to the increase of living standards for all people in the country. In this regard, we need to go further.

We need to advance in the same way in terms of relations between the EU and Turkey. I consider Turkey, located between Europe, the Middle East, and Central Asia, as a very important actor

playing a major role. It has the potential to play a major role in solving the problems of the Middle East.



Prof. Dr. Numan KURTULMUŞ
T.C. Başbakan Yardımcısı

Kurtulmuş received his bachelor's and master's degree at Istanbul University's School of Business Administration. He had been at Cornell University New York State School of Industrial & Labor Relations as a visiting lecturer. Kurtulmuş obtained his PhD in economics from Istanbul University in 1992. He became Associate Professor in 1994 at Istanbul University, Faculty of Economics. He has authored numerous articles and two books, entitled "Post-Industrial Transformation" and "The Japanese Human Resource Management". He lectured at the Istanbul University's School of Economics on Social Policy, Labor Economics and Human Resources Management. He was promoted to the rank of professorship in 2004.

Kurtulmuş joined politics actively in 1988. He acted as Istanbul provincial head of Virtue Party and a member of the party's General Administrative Board. He was also the vice-chair and chair of the Felicity Party. In 2010 he founded the People's Voice Party, which joined the Justice and Development Party in 2012. Kurtulmuş, who acted as vice-chair of AK Party between 2012-2014 has been appointed as vice-prime minister in the 62nd government of Turkish Republic. Kurtulmuş is married and has 3 children.

I would like to start my speech wishing this symposium will contribute peace to the Middle East. This symposium is important for world peace as good ideas will hopefully be gathered to establish peace in the Middle East. We need to talk about world peace before talking about peace in the Middle East. History teaches us that "The place where world peace was established and found is the Middle East". This was the same in the past as it is now. Besides being the place where all the great powers passed through human history, the Middle East has been the place where great civilizations settled, struggled, fought with each other, and made an effort for a world peace. The lack of peace in the region would deprive the whole world of peace.

If we want to establish peace in the Middle East and we are talking about peace in the Middle East, first we have to talk about world peace. If we talk about world peace, we have to ask such a question: Is it possible to have a new pax and establish a new peace system at a time when there are lots of wars, fights, civil strives, and big battles between people, sects, religions, and countries? The problems we face, the chaos, and the crisis we are living in today are not new. The last century was the time especially when people actually lived in wars, chaos, and crisis.

In fact, before WWI, under the leadership of the Ottomans, there was pax not only in the whole world, but also in the lands ruled by the Ottomans, which was defined as "Pax Ottomana" by the western scientists and historians. In other words, global peace did exist. However, as from the 17th century, the domestic affairs in the Ottoman Empire, the fund and wealth saved by colonialism

in Europe, and the industrialisation thrust in the 18th and 19th centuries destroyed the balance of the whole world before WWI. While the Ottoman Empire started to fall apart with its domestic affairs, the West started to shape a new global system through the term called capitalism. This was one of the basic causes of WWI.

WWI was the result of the process which disrupted the empires and established nation states to demolish the old system and to bring the new capitalist system into a set of markets. With the progress of this process, all the empires collapsed, and more importantly, global peace collapsed. Nation states were founded and following WWI, people lived in peace only for 20 years. The wars finished, but the language of war and conflict has never disappeared. As a result, there was a serious war and conflict in the world for 45 years under the name of WWII. When the Cold War finished after 1990, Russia was disintegrated. And when peace was expected, unfortunately a war started in Bosnia and Syria. Afghanistan and Iraq were invaded and conflicts started with the Arab Spring. When we put all these together, the death rates after 1990 are almost as many as it was after WWII. Now at the end of 2014, in fact, there is disorder in the world. There is no bipolar balance system anymore, which existed during the Cold War, but there is a system, in which the ones holding the power dominate the world. The system after WWII was built to determine and confirm the power of the rulers.

We couldn't solve the crisis in Syria and we are far from an immediate solution. You cannot solve the crisis in Syria! You cannot solve the crisis in Ukraine either, with this balance system

because the current structure of the UN is not appropriate to resolve the conflict in Syria or any other conflict in the world. In contrast, we live in a world where those wielding power in the UN Security Council have the final word in such matters. The ones who cannot solve the crisis in Syria cannot solve the crisis in Ukraine either. Thus, we must think how we can make the world system generate solutions and how we can establish peace. Our priority must be concentrating on this issue and finding a solution.

We believe that restructuring international bodies which cannot manage the world is essential to achieving global peace. As we always mention, the world cannot be left in the hands of the Big Five. The Big Five cannot decide how to rule the remaining 195 countries. All the other countries cannot be shaped as the Big Five want them to be. Therefore, it is essential for the countries which have a potential to establish world peace to insist on restructuring the UN and other international institutions.

Why is there too much conflict in the Middle East? It is not possible to establish peace in the Middle East unless the causes are found and resolved. We know that the strategies of some big countries never changed for a century. We see that the 'divide and rule' policy is still carried out in a more confusing way. Our duty is to provide more integration and peace, not more separation. We dream and try to make the countries in the region accept all the differences and reconstruction, and not to want to be divided because of the denominational differences. We are trying to make all the countries live in integration and peace with an awareness of being the shareholders of the same region and form a common destiny all together. Even if the world is a mere spectator of the problems, we, Turkey, are not, and won't just be spectators.

Gaziantep is one of the host cities that welcome the Syrian immigrants. While the world was only watching and did not know how to find a solution for the problems in Syria and the Syrian immigrants, Turkey welcomed them. We opened our doors to Syrian Arabs, Turkmens, Kurds, and Yazidis without any discrimination. These doors will stay open in the future as well.

About 1.7 million immigrants came to Turkey from Syria. During September 18th-20th, the number of the Kurds who crossed the border to Turkey from Kobani was 200.000. This number is more than the number of immigrants accepted by Europe in 2013. This is our human duty. Our job is not only finding solutions to the immigrants' problems, but also establishing persistent peace for the people living there. Turkey has become a source of inspiration in this respect.

Turkey is a country which has a standard of democracy and manages the democratic processes for all the countries in the region with its political and economic stability. In the last 20 years first the Balkans and the Caucasus, then the Middle East and then Northern Africa, and now Ukraine have gone under serious uprisings. Despite the turmoil around the world and in its region, Turkey has maintained its political and financial stabilisation in the last 25 years and especially improved its extension and political stabilisation in the last 12 years. This is because we accomplished the democratic processes. Even though Turkey has been exposed to many military coups since the coup in 1960, we have managed to maintain democracy. We based our structure on people's wills and desires. If this structure is maintained and the democratic participation increases, Turkey will one day become an example of democracy.

Finally, when all the countries in the region are on the verge of separation, Turkey is offering a series of steps to end the worst and the wildest problem with the resolution process. The terror that caused 35.000 people's death and a 1.2 billion dollar economical loss for 30 years will be resolved with the help of God and support of people as well as the political willpower. This resolution process is important for the region. This could be a step to establish peace in the region.

1st Session

Hasan Kalyoncu University Convention and Culture Center, Gaziantep



What's happening in the Middle East?

Political and social issues which deeply affect the countries in the Middle East continue to influence not only local and regional people but also the whole globe. In this session, an extensive analysis of the current situation and the causes is offered by the moderator Murat AKGÜN, representative of Ankara A Haber.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Mr. A.F. RASMUSSEN, in your speech you mentioned the “Bosnia Model” as the solution for the Syrian problem. The fact that Serbians in Bosnia gave up some claims and were convinced to start negotiations has brought along oppressive and wide-scale military interventions. When we look at Syria, we see a very limited and a one targeted air operation only. Hence my question is; why does the West abstain from a more wide-scale intervention in order to get the parties around the table on equal terms?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: Why does the international society behave unwillingly? I think there are three important reasons for this. I mean, why didn't the West perform a military operation in Syria? I have been asked this question in general terms. Now that NATO had made such a successful operation in Libya, why did they

behave unwillingly there (in Syria)? First of all, the UN authorised NATO and assigned a task in Libya. Thus, there is a matter of law there (before the intervention to Syria) to be solved (about the UN). Secondly, it has a regional consistency. In Libya, we (the West) had an explicit regional support. The countries of the region, even NATO, had contributed to the operation. Of course, when it comes to Syria, we see that there is no territorial consensus. On the contrary, there have been discrepancies about Syrian issue among some of the countries in that region. There is a vicarious war going on in Syria. The third point is that, the opposition in Syria is so divided that there is no guarantee of a military operation to bring about stabilization. Even after such an operation, parties may target their arms at each other. The situation and the motives of the opposition play an important role here.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Mr. Numan KURTULMUŞ, to what extent can the “Bosnia Model” be put into practice? What should be done to end the conflicts? How could the situation reach this point? The UN has a formula for this; it is called “Freeze the Conflicts”. Doesn’t it mean the corruption of the status quo? What is your opinion on this matter?

Prof. Dr. Numan KURTULMUŞ: Unfortunately, none of the countries which claim to be helping the opposition in Syria have a “master plan” about how to establish peace there. There isn’t any clear plan on their minds. The idea of “a solution will be found according to the progression of the events.” is dominant. It changed from “The Ba’ath Regime should go” to “The Assad Regime should remain for a while”. The main issue is that the countries which support opposition do not have a solid path to follow.

However, a more important question is this: while unravelling the Syrian matters in the UN’s Security Council with Russia being a member, how can we expect the UN to take serious and intervening decisions about Syria when Russia, at the same time, is backing the Assad Regime up? Therefore, it is almost impossible to talk about the UN’s decisions for an intervention there.

As regards to the Bosnian issue, I personally disagree with Mr. RASMUSSEN. Bosnia has become what we had feared from the beginning. It is the implementation of the “Balkanization model”. The “divide and rule” perception has already been the main trouble in the Middle East. After WWI, the main reason why the Middle East has been unable to keep up is the presence of the Sykes-Picot Agreement. Borders were drawn randomly and none of them have any sociological correspondence. Remember that Hatay wasn’t within the borders of Turkey. What was the reason that separated Hatay from Iskenderun and Adana? So, the current Sykes-Picot Agreement is a system that was built upon the perspective of “the prosecution of the wars in the Middle East”. It is obvious that it will drive and increase this division with external support.

In the years of the Cold War period, regimes, which had already been practical, were divided on the basis of governing as Western-oriented and Eastern-oriented processes. After these regimes ceased, the division has continued through participants that were referred to as the East and the West. Now our goal is not creating a system over the further division of the communities and it shouldn’t be. In fact, the model and governing system that have been applied to Bosnia-Herzegovina have made it a country that cannot be ruled. So, yes, with this treaty steps had been taken to stop the war. However, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina appeared besides Serbia and Croatia.

In the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there is a system of government that is formed by different components. As a result of



this model, Bosnia cannot be governed properly. In this country and region, people have been living together for centuries. We can highly give support to the international community in providing a high standard of democracy to the people who have the culture of living together. If we really want these countries to become real democratic ones, it will be the best way to enable all the different components to become a part of democratic Syria regime. For this, the international system renders the Assad Regime, which oppressed its people to step aside. With all the democratic components that have been left, by cleaning up all the radical elements, it is the best way to build a new democracy in Syria. On the contrary, I think that creating the Bosnian model would practically mean the division of Syria and the lasting of the conflicts for a long time.

A.F. RASMUSSEN: I am in favour of keeping the current Syrian government. However, to solve the problems in the Middle East, sectarian politics should be stopped. As in Syria, a minority of Alawites ruling over a Sunni majority cannot be accepted. Just like a Shia government in Iraq to overpower Sunnis or rule them is out of question. In Syria, only the government could operate with the Kurdish on the one side, and the rest on the other side, like in Bosnia. Mr. Vice Prime Minister, I am not saying that Bosnia is the perfect solution, but we are not talking about an ideal one. We are discussing about the most possible solution to stop the Civil War in Syria and what to do in order to be able to stop it. Thanks to the Sykes-Picot Peace Agreement, there has been truce in the Balkans for 20 years.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Having no war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is a very important progress. Yet, it cannot be overestimated; there is an incredibly fragile truce over there. In fact this shows that the system hasn’t been pursued perfectly. On the other hand, when it comes to Syria, the Assad Regime still has a very powerful army. Mr. RASMUSSEN, to what extent do you think the model you mentioned can be implemented? What should be done to make Assad resign from presidency and discharge his government?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: Some conditions should be taken into consideration carefully. To apply the Bosnia model in Syria, there is no doubt that we will need international peace forces. Under the leadership of NATO, a peace force consisting of 20 thousand people was sent to Bosnia at that time. Now, the military difficulties are more serious in Syria. In this respect, the countries in this region should play a bigger part. Countries like Turkey should send a peace keeping force and some military power there.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Turkey has inevitably become a “role-model” country. However, in the past, when Turkey pursued a very active policy towards Syria, it was accused of being involved in Syria’s internal affairs too much. What kind of balance is that? Turkey will be both a ‘role-model’ and be accused of internal affairs? Mr. KURTUMUS, what do you think about this situation as an alderman?

Prof. Dr. Numan KURTULMUS: In this area people have a past. Like Syria and Iraq, the sects of Jews, Alawites, Shias, Kurds, and Turkmenians didn’t come together by coincidence and newly met. We have lived together for many years throughout history. We had existed together with Muslims, non-Muslims, and all the other ethnic groups. To be able to bring peace to this area, we really need to have a perspective. Ours is to consider the common geography that is between these people of this area. Until now, in the Middle East, Ottoman peace has dominated including all the sects in this area. If you try to make peace in a system that is dominated by a powerful one, it is called hegemony, you cannot do that. Where was the ‘free world’ when the Gaddafi Regime oppressed his people? Why didn’t they utter a word when the Mubarak Regime was torturing its people with America and Israel backing it up? Therefore, these mandatory regimes, the regimes after the Cold War, and the dictators who have no connection with their people, are the main reasons for today’s fight.

In addition, the main reason that brought about the Arab Spring is that all the people, especially from Morocco to Indonesia, from Yemen to Syria, hated the regimes and the people that were involved in that cruelty. The young population wanted to join the political process and seek a better future. They wanted to contribute both to the future of their countries and get a guarantee in return.

The beginning of the Arab Spring showed that this expectation wasn’t fulfilled and was put aside. Thus, it is one of the important reasons of this disorder. Another reason is their ‘Israel policy’. Without seeing this, it should not be expected to have a perspective to make peace in the Middle East. Israel was established in the period after WWI. It had become a country in artificial ways as a test-tube baby after WWII. The government of Israel has ever since continued its perpetual hostile and expansionist attitude. Because of ruling over a wide geographic territory in the Middle East, that

is bigger than the land that it had been given to at its foundation, Israel has become a target. Also, I think that the cruelty Muslim people face and the attacks on Islamic architecture are some of the most important reasons that hinder the peace in the Middle East.

Putting all the reasons together, unfortunately, communities such as Jewish, Muslim, and Christian living together in the same area, have been in conflict for a long time and are in a rush to create new existences over different identifications. We cannot say that a free, developed, and democratic world gave enough support for this matter. Is Turkey a role-model for this? It is clear that Turkey does have influence. Turkey will continue to be an inspiration by maintaining its economic and political stability. If Turkey hadn’t achieved its democratic missions, the process of change in the country wouldn’t have been different from Egypt and Syria.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Turkey has a request for establishing a buffer zone at the border of Syria. There are two reasons; the first one is security. Since on the other side of the border there is a severe conflict and bombshells are also dropped on Turkish land. Our citizens get killed from time to time. The flow of everyday life stops. The second one is immigration. Currently, there are 1.7 million immigrants in Turkey, and if Aleppo falls, a wave of approximately a hundred thousand people is expected. Why can’t a buffer zone be established to take those people in? Mr. RASMUSSEN, would you explain this to us, based on your experience at NATO?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: I am aware of Turkey’s request for a buffer zone, of course. To establish a buffer zone in Syria would be equal to occupying some of the areas in that country. Surely, there is no UN right to do such a thing. The next question is: who could make this decision? For such a zone, soldiers are needed. A buffer zone cannot be established with only an air operation. That’s why it requires a very wide-scale military operation. I think, because of this reason, the international community is quite unwilling to initiate such an act.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: In the past, the operation in Iraq, which was based on a doubt, wasn’t scrutinised that much. Mr. KURTULMUS, what do you think? Is there a dilemma? If Aleppo falls and ten thousand people come, could we accept them? Turkey does have a capacity. Are we prepared for this?

Prof. Dr. Numan KURTULMUS: First, I would like to say that, if Syria had as much oil as there was in Iraq, it would have already been occupied by now. Thus, Syria’s biggest disadvantage is not having petrol. In this sense, although there is no petrol in Syria, I believe that the Western and the coalition forces can corner the restricted area of Syria without any aerial operation. Unfortunately, when we take a look at the plans with Syria, the main issue for most

of the coalition countries is not to suppress the Assad Regime. It is to make Syria free of Iraqi influence and of ISIS, which no one knows how or by whom it was formed in Syria.

There is a serious perspective difference here. We believe that ISIS is just a 'result'. It means that ISIS did not come into existence all alone. The reality is that there are many participants from the western countries. ISIS is a result of the political instability in Iraq and Syria. If the instability continues, another terror organization would come into existence in lieu of ISIS. That is why the only solution is to terminate such terrorist groups and to provide the Syrian population the right to participate in this political process.

How could this happen? We are talking about a regime that made the country collapse, killed 300.000 people, destroyed Aleppo, which was one of the most beautiful cities in this area, and exterminated cultural wealth in Damascus. It is a necessary issue for Syria to provide a solution that makes the regime unable to move. That is why the no-flight zone was an important issue but it may lose its significance in time.

If Syrians supported the moderate opposition, they would cover a distance. Peace is not obvious in the near future. This is when Syrian people would hide behind ISIS. If you want to prevent this, it is necessary for the international community to arouse hope. Preventing Assad's movements would be the only way to do this. If a new situation occurs in Aleppo, a new migration consisting of 400.000 people will follow. That would affect Turkey as well.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: ISIS is the most important problem in Syria. What does the West think about the reason behind the existence of that group? What is needed to destroy the group? The external interventions have seemed to continue for a long time in such a place where the local power's being so weak. Do you agree with the sentence: "If the instability continues like that, another terror organization will come into being in lieu of ISIS"?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: It is a very pessimistic opinion. What creates radicalism? What fosters it? Why does it come into being? When minorities like ISIS can put pressure on the majority, it is some kind of infelicity. The Maliki Government was a total disaster in Iraq. They implemented sectarian dominion and as a result they created an atmosphere for organizations like ISIS. We have to stop the sectarian dominion in order to prevent excessive powers to become extreme in the Middle East. Then, it will be necessary to provide a steady democracy. I mean the regimes basing its democratic roots on culture. Elections only are not enough.

If majority puts pressure on minority, it cannot be accepted. A democratic culture should be provided to protect the minority. I presume to be more cautious. We have to teach what supremacy of law means. We have to teach what minority situation and

separation of powers mean. People need to understand real democracy. If we are determined to prevent extremism, we need more powerful reforms. I am not too pessimistic. It can be achievable because I do not accept such thoughts like "Some nations are not suitable for democracy."

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Mr. Kurtulmuş, is Iraq really torn into 3 parts? How would it affect the Middle East to establish an independent Jerusalem State in the north of Iraq?

Prof. Dr. Numan KURTULMUŞ: These sectarian policies, these false policies that the al-Maliki Government implemented have left Iraq with this situation. A new regime has begun. I hope that the new regime will succeed in keeping different sectarians and ethnicities together. Even if Iraq seems to be fallen apart into 3 pieces, I believe Iraq will keep its own integrity. The new regime will keep its integrity by learning lessons from the al-Maliki Regime to solve existing problems in cooperation with the regional countries such as Turkey and Iran. Protecting Iraq's integrity will affect peace in the region.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: What about you, Mr. Rasmussen? Do you believe in the new regime to be successful? How does a new independent Iraqi Kurdistan state affect the Middle East?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: I can say that we shall preserve Syria and Iraq united. But it may be necessary to divide power and make Iraq and Syria decentralized. Kurds, Shiites, and Sunnis can live in the state of Iraq if we have to talk about Iraq. I am in no favor of an independent Kurdistan state. But Turkey can have a major role in this situation. It is because Turkey has a problem with the PKK. Turkey has made a lot of effort to solve this problem and I hope they can. Turkey can make it easier by decentralization and by giving more local authority to the Kurds. This can be provided not by founding an independent Kurdistan state, but by forming a decentralized system that protects the minority.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: There was an expression in Turkey: "There will not be peace in the Middle East without peace in Palestine." Is this sentence still valid if you think about Israel's permanent policies?

Prof. Dr. Numan KURTULMUŞ: Something new will happen if Israel refuses a permanent peace process and Israel becomes an assailant again. Unfortunately, we witness the government staving off peace even if Israel seems to be harmless for the Middle East. It is apparent that Israel is successful in this attitude.

Without Israel wanting peace, without the recognition of Palestine as a state by Israel, the Middle Eastern and world peace are impossible. Nevertheless, this situation is not sustainable for Israel, either. There are people among them who turn aggressive policies

into government policies. But this situation is not sustainable for Jewish people in Israel, either. If Israel really wants peace in the region, Israel has to recognize Palestine. Israel should leave off torturing Palestinian people.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Iran shows some effort to make nuclear weapons. There are negotiations between the West and Iran about this issue. You, Mr. Rasmussen, do you believe that these negotiations will end up in a concrete and hopeful outcome? What is the importance for the world if it does not end with a conclusion and Iran reaches out to make its own nuclear weapons?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: I am concerned about the Iranian nuclear weapon situation. If Iran really gets nuclear weapons, it will cause anxiety in the Middle East. This will bring about poor results. There will be negative effects on personal security. For this reason, peaceful diplomatic solutions should be found. No one is against an Iran that uses nuclear energy peacefully. But we have to stop this nuclear armament. Moreover, I am optimistic that this issue will result in a positive conclusion. Iran will understand that if the situation concludes in a positive way, this will be to their benefit as well.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Finally, is it not necessary for Israel to have sanctions on nuclear armaments as they have nuclear power capacity?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: I will not comment on this because I do not have any idea about this. I do not know whether Israel has a nuclear program. But in 1990 almost every country signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. This is an ideal vision. We are still bound to that agreement. But of course as a former NATO secretary, as long as there are nuclear weapons, NATO will continue nuclear alliance. It is not righteous to link all these problems in the region to this by perceiving Israel-Palestine conflict as an apology. The reason why we discuss sectarian implementations on Syria and Iraq is not because of the Israel-Palestine conflict. But, the most important thing is to find a solution. The solution founded in 2002 is a path to secure 2 separate, independent, and sovereign states.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Thank you Mr. Rasmussen and Mr. Kurtulmuş for your opinions and participation. We completed the first session here.





The participants have come together at Nizip container place with Syrian guests, which is inclusive of the symposium.

The last reports about Syrian guests, education and infrastructural activities were gathered in the meeting with container place administrators. The committee members had a chance to see the environment the guests live by visiting a Syrian's house. These interviews created a more careful environment for researchers/politicians, who comment about political situation of Syria and lives of Syrians. Moreover, the presents which guests prepared for the members show their pleasure about this visit.



2nd Session

Hasan Kalyoncu University Convention and Culture Center, Gaziantep



Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU

International Relations and Head of Department Galatasaray University / İstanbul



Professor in the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences at Galatasaray University, as well as director of the International Relations Department. She completed her MA and Phd in Institute of Social Sciences and International Relations of Istanbul University. She was appointed as an "Assistant Professor" in the same institute (1993-1995). In 1995, Dedeoğlu began her position in Galatasaray University's International Relations Department. In 1999 she became an assistant professor and in 2005 she was appointed a fulltime "Professor". She has also given courses in Kadir Has University. Her subjects of focus include the European Union and international security studies. Prof. Dedeoğlu appears in numerous scholarly articles and books. She is a columnist at Star, Today's Zaman and Agos dailies and her articles about international politics have been published in Zaman and Yeni Şafak dailies.

Peter HARLING

Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria Program Director for the International Crisis Group



International Crisis Group's project director for Iraq, Lebanon and Syria and senior Middle East and North Africa adviser. Peter Harling has been based in the Middle East for over 15 years, in Iraq (1998-2004), Lebanon (2005-2006 and since early 2014), Syria (2006-2013) and Egypt (part-time between 2011 and 2013). He works a special adviser to the International Crisis Group. Areas of expertise are Syrian foreign and domestic policy, Iraqi social movements, the Lebanese political scene and regional dynamics.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Mrs. Dedeoğlu is here as a representative of the Civil Society of Turkey (NGO) and we are going to talk within an academic but not a political framework. Peter Harling, we would like to ask questions similar to those asked in the morning session, and we would like to hear your opinion about the situation in Syria. In the afternoon you went to the refugee camp, and I want to learn your impressions, then we will move on to other issues.

Mrs. Dedeoğlu, you have also visited the refugee camp. What is your impression? What do you think of the efforts made by Turkey and what do those people in the camps need?

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: The observation I have made this afternoon taught me two things; one of them is the incredible effort (much more than what I expected) my own country has made in order to provide a permanent settlement in a huge field of

service area converted for Syrian people. Here every minor detail, from maintaining security to almost every single detail has been thought well about. Moreover, we know that Turkey has used its regional rights completely, I'm so proud of it. But on the other hand, as a result, this is not a tourist attraction, but a refugee camp. Looking at it from this point of view has made me upset, and prevented me from looking at people closely. It gave me the weird impression that I did not want to seem to be just walking around and not to share their feelings. We cannot know how it may feel being there, right now. Being here instead of being in their own country is much more of a bittersweet feeling for them. I can feel this but they are also somewhere that doesn't belong to them, we feel that, too. And I can tell you that I left the place feeling a little unsafe, a little resentful.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: I would like to ask the same question to Mr. Rasmussen. You have also visited the camp. Have you ever visited a camp earlier? I do not think you did.

A.F. RASMUSSEN: Yes, this was my first visit to a refugee camp. As a matter of fact, if we compare this with other refugee camps, this is a clean, very well-organized camp, which also provides some sincere activities. I think it's extremely important for both adults and children, especially the issue of education. The education of children is important, so I believe this refugee camp is an exemplary one. I would like to say that I really appreciate Turkey and the Turkish authorities for all they have done to the Syrian refugees. They spend roughly \$ 5 million per year on this project. This is a great initiative and I can add that everyone must contribute to these activities for refugees.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: I would like to ask Mr. Harling. Today there's a violent conflict around Aleppo and it has been said that if Aleppo falls into the hands of the regime forces, 400 thousand refugees are expected to flee, which will increase the number of refugees to 2 million in Turkey. Mr. Harling, I would like to ask you, do you think that the international community supports Turkey enough to meet the needs of the refugees? How can they support Turkey regarding the issue of the refugees?

Peter HARLING: Unfortunately, the international community has failed to express the recognition Turkey deserved in terms of the aid provided to refugees. Well, I didn't visit the camp area today. However, I can say that communities can reestablish themselves after such bloody events but of course there is a high level of stress involved in the context of Syria. They go through traumatic events. We see an urban and social configuration when we look at Syria. Moreover, the urban configuration has been dramatically corrupted. 10 million people; half of the community has been dispatched or exiled. There are other extremely important cases; over the years, refugee children, both inside and outside, miss out

on the formal education system. These children remain deprived of education. Turkey offers a truly unique environment for them. At least it tries to give them something similar to normal life. So, right now I'm aware of the fact how little support is given to them. It is not enough.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: I would like to start my second question with Dr. Beril Dedeoglu. When it comes to the crisis in the Middle East, Syria comes to our mind. However, the situation in Iraq is certain; we talked about it in the morning. You might have had a chance to observe it, too. There is the issue of Palestine. There are issues arising from Iran. The diplomacy of Turkey and Israel cannot be said to be very bright. I would just like to say that, 15-20 years ago, there wasn't such tension in the region as much as there is today. What happened to the Middle East to have become such an explosive barrel and is there a way to get around this?

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: How come this unstable conflict has become such a constant conflict? At first, the actors were not able to act on their own when it was the time of the bipolar era in the Middle East. Secondly, there was no mention of the actors other than the state. Today, these problems and globalization are not separable, and nor are the states. However, they take part in the crisis, and the problems come to light. But as I mentioned it before, each state has its own layer in it and they have become important political actors. Unfortunately, this complicated structure had led the most minuscule tension to turn into a more bitter conflict. We see individual conflicts like these. The bomb explodes and people die. In fact, these problems do not seem to be different from each other. I mean, imagine we have a bullet that locks itself when we pull the trigger. The most important reason for the Middle East to be open to confrontation, could be explained with what we call a conversion period in the international system. In other words, the bipolar era has finished, still, it is difficult to name a defined world system. However, it is possible not to define it at all. The actors and the states exist and we can get on well easily.

As far as I can see, a pressure, which forces the system to be defined, cannot be denied and there is an effort to push the world to the two major powers' fighting arena. This effort draws the continent and America, as well as Russia and the Middle East together. Now, Ukraine, Syria, and Afghanistan are the breaking points of this balance of power.

Quite frankly, I believe that it is not possible to detach the situation in Syria from the situation in Ukraine. The actors of the conflict are native; we are talking about Assad's forces, the Free Syrian Army, and ISIL. Even if it is seen as a local conflict, making a conflict such long-lasting and bloody, requires support from others. In this case, I don't think these conflicts will end until the balance stabilizes. Because the states and the actors involved are in the process of

negotiation. It is highly possible that if the parties make a deal, the conflicts will diminish.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Should we think that the civil war and terror is not yet to finish?

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: I have no doubt that the situation will continue. The only thing that gives us hope is that this is turning into a non-winner game. Furthermore, no one has the opportunity to expect to have the same share of profit. Maybe this can be the answer to your second question in the near future. I can say that peace talks do not work until the parties and the actors get involved in the process.

It is not possible to breathe in a peaceful environment unless the parties and the players agree to come and sit around a table. Since not every actor wants to confront each other, we need to wait for a while. The aim should be to make an effort to make actors sit together and get organized to progress. This would be a promising way.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Mr P. Harling, the question I would like to ask you is that Syria has become A HELL of civil war, so to say. The situation is as if people from Europe, Africa and a wide range of countries would be in a conflict on the behalf of others. According to reports, there is news about Iran taking an active part in the Syrian Civil War. On the other hand, the Shiite impacts the southern parts of Iraq in a serious way. They are in a certain interaction, that's for sure. There is all of Iran itself, indeed. What do you think about Iran being a serious or even a threatening dominance over the Middle East?

Peter HARLING: Because this issue directly points out the problem happening right now, we had better face it. We are facing sectarian violence. The war in Syria is made by proxy and actually, this war is based on religious purposes, which cause extensive loss by all means. The conflict and tension between the Sunnis and the Shiites are totally in no relation with the Sunni ideology. For example, how can we overcome these differences? Where does this case get stuck eventually? Some countries, including Iran, have a number of regional purposes, which is also a reason behind this war story. As far as I believe, we cannot find a military solution, and the sole thing that needs to be secured and improved is the sharing of the political power. A pure system can be generated, but decentralization is the key for people to live peacefully. Moreover, local law should be renewed and be recognized by the local groups.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: The speech of Mrs. Dedeoglu caught my attention. Divergent states, which are in favor of peace, should come together. She claimed that it does not seem to be possible for them to team up right now, so we need to wait

for some time. You, Mr. Rasmussen, dealt with these kinds of situations for years in the NATO. What do you say? Will it take long until the states and the actors get involved in such a process?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: I cannot say that this is going to be easy, but it takes time, because this is also related to the development of democratic culture, which had already been the case in Europe. Over the past century, Europe had two terrible wars, but we learned our lesson, and have implemented extremely ambitious integration projects. It relies on the philosophy that if you tie the countries together both economically and politically, then they will not start a war against each other. However, Germany and France were in a disastrous war which was only 70 years ago. The possibility of war disappeared and this is the current Europe built on a new constitution. Integration and the ending of war do not seem real when we consider the Middle East. On the other hand, I don't see any other alternative. As I mentioned it earlier, to share the power, we need to take the ethnic and religious differences into consideration and then we will be able to construct new systems.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Although Iraq seems to have its own flag and authority, it has been divided into three parts; we encounter Shiite dominance in the south, Sunni in the middle, and Kurdish in the north, which is also going to be the same case in Syria. The influence of the Kurds in a specific region of the north, even if it is small, is related to the Assad Regime. I want to ask: will Syria and Iraq come out from this problematic period saving their own territorial integrity or are there any possible states in the East to be established?

Peter HARLING: I think most of the interpreters like me, sometimes approach the topic of territory with conventional paradigms. Central government or division... However, there are a lot of things between these two axes. It is related to the evolving power backwards which is already the current situation in the territory. Namely, we can see this situation as an example of de-power of de-facto in the sense of Islamic phenomena. Even in Syria, the regime has passed on such wills, that it has started to seem like the opposition. Also, if we take a look at the Iraqi regime, the significant point is not the leadership or the people being the heads of the institutions, but the people who control the check points in the lands they draw, and those who have the resources. Power already belongs to that legitimacy. That is to say, this seems to be an experimental process from the other side. De-facto is an experience in different places in the territory, not only in Iraq and Syria.

If we look at the terms of the division of Iraq, I want to say: division is never a solution. Sudan is a good example for it. Division is not an issue for establishing a state. The same problem occurs in some different places to a smaller degree. This is an output of a process

and it takes a lot of time. Unfortunately, it is not a desirable output I believe. What we witness in Iraq is a central government which is becoming more fragile, losing its humanity and ... some sharing at the social level. In fact, when it comes to the Kurds, it goes back to 20 years ago. I mean, they already distinguished their ways at the beginning of 1990's. I think there is a division and change process in Iraq. In Syria, it is between the Sunni and the Shiite. This process has been going on since the USA invaded Iraq in 2003. However, we are still away from the fact that it causes a division, because we are inside the borders of a central state and of course it has a heritage, as well. How can you divide this state in terms of its infrastructure? This is a very expensive process which is prone to conflict in three different presences of the central state. It is even harder in Syria. In Iraq, there are at most three homogeneous ends as a result of historical developments and social conventions. However, Syria is more complicated, and there is not any clarity.

Some people are creating some artificial maps, but in fact, this division will be extremely difficult for the society. Division exists only in the dynamics of the conflicts. Two sides always confront each other about the subjects of water, electricity, and petrol because these are the reflections of the state which was extremely united until recent years. No matter how many real sectarian conflicts there are, I will define this as a lazy comment made by the interpreters who have the mission of division. To me, looking at that de-powering, decentralization, a new social contact seems more realistic. Let's say these are the main solutions.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: One of the questions that I asked to Mr. Rasmussen was: Why didn't the Western world act fast in terms of intervention in Syria as they did in Iraq and Libya, and why did they seem reluctant? For a similar question, as far as I remember, he said that it was not impossible to establish a buffer zone before the UN reaches a decision. However, on the one side, there are 1.7 MILLION Syrian refugees in our lands and according to statements of Mr. Numan Kurtulmuş, if Aleppo falls, 400 thousand more people will likely be following their path. The opportunities of Turkey are obvious; so I want to ask this: since Turkey cannot form a one-sided buffer zone in Syria, instead of distributing Syrians to every part of the country, do you think can it be a solution to keep them altogether in a specific place?

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: Well, I believe that Mr. Rasmussen gave the true information why it is not possible to form such a zone in Syria because it is not easy. Here, the Assad Regime does not allow it. Accordingly, land occupation can also be a problem. The question 'can a similar situation be a possibility for Turkey?' is meaningful, but it poses a problem; the eastern border of Turkey is out of scope in the agreement of international refugees. Turkey has a disadvantage in this agreement, so such kind of camps - refugee camps- are not similar to the ones in Palestine. These are

more free camps and there is also a legal dimension. Also, the social dimension should be open to discussion, people who have found shelter in Turkey are not the ones not welcomed by Turkey. In fact, when we isolate and keep them in the camps, I think it is highly possible that their sympathy to Turkey will turn into hatred because people generally think that they are kept away in order to



prevent them from coming inside the country. So, even if Turkey was able to establish this for itself in a way, it may prefer not to do this due to the sociological reactions. However, it is necessary to admit that there is such a deadlock: we travelled to the camp today, and it is said that so many important things have been done. When we went to Geneva to meet the UN representatives with Mrs. Fatma Şahin, we came across such attitudes: 'We like what you are doing, you have done great things, well done Turkey', 'You have welcomed so many people, keep welcoming more people and bear the financial costs, but if it is possible, do not open your borders in Edirne.' Now, we are in a situation that we have a kind of heavy financial load, but we should not open the borders in Edirne. I think it is not something sustainable. In case the number increases, I think it should be considered as a problem that could be solved with international partners, friends, and alliances just like it has been done when mutual solutions are found in the management of a crisis so far. I mean not only the financial responsibility, but also the social risks should be shared. The situation of refugees may create some new unforeseen risks. It is out of the question for Turkey, but in the examples in the world it seems possible to see some places to nest for new threats. It should be prevented not just for that country, but also for all territories and countries in the world. It is necessary to make some preventive arrangements. Unfortunately, there is no such effort internationally. However, these kinds of conferences may help spread this subject. As far as I see, Turkey's no-fly-zone policy is a more reasonable and realizable idea, but there is such a thing here ...

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: But the approval of the UN is needed for this, isn't it?

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: Of course, but it can be brought to the agenda more frequently. This means to claim that if there is a regime that you want to eliminate, it may not have the right to fly in a specific area, because the right of flying belongs to Turkey and foreign affairs coalition interferes in there. So, when you say there is a flight prohibition, it means that Assad's planes cannot fly. Secondly, America can conclude that these planes cannot fly. It is possible to formulate it as long as there is an intention. However, is the ultimate intention with or without Assad? It can be obvious with the compromise on how and to what extent it is calculated.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: I think the key point was the last thing you have mentioned; if there is a compromise in Syria, how much of it should be with or without Bashar al-Assad?

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: I believe that the scenarios without Assad are being kept in the bottom drawers. I guess there are some ongoing negotiations about the issue of to what extent the Assad Regime will share its power, and unfortunately, it is obvious that ISIS is taking a big part.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Mr. Rasmussen, I want to ask if we compare the relationship between Turkey and America to the two blades of a pair of scissors, which are sometimes open and sometimes closed about Syria, one of the issues in the open blades is the Incirlik air base. Probably, you remember Incirlik from the times you were the General Secretary of NATO, and right now it is not a secret that the USA persistently demands the Incirlik air base from Turkey. Why is the USA so persistent? How can it help the USA regarding Syria? In addition, every effort in the UN hit the walls of China and Russia. Why do China and Russia support Syria?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: First of all, of course I will not comment on the details concerning how individual allies organize in NATO. The concrete cooperation between the USA and Turkey is also included within this issue. Of course, Turkey is part of a strong defense, and a strong ally of the USA.

Like the USA, China and Russia may also have important strategic military establishments. When we consider the actions of China and Russia in Syria, I think there is a general unwillingness from the point of view of China. They do not want to admit anything. They are opposing to any military intervention coming from outside.

In every country including Syria, it is very clear that Russia has a strategic concern and interest. Russia does not have many friends in the Middle East. In this part of the world, Assad regime is one of Russia's friends, and this is an important part of the presence of the Russian strategy. I suggest Syria is in this part of the world; this

is the main interest. I do not think that Kremlin is in favor of Assad regime, but Russia wants to be certain in holding control of the developments in Syria no matter the circumstances are, because Syria is an interest for Russia in terms of benefit... Focusing on the political solutions is essential in order for the five permanent members of UNs to give a decision about Syria.

We had two Geneva conferences, which Russia also attended. Both of the conferences resulted in documents stating that the process should be started. It was said that could cause change in the system in Syria. However, considering the engagements of Russia and other countries, I think any kind of external military interference may lead to an explosion; not only in Syria but in the whole region. Therefore, I am drawing attention to my own proposal that, we need to try to find a way. I strongly agree with the solution. In addition to the division of the centralized state and country, there are other alternatives; in between these two end points of the axes, there is an alternative which includes sharing of the power between ethnic and sectarian groups.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: In the morning session, I inquired Mr. Rasmussen his opinions on ISIS (Iraq-Damascus Islamic State). Now, I want to direct the same question to you as a person who also knows the region very well. How did ISIS exist? Why did ISIS exist? How can it be destroyed and what depends on destroying it? In fact, Mr. Numan Kurtulmuş said that, you cannot dry the bog; ISIS goes and another organization comes up. Do you agree with this?

Peter HARLING: I can answer these three questions. However, I want to mention a few things about Iran as well. When we talk to authorities from Russia and Iran, considering their standards, they do not display effective performance regarding the Syrian regime. At the same time, the balances in these countries (Russia and Iran) are so sensitive that, if they stop supporting Assad's regime, the regime falls down and it becomes the other side's victory.

So, this is the point where I do not agree to this opinion; let's call the things happening in Syria and Iraq as a war, but it is a war for one side by proxy. However, for the other side I cannot say this. The other side is ready to support the one who is going to fight with all its money, weapons and political power. As if we are in a playground, and watching a game, on one side there is a crock team; they are working together and they are very strict. On the other side, people are playing with each other in a way that, they do not want to contaminate their hands and get hurt. This is just a part of the problem. We cannot finish the game like this.

I want to say something about the clearness of the USA because it forms the significant part of the problem. There are different phases of the problem in our hands. If we consider Barack

Obama, in my opinion, he is not interested in any of the situations. He does not like this situation intellectually; he is not interested in the region, politics and proxy wars. America is interested in things such as digital boundaries and controlling the financial institutions. It wants to proceed to the other level instead of staying in the previous period, which Russians and Iranians want to do. I think their perception and most of the people in the government think in the same way: it is time for the region to grow. What if they handle their problems themselves! Why do the USA and the West always interfere? They usually fail when they want to put the things in order, like in Afghanistan and Iraq. So there is not so much belief that the USA can handle this.

Here, the Islamic government steps in. For four years, the ideas have always been changing. There are doubts that anything can be changed in the region. For example, in the early stages of the riot in Tunisia, the enthusiasm in Egypt, changing the regime in Libya and empowering the Islamists. These are the things we are afraid of. Then, Islamic crisis is coming up. The Islamic government (ISIS) came into prominence. Namely, this is a big problem, but ISIS is already an output of the unsolved problems. These are the problems evolving in ten years and they have got worse in the last four years.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: In this conference, one thing I will never forget is your interesting metaphor about the actors, those who want to get dirty and those who don't. My question will be about Palestine. Turkey gives a lot of importance to Palestine. In the morning session with Mr. RASSMUSSEN, it was put forward that there would be no peace in Middle East, unless the Palestine issue was solved. My question is: We want peace in Palestine but how will this problem be solved in such an environment?

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: We usually tend to define the Palestine problem as Israel-Palestine problem. Maybe it is not true to define states like this, since there is more than one state in every state. Take the USA, there are two USAs; there are more in Russia but there are physically two states in Palestine: biological and as an approach.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: No physical bonds with each other.

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: Exactly. Therefore, there is unfortunately a dual structure within their opinions and anticipations that are presumably different from each other. While this makes it difficult for Palestine in the course of becoming a state, it doesn't ease the situations for Israel. Israel wants to recognize either one of them but there is the other one in reality. That's, when you say "I recognize you, but I don't recognize you (to the other)", it means this process will be left incomplete. Therefore, not only when intending to solve the crisis but even

when intending to solve the problem of a state formation crisis, it is possible to face some major problems. As of today, as far as I can see the point is that, the Israel-Palestine problem is not something that can be solved from inside, but it is a process in which, for example, the USA is acting as a mediator to solve the problem from outside. The recognition of Palestine by the parliaments in the European countries or launching new laws for Palestine doesn't mean to solve this problem physically. That is to say; when you are officially recognized will an embassy be opened? I do not think so. However, as it is still possible for Palestine to exist in a dual structure as a diplomatic tool of pressure against Israel, and as this possibility is still available, that situation I mentioned above is an indicator of effort.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Is this a fate to expect a solution to the problem in the Middle East from outside?

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: Well, on the condition that the problem is discussed around the table, there is no harm. We are in a global world. I believe no peace project is realized without negotiation and there is no problem to talk on the issues around the table. We should only put the real weapon on the desk. However, we mention a structured territory; that is to say, a territory that has no word for its own existence, its own history or its own decision, but these all are defined from outside. We mention forced states and forced governments. However, the sustainability of these has never been emphasized.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Were the borders drawn with a ruler?

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: Well, while it was structured it seemed to me that people thought "This kind of family will rule the country and then go." They have not thought of what if the family could not rule the country. It was decided "If they can't, we overthrow them." And this is still in practice. In Egypt, people say, "Let's overthrow these, for they will not be able to rule and let's bring this one." This is not sustainable, though. What I can see and understand is this; Palestine model has to be stressed because the values of the world have become complicated. If one day, at least those in West Bank (Sheria) say "we couldn't handle this issue and we will leave the world", there will be no addressee not only for Israel but for the other countries as well. It seems that the last chances are tried now, for they are making subsequent attempts. As far as I understand, it won't be late...

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Do you mean the peace in Palestine by "it won't be late"?

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: No. The process keeps people in haste in order to take concrete steps. Because there are people who

want Palestine to be struck – in fact, all American presidents would rather see this in their times and Obama has so much pressure on the government and thus, Israel has had to improve its social relations. I hope Obama will act in favor of Palestine. However, will he be successful? It is not that easy to predict this.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Mr. HARLING, I would like to ask you a question. When we mention the Middle East problems, it may not be true to disregard Turk-Israel relations and Egypt. It is apparent that Turk-Israel relations have not been so promising over the last years. How do these poor relations affect these peace processes in general? The second one is the withdrawal of Egypt to its shell following the military coup, the loss of Egypt's position as a wise man among the old Arab world and being in conflict with its Arab brothers. How do all these affect Middle East peace processes?

Peter HARLING: As for Turk-Israel relations, who I am not expert at, I can say as an outsider that two situations emerge. There are emotional reactions about what's happening, and these naturally bring other emotional reactions. It is true not only for political aspect, but for general aspects as well. As for the Turkey's attitude towards the Arab world, we have some known principles. Of course, these principles have some fluctuations during the process. Turkey has emerged as a modal to his neighbors. It has been very impressive. That is to say; it has energized the region. It is probably about to go beyond the borders.

Turkey's attitude is consistent in all aspects. For example, Turkey first tried to be a mediator in the early stages. It had nice bonds with Assad regime. And it tried to force them to change. This continued for months. Before the violence climbed up, Turkey felt it was deceived. Then, it changed its attitude. It still keeps the same attitude. Now there is no solution with this regime for Turkey. I am not certain whether it is the right step or it will be successful. But these attitudes are clearly seen. As for Egypt, we see that Turkey's attitudes are also consistent. Although we constantly pass from one theme to another, this attitude should be appreciated because the region is undergoing radical crises; and this has roots in history. A lot of problems have accumulated over the years. It definitely takes time to discuss and solve these problems. What is expected now from the actors is to find principles. I mean, finding some balancing principles and somehow you are doing this much better than the others. At least, you are better than the West.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: I would like to receive our students' questions. Let's see what they are asking.

Student Mehmet Veli KOYUNCU (P.S.I.R.): My question is to Mr. RASMUSSEN. He mentioned about local administrations. He mentioned about decentralization. In order to have

decentralization, isn't it necessary to have a strong administration? For example, is the USA model a good one, is it valid for the Middle East? We see that Iraq has ended up with separation because there is no strong centralized administration. Can I get your opinions about this issue?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: Of course, in some parts a strong centralized administration is needed. For example, as for military and security issues the USA has a strong centralization. Let me remind this. I am saying to you that we should keep Syria and Iraq as a state respectively. However, I said that power must be shared among the various identities in these countries, but there must be a state on the top. There must be a state, so it can arrange the defense, provide security, have a central bank and have a finance policy, and do whatever it wants... Or let it have official institutions, have a Constitution and have all required arrangements. And let this Constitution guarantee the minority rights.

Of course, I must admit that I have been inspired by the Bosnian model. That's why I mentioned this. There are differences between the Balkans and the Middle East. On the other hand, there are several similarities. We can learn from these. I see no contradiction here; in order to form a strong centralized government the power needs to be shared with local administrations. Let me give my country as an example to conclude. Of course, it is a far-away country. We have two identities in the Kingdom of Denmark. We have Greenland; these are the parts of the Kingdom of Denmark and it is in charge of them. The defense, security and finance policies are all under Denmark's authority. However, the local administrations were given considerable autonomy. You can say this modal has a lot of problems of course, but we must ask what the alternative is. The alternative is not the continuation of the conflicts forever. The answer to your question is; to be able to progress in the peace process and to give people a chance at least to learn living with others in peace.

GUEST: What do you think about this free zone issue, Mr. Rasmussen? And how can power sharing system be organized in Syria? I mean are there any other examples like this type in other places?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: As I have expressed my opinions before, let's listen to your ideas about this topic first! Decentralization and power sharing issues are like bids for sects or ethnical groups. It should not be confused with the bad examples we have seen in Syria and Lebanon. In fact, the historical background of this idea mainly started with the exiles in Iraq. When we look at Bagdad, there is authority here. There is a ruling party. However, the people who suffered a lot from the regime show strong reactions as well.

In a political vacuum, if you look at the first occupation movements

by the USA of course this was not the only solution for Iraq. I suppose we are paying a heavy price now. When we think about its immediate environment in local elections and if we consider ISID issue too, a lot of safety measures are being taken. ISID around Bagdad has weakened the motivation of safety staff. In addition, there is some disobedience. Of course, this disobedience collapses immediately. It collapses as soon as ISID appears. At that time, the disobedient cannot find any power that supports them among themselves to be able to expel ISID. Bagdad has relationships and contacts.

So, it is necessary to find a solution to the vacuum there. How have big chieftains in Mosul established power bases around Mosul? If we start from here, an alternative can be developed in time. There can be an alternative power structure in the region. After that, meetings can start by taking the power distribution into consideration. However, the one who will act as an arbiter is



again the central government both here and in the capital city. It is necessary for everyone now. With regard to the master plan, the fact that this plan was advised to us had occurred as a part of the Geneva process.

During the Geneva process, if the Americans had agreed to work with Russia to bring the Syrians to the table, they could have forced Syria at that time. They could have reached a compromise all together, but it did not happen. Why? Because the Russians and the Americans could not work together under any circumstances, since the Russians became spoilsport. The Russians see themselves as if they can benefit from these disagreements and conflicts. There are advantages of getting up against America such as image etc. On the other hand, America has an attitude as if it does not want to be engaged with what is happening here.

On account of seeing this top to bottom approach, which has not gone well, let's look at the Syrian issue from the bottom to top approach. For example, there should be local ceasefires. Some



local ceasefires had taken place in Syria and they could have been developed. Nobody developed them... because of political issues. So, the Geneva process will go on in the forthcoming one or two years. However, the only way for this to be useful and to reach a solution is that this issue should be taken seriously in the West and Russia should give up saying "we have already told you" and appear with a more constructive approach.

GUEST: My job has become easier now because I agree with your opinion in general. This can be successful in the issue of distributing and sharing this power at the beginning, but it can be a lout between local privileged people and local community again. When we talk about the decentralization of power within the ruling party, of course we mean it to occur in an appropriate democratic culture.

Student Seda KOCAGER (P.S.I.R.): My question is to Mr. Rasmussen. What do you think about Ukraine's chance of acceptance if it applies to be member of NATO?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: Of course each candidate country should fulfill NATO's criteria. If Ukraine applies for membership, it will be a long process because Ukraine cannot fulfill the required criteria for now. However, let me remind you of this; in 2008, during a process at the summit of NATO it was decided for Ukraine to be a member. Of course, Ukraine needs to fulfill the required criteria, and this decision is still valid. This year in September, we have re-expressed that this decision is still valid. However, it is clear that Ukraine should actualize extensive reforms. Then, it can become a member of NATO.

In addition, sometimes such a question is directed; Wouldn't Ukraine's membership of NATO be provocative? If we consider Russia, Ukraine's membership of NATO is not an issue which Russia can decide on. Each country has the right to make its

decision about its future. In 1999 in the European Security Conference, it was being said that, each country had the right to form its own security policy. Russia was one of the countries that confirmed this conference. Ukraine applies and NATO decides. Sooner or later, the membership is to be finalized, but of course this is not an issue that will happen in the near future.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Mrs. Beril, I want to direct the same question to you. I have just asked it to Mr. RASMUSSEN, but he did not want to go into detail. Due to its previous duty, the USA is insisting on Incirlik very much and it is so eager. I also want to ask this: about the Geneva issue Mr. HARLING said that it would go on without any problems like Geneva 1, Geneva 2-3 ... What is your opinion about this?

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: I have started with Geneva and yes, I think it will go on like that. Here, the aim is to call it good news if the meetings are not being interrupted.

Murat AKGÜN: But isn't it for the sake of appearance?

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: If you say that 'it has finished', the risk is bigger. Therefore, the fact that this event is still under discussion is diplomacy itself. If they cannot go further for now, it is clear that they have consented to this. I am not sure if there is as big insistence as you have said about the insistence of the USA for Incirlik. However, if they have demands, they are not the ones like "we will attempt to bomb, so that Turkey will be in a difficult situation". They are about sustaining a humanitarian intervention action with low cost.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: So, you think that if they want it, it is for a humanitarian aid with military reasons.

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: It is exactly like that because it is not such an easy situation in today's technology to say that, a military operation to Syria needs Incirlik. In addition, strategically I do not think that the USA will prefer to give the impression that everywhere is bombed with American planes taking off from Turkey. I mean why should it be in a position that it is disliked by the communities which Turkey want to help and get closer with? But this scene has a direct correspondence in the Arab and Muslim world. If you are right, without a conflict with the USA, this corresponds to a benefit in favour of Turkey in the Middle East.

Student Ravdanur CUMHA (P.S.I.R.): RASMUSSEN and P. HAWLING, as Mr. Numan KURTULMUŞ said, "The world is bigger than five." What are your suggestions for a more functional and open-minded UN?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: If I have understood the vice-prime minister right, he said that an extensive referendum would be better. This project has already been discussed in the UN for a long time. Here is the argument; the UN Security Council as usual reflects the power structures formed right after the Second World War. A modern UN Security Council should reflect the truth of 2014. It should also reflect the increasing weight of improving powers. I understand this argument really well. I have also said this; principally I support that the UN should get improved. Representation ability of the Security Council and other foundations will be higher than now.

Although I have said this, we have to face the reality. Here is the reality; the consent of five permanent members is necessary to make such a change. After that, it is necessary to ask this question; do you think it is possible? Do these five countries agree and give up their powers-including their right to veto? I think this is not realistic. It is necessary to look for more realistic alternatives towards the solution ... but I agree with the vice-prime minister about this issue: the UN's present situation is sabotaging its credibility and authority. We encounter with inadequacy of decision making in the UN mostly. The fact that the UN Security Council cannot make important decisions means that the UN's credibility is sabotaged. A strong UN is necessary. This UN should be a warrantor of global law. The fact that the UN Security Council cannot take an action about Syria is unfortunately the reflection of this situation. However, the efforts to reform the UN will not be enough to solve this problem. It is necessary to look for other means.

Peter HARLING: It is a part of international governance system and it developed after Second World War. Foundations like the UN have a series of certain values and norms. In 1990s, they already reached the top when the West beat the Soviet Union. There was not an explicit enemy and people in the world felt themselves responsible for their own destiny; they used this governance system. We were the owners so that we reflected left, right and middle center and I think this created resentment all over the world. I mean the expression we call double standard was emerged from the West's action. I think this matter continues to follow us in the Syrian issue and the like, and we cannot define the relationship between Syrian regime and Russian regime as a long one; this is not true. This relationship stopped in 1980s.

The relationship started again in 2012 and on a very interesting base, its reason was this: Russia wants to take revenge and this is the motivation. After that, the relationship was built again progressively during the conflict. However, in fact, the first motivation was its the anger towards the West. I mean the West manipulated the international communication system. It suffered from erosion and it was forced in such a different way and Syria

challenged this; Ukraine is an example. These examples will increase in any case. I am not sure. Let's say, at least in the near future, it will be a great potential to reform the UN because there is already unwillingness about these issues. And I think this has been established about the present situation in this part of the trouble-free world, with high level international intervention for the last ten years. These structures are from the Soviet Union and the West. Today, we are in such a moment that there is still some intervention, but it is complex and unclear. This is doubtful in any case. Confusion among the local people is increasing as well as the interventions in one another's conflict. Countries like Turkey, Iran and Saudi Arabia should talk to each other ultimately, instead of waiting for solutions from the UN.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Mrs. Beril, I want to ask you a question. While we were talking to the honorable General Secretary this morning, he mentioned that there was a possibility for Turkey to be a role model. How do you evaluate the opportunity by considering the relationships with Israel, with Egypt and with the present regime in Syria? Where does it start? How far can it continue?

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: I want to remind something about the time when the issue of Turkey's being a role model was discussed, during the period when it was high on the agenda. Turkey, at that time did not say "I want to be the model" or "I can explain my model to the Middle East." It was left holding the baby. I mean, something like whether Turkey could be a model came from outside. This was not a position which was positively welcomed. If communities in the Middle East had been able to model, it would have given probably more positive results. I mean, if it had come as a suggestion from inside the region, it could have been an issue to work on.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: Shouldn't it be the case for each matter? I wish the request for solution would have come from inside Iraq and Afghanistan.

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: Therefore, I cannot say that it resulted positively in this respect because when Turkey was mentioned as 'a model', it is helpful to say that everybody understood something else. For example, it is necessary not to think that a system determined by the public's voting is perceived as a model by the Middle East monarchy at any price, and to think that the secular structure of the administration will not absolutely be preferred by some places. I mean that the request for Turkey to be a model was not a situation that met everybody's expectation. However, it can be said that Turkey's development and its achievement in progress is an attraction center and it could only have shed the light in each community to find the method for itself. Namely, Turkey as a country enduring a range of difficult

situations tried to overcome them. This is a country where politics is being re-structured constantly and which undergoes major developments. Well, it could have let to ask why could we not do it, how can we produce a similar effect-result-output, and it can still allow to ask these questions. Today, I do not mean that it is over and such a thing is out of question. On the contrary, maybe conflicts and the loss environment are more important so that these kinds of questions are asked. By the way, there was a question just asked by a student about the UN. He asked what would happen.

Moderator Murat AKGÜN: She said that the world is greater than five.

Prof. Dr. Beril DEDEOĞLU: Yes, I want to say something about it. Generally it is misunderstood as if developing countries are not among the countries which have a right to veto. Of course, I can also ask this question. The argument that the UN has had inside itself has not reached that level yet. For example, it is being discussed whether Germany should be among these 5 countries and as far as I can follow, England and France are the ones which opposes Germany's involvement most. Therefore, while we are not yet in a situation to overcome this issue, how can we consider the others?

Student Kadir, a student from Nigeria (P.S.I.R.): My question is for dear Rasmussen. When ISIS started to attack, they were considered to be a small group, but the situation is getting worse and the number of dead people is increasing. Do you think that they will lose? If so, how long will it take?

A.F. RASMUSSEN: Thank you so much. Yes, as a short answer, surely the so-called Islamic state will lose. The coalition forces have started a military operation, and I believe, ISIS will lose against these forces. It will not be easy, and will take time, but the result will be a defeat for ISIS. However, I need to remark again that we need to analyze the various reasons underlying the extremism in the Middle East to prevent it, not necessarily the sectarian-based policies. We need to end these problems immediately, and we have no reasons and excuses not to do so.

What is so sorrowful is that the UN has published the Human Development Report twelve years ago, in which these problems were already highlighted. Presumably, one of the reasons of the Arab Spring was the lack of opportunity for the youth. There is indeed a need for more opportunities in this region, but the report by the UN was not read either by American or European scientists because it was published 12 years ago. However, Arab academics have done so and indicated the 3 key points missing. Well, these are the ones responsible for the lack of opportunity mentioned. 22 Arab countries have worked and pointed out 3

missing aspects: lack of freedom, lack of hunger for knowledge and inadequate practice of women's rights. The lack of freedom they have highlighted leads to oppressive regimes. The lack of hunger and the belief that they will be able to change nothing via sensitive methods have been interestingly mentioned. The books translated into Arabic from international resources were so few and the Arabic resources on new ideas were also few. That is what some Arab academics had told me, and they had also asked

a question on the Human Development Report. How could we talk about the prosperity of some countries if the half of the population is excluded from the work market, political arena and social life? The useful facts were published 12 years ago, and we are still facing the same problem. The bottom line is that, yes, we do need a military operation against ISIS, but we need to discuss this issue with its long-term effects.



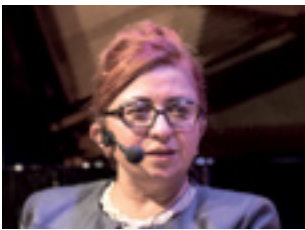
3rd Session

Hasan Kalyoncu University Convention and Culture Center, Gaziantep



The root cause of social and political problems in the Middle East in historical perspective

Any parts of Middle East have experienced volatility and fragility due to conflict over the course of the region's long and complex history. In this session, these developments, the root causes with their reflections over today's problems will be evaluated in a chronological order.



Prof. Dr. Edibe SÖZEN
Hasan Kalyoncu University / Gaziantep

Moderator

Edibe Sözen graduated from Marmara University, Department of International Relations with a BSc degree in 1982. She received her PhD from the Faculty of Economics at Istanbul University in 1999. She was invited as a guest lecturer to University of Wisconsin–Madison between 1991-1993. In 1994, she became associate professor of applied sociology, and was appointed professor of communications in 2000 at Istanbul University. She carried out studies on the 3rd generation European Turks in Germany, Austria and Holland. Her study on European Turks received the Ludwigshafen Science and Research award in Germany in 2001. She has authored 7 books and more than 50 articles.

Moderator Prof. Dr. Edibe SÖZEN: We will evaluate the issues in the Middle East in a chronological order, and their reflections on the modern world will be discussed. I will give the right to speak to dear Mujeeb R. Khan, who will present us a structural and a systematic analysis of the war and will discuss the American policy about the region with a critical approach.

Mujeeb R. KHAN: We may need to look at the tragedy in Syria, Iraq and Palestine from a systematic perspective, rather than discussing a specific issue. Such an approach will give us an answer as to why this clash has been going on and on. What do we mean by the word Middle East? To my understanding, this is a systematic region, in which the interaction among various groups



Mujeeb R.KHAN

University of California, Berkeley / USA

Mujeeb R. Khan was a Fulbright Researcher in the Persian Gulf who has published extensively on the politics and history of the modern Muslim world. He is also affiliated with the Doctoral program in political science at UC Berkeley.

results in an effect to any of these groups. Some of them have an impact on Turkey, Iran and even Afghanistan and Pakistan. Another issue to consider is the fact that the Western world is looking down on this region, and they think that all these are based on the ongoing hatred. What is wrong in this assumption? There are two reasons for it. The first one is the image of Europe, which appears to us as associated with eating croissant in Champ-Elyse. Did Europeans like one another 60 years ago? They were still killing each other in millions. The World War II is an ethnic cleansing, which means Europe was an arena which was comparatively much more severe than the Middle East. Actually, the historical hatreds are not enough to understand the blood in the Middle East. In "Pax Ottomana", people from various ethnical backgrounds and religions have lived in peace and the regions with clash were areas with cyclical confronting. In this respect, this issue can be clarified only by explaining the systematic crisis. For instance, Egypt's transition towards democracy was quite hopeful. In 2013, Saudi Arabia and Israel transferred around 20 billion US dollars to Egypt, to prevent reactions against the military coups.

The areas of conflict in the Middle East include those in Israel and the Kurdistan region and the Arab-Arab conflict areas. These are not individual and isolated conflict areas, on the contrary, they reinforce one another and one area is embedded in the other. We need to figure out the difference if we are looking for a solution. For instance, Syria is within the borders of Arab-Israel conflict area, that is, what happens in Lebanon and Syria is of interest to people in Israel. Today, the Syrian issue is within the scope of both Turkey-Syria and Iran issues. The example of Iran is really interesting because group such as Shia's people and Assad regime misunderstand the presence of Iran in Syria. In fact, the reality is totally different and people are confused about Iran-Syria; it is perceived that Iran is against Syria.

Hezbollah is necessary for repulsing any attack of Israel. If Assad regime is overturned, the connection with Hezbollah will be cut off. If Israel bombs Iran, needless to say that Hezbollah should attack Israel. The function of Hezbollah is the prevention of any attack of Israel to Iran. In short, it is related to the identity and cultural location. If Turkey had an agreement with Iran, maybe Hezbollah would be a distraction and if the Assad regime is

overturned, the sacred places would be protected. In those conditions, Iran would help Assad's downfall. Does the way leading to the Middle East pass by Bagdad or Jerusalem? If you wanted to have peace in the region before the USA occupied Iraq, then peace should have been between Israel and Palestine at first. Then you could have gone for Saddam. In this case, people would believe that you wanted to bring democracy to the region. Neo-conservatives talk differently. In the USA they said the problem was Saddam Hussein and the other dictators in the region; we should establish the democracy there by force. They legitimized the occupation according to this argument. There is very little legitimacy of the mass destruction arms. If we consider the double standards of the USA's foreign affairs, their occupation policies are bound to be unsuccessful from the very beginning.

Why is the Middle East an endless conflict region? Why not Eastern Asia or Southern Asia but the Middle East? The following factor explains it. India and China came up as great powers in the Eastern Asia and Southern Asia. They went out of the Western Imperialism in terms of historical and cultural civilizations. They have not been divided. India had a small amount of division but it has kept its integrality. It has protected its historical area and industrial freedom. The western countries could not interfere. China likewise; Mao made China get its historical borders. Some cultural revolutions and developments have been made later, it was industrialized; its economy got bigger. Recently, it is the biggest economy in the world. The USA is not the number one economy anymore. The tragedy in the Middle East is that, there is such hegemony in Islam civilization and in the Islamic World.

At the same time Ottoman Empire was a state. A lot of people with different ethnic roots were living under the Ottoman dominance. While some of them were Arabic Muslims, some of them were Turkish Muslims and they were all attached to the Ottoman Empire. All of the Muslims supported the Ottoman Empire perpetually and they fought for it.

Arab Spring and democratization have backfired in Syria. We need to have a look at how the Western powers encouraged and directed the authority in order to explain authority. The Western countries were in fact afraid of the democracy in the Islamic World. They say many things but when it comes to application, they show their hypocritical double standards. Democracy quest in Egypt turned into a bloody coup d'état. A lot of people were murdered. The coup d'état in Egypt was considered as a bloody one by the South African Union and they ended Egypt's membership. What did the USA and the EU which always talk about human rights do in that case? Now the attitude of the USA is clear. In case of a coup d'état, they try to suspend it till democracy comes. Obama calls his country as "a country of law" renaming torturing as intense interrogation and continues his activities. We can say that the EU

did not blame Sisi and ignored a massacre which was worse than the one carried out by China in the Tiananmen Square

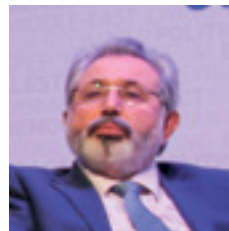
When we talk internationally, we mean controlling all the oil reserves. One of the endless conflict issues is actually the oil. Let's have a look at the American policy with an opposing view. Sisi Vahbi Selefi is a movement that rises from Saudi Arabia and uses extreme violence.

Americans ask why Muslims cannot stop the violence. However, protests performed during the Rabia case was peaceful and nonviolent. But even then, they were murdered and you could not protect them, and in this case Sisi was empowered. The reason for their action was to become a democratic country whose people could be heard so the foreign policy would be changed. Maybe, even Palestine would be given the freedom and equality. They could give up building luxurious palaces and spend the money for democratization after industrialization of the area.

We can see that the policies of some countries can be changed in the regional level. In this argument, there is a constructive factor and we see that the orientation of the country changes in national and identity issues. We also see the change of the orientation. Turkey and Iran were called "surrounding countries" until the year of 1980. The strategy which is related to Israel could be explained as being close to the non-Arabic countries in politics. This is why Israel and Turkey have had good relations. However, now both Turkey and Iran are the indispensable actors in the region. Turkey is the champion of democracy in the region and supports Palestine and condemns the coup d'état in Egypt. Turkey also had some changes in its identity after democracy. Turkish government should listen to the people and reflect the identity of the people. Turkey has a lot of similarities with its southern neighbors. As a country which is a part of this civilization, people in Turkey are raising their voices, expressing their disgrace for the support for Israel policies against Palestine. There is also the voice of the selective people here saying that, they are affected by these problems in the region and they focus on the national borders. They reject any relations with the East or the West. Moreover, even though Turkey does not want to be included in these issues, the problems reflect on to Turkey. As there are a lot of refugees coming from Syria to Gaziantep; you know this situation better in this city. Turkey needs to develop a vision. A potential solution could be the point reached by the Europeans at that time. After two world wars, a lot of massacres and genocides, they were around a table for the independency and they founded the Cool and Steel Union. They merged the institutions and changed the whole structure of the regional policy. Democracy was an indispensable part of this. The solution is also similar to this in the Middle East. We need to repeat the economic integration and democratization needs in the region so that industrialization, rise

of the middle class will occur, and purchasing arms from the West and the construction of palaces will be stopped. It is not easy to do all these but the Arab Spring started with these issues. When we look at the Turkish foreign policies, it seems they also go for it. Thank you for listening to me.

Moderator Prof. Dr. Edibe SÖZEN: Though it was not so much different from yesterday's discussions, two different ideas were brought forward. One of this is focusing on the democratization but an opinion on the unity and integrality of the countries was expressed by vice-Prime Minister Numan Kurtulmuş. He talked about the criteria, which we can call as Jerusalem criteria that would make us live together. Another thing is the idea that Mr. Rasmussen put forward, which is the Bosnian Model as a solution. But I believe that was left in yesterday's agenda as a controversial model. However, as it was mentioned in the previous two speeches and by Mr. Mujeeb R. Khan, the real solution lies under the historical process even though, the historical process is said to have five different conflict zones. This means, the biggest need in the area is democratization. It analyzes the Middle East causes of social and political conditions from a historical perspective and also within a historical perspective. For some, this proxy-war is like a global civil war. As Mr. Rasmussen stated yesterday that it was not quite possible to name the wars waged in the area as a civil war. These are mostly referred to as global civil wars or as proxy wars in international politics as Mr. Obama stated on an occasion. Of course here, we are talking about an area that has long lost its stability. This stability that the Ottoman Empire achieved in Caucasia and the Balkans was global in historical terms. This stability obviously vanished after the World War I. The democratization process in the five conflict areas should be observed and followed up carefully, as Mujeeb R. Khan stated. From the sessions of yesterday, we know that there are some serious problems; the democratization process, the processes for equal gender rights and equal education rights are left incomplete. These are all closely connected to the democratic process.



Prof. Dr. Zekeriya KURŞUN
Marmara University / Istanbul

He is faculty member of the Department of History at Marmara University. His research interests are History of the Modern Middle East, Arabian Gulf, Arabian/Persian Gulf Studies, Ottoman History, Ottoman Empire. Besides his academic research on Arab-Turkish Relations and North Africa, he is the president of the Association of Researchers on the Middle East and Africa (ORDAF). Prof. Dr. Zekeriya Kurşun appears in numerous scholarly articles, books and academic papers.

Our second speaker, Marmara University academic member Prof.

Dr. Zekeriya KURŞUN will bring into the agenda the geopolitics of Persian Gulf and the shortcomings of Saudi Arabian politics in the area.

Prof. Dr. Zekeriya KURŞUN: When we look at geopolitics in general, history, geography, demography and the resources in the mentioned area define it. In this way, when we look at the Persian Gulf we are looking at an area that is situated in the south-east of Gulf of Arabia and Iran and in reference to the Arabian Sea, the 965 km long waterway that connects the Hormoz Strait and the countries that have flocked around it. This passage is the main route of trade routes that goes from east to the Mesopotamia and through there to Europe, which is called the Spice and Silk roads, which have always been open for international dominance and the turmoil that follows. This is the reason why Iranians refer to it as the Gulf of Persia, yet Ottomans referred it in a more neutral way as Persian Gulf after settling in the area. But the mentioned region is insistently referred to as the “Arabian Gulf” by modern nations. The time period that defined the nations and their economic around the Persian Gulf became the most indispensable resources of the area. Fishing, as one of the prominent sources of income followed by the discovery of pearls as a seductive factor in the area has affected the trade. Related to these comes the process of trade goods’ transfer to Europe from India and we know by then trade between this region and Indian sailors was already in place, before Europeans even discovered India. In a nutshell, this area has history and traditions in trade. The area was also the centre of attraction in the whole world in 20th century because of oil reserves. In short, Europeans conquered the land after the Portuguese, through Vasco de Gama discovered India.

As a matter of fact the basic problems start after this time. As the Portuguese and Ottomans settle the western coast, the Dutch and the English become active with the trade they have specifically established in the two countries. After the 18th century the Dutch fall back, then the English try to settle in the region and they expend great effort to influence or take over the area from Hormoz Strait to Kuwait. This effort comes to fruition until the end of the World War II. After this date, after 1947 the U.S.A actively settled in the area and became the root cause of conflict.

The tension and conflict between the Ottoman Empire and Europe lasted for decades. This puts forward two theories; the first theory belongs to Europeans in that this is a free area, the Ottomans don’t have a physical dominance or they have a partial/nominal dominance. It is also seen as a free area from an easily influenced international relations perspective. The second one is that the Ottomans are there physically.

When we talk about the Gulf of Persia, we have to say there are two rivers that emerge in Anatolia at the end of the gulf. These

rivers are Tigris and Euphrates. We are bound to the Gulf of Persia in a way that increases our geopolitical value. Goods produced in Erzurum can be transferred to the Gulf of Persia by these two rivers. The Gulf of Persia is an undeniable element of Turkey’s geographical, cultural and historical depth. This is why Turkey’s efforts of dominance in this area must be understood. Especially, the announcement of the year 2015 as the year of Qatar has utmost importance. There are some things we need to consider such as the western view of the world. First after the British powerfully arrived, as they had concerns toward the Ottoman and Persia, they settled secret negotiations. By this, they name armistice sheikhdoms in an effort to prevent negative effects of piracy and the sort on British commerce in a disdainful way. These are Oman, 6-7 emirates that make up the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar. After 1970’s independent nations started to rise. And again, these nations were named as “infant states” in a disdainful manner. The current name that follows is fund-holder states. All these three periods of time are given in a colonial narration. That is why civil wars should be analyzed in this colonial viewpoint.

When we look at the governance of these states in the mentioned area, we see that they are dynasties of 300-500 years long. Ahni-Ayan, the Abhu-Dhabi sheikhdom has been a dynasty there for about 400 years. Alsani which holds the governance of Qatar has preserved a culture there for more than 150 years followed by Bahrain in the same manner for 200 years, and Kuwait for 200 years. There is an immense structure here. Therefore, if you ignore this fact and come to a different conclusion, the problem starts at that point. Saudi Arabia, unfortunately, finished their conversion in 1744. The traditional dynasty became a structure that started to shape in regards of religion and state, which brought the two modern Saudi Arabian dilemmas. The Saudi Emirate, which is defined as a state called Wahhabi State after having formed alliance with Muhammed Bin Abdulvahap, continued for some time and then collapsed only to rise again in 1902 to be actually based on a state in 1930, is unfortunately face to face with dilemmas. Many others claim that the other small states near the Gulf are in more of a danger. However, I claim exactly the opposite. Saudi Arabia is in more of a danger and this danger originates from both their inner dynamics and the combined religion-state governance structure they currently have.

In brief, there are many factors that define the inner dynamics of Saudi Arabia. One of them is the initial Muslim Brotherhood Movement that took place in 1930s in Saudi Arabia itself; it is the primary force of the establishment of Saudi Arabia. It acts both as a military power and as a religious missionary group. After the nation was established, King Absuud has minimized its effects by coordinating with the British. After that process, there has been a serious inner conflict ever since. This conflict was somehow managed to overcome, thanks to the welfare that

brought rich petroleum reserves until 1990s. However, this gave a rise to another viewpoint afterwards. We define these as the “New Muslim Brotherhood”. This New Muslim Brotherhood actually, is the group that successfully circulates the idea we know as “Salafi” on the international basis. This Saudi Arabia-London based movement, in a sense presents the dilemmas of Saudi Arabia. A lot of antipathy is shown to Saudi Arabia in international arena due to the activities of all Salafies. The other most important group is the Shiah. About one million Shiah live in the eastern part of Saudi Arabia, being in close relations with Iran. In fact, the real problem between Saudi Arabia and Iran is this. The problem they have with Shiah hasn’t been solved due to the interpretations of Wahhabism and this is the reason why it is in danger. Reformist Shafii and Liberals are today the source of inner conflicts or problems. The other dynasties have in time adapted a more tolerant policy and renewed themselves, where Saudi Arabia was trapped in inner conflict, and therefore having a position against the ISIS, as well as forming its base.

Thank you.

Moderator Prof. Dr. Edibe SÖZEN: What attracted my attention was the “free area” matter. Physically, the Ottoman Empire had a force that stabilized the Middle Eastern states but there was a free area. I believe, one of the reasons of conflict today will be this free area. My next guest is the Turkish Coordination and Cooperation Agency Coordinator, Mr. Prof. Dr. Süleyman KIZILTOPRAK to evaluate and inform us about the last 100 years of the Middle East from the point of view of Baghdad and Cairo.



Prof. Dr. Süleyman KIZILTOPRAK
TIKA (Coordinator of Turkish Cooperation
and Coordination Agency) / Ankara

He is a graduate of Bosphorus University’s History Department. He completed his MA at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in 1997 and PhD at Marmara University in 2001 where he became an “Assistant Professor” in 2005. Since 1995, he has been giving courses at history department of Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. Prof. Dr. Süleyman KIZILTOPRAK appears in numerous scholarly articles, books and academic papers on 19th century Ottoman History, period of Sultan Abdulhamid II, the Middle East and Egypt. He has been Libya Coordinator of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA).

Prof. Dr. Süleyman KIZILTOPRAK: The last century of the Middle East started with a problem and this problem hasn’t been solved yet. The weak administration, unhealthy governance and the corrupted system are continuation of the unsuccessful establishment that started 100 years ago. One guiding idea would be the analysis of the past governance with its flaws and shortcomings to ensure the viability of future systems to be put in

place. The system that the Ottoman Empire took up for the region, while in domination for 400 years can be criticized in many ways, yet we don’t see conflicts similar to the current ones. After 19th century, when the area got in the scope of European Expansionist Movement, we start seeing the rise of such problems. The Napoleonic invasion of the area in 1798 can be seen as the first expansionist movement initiative towards the area. This interest of Europe in the area brought with it great disturbance in the social structures, production policies and culture of people in the area. This disturbance resulted in an explosion of problems that have been riddling the area for decades.

Arabs are usually considered as people who live in Africa and Syria, Palestine, Iraq and in the Arabian Peninsula. Although Arabs in the Arabian Peninsula are very different than Syrian, Palestinian, Iraqi and Jordanian Arabs, they continued to remain as the old Ottoman provinces in terms of language, culture and economics. All Arabs actually constitute one race. Although they were separated after the World War I and rose up as different countries with different ways of governance and system, they owe their close connection of culture to their communication and development in education; as it was centuries ago. This is said by Admiral Nuri Sait Pasha in a report to the British Foreign Ministry in 1948 when he was expressing his opinions on solving the problems in the Middle East. When we look at the area, we see once again the problems that come from divided nations as it was explained by Nuri Sait. Nuri Sait says and I quote: “Combination of Syria and Iraq as a federation can only be successful if the minorities there have a semi-dependent, yet a strong regime like a canton. Only if the cantons there are given similar rights that were given to minorities in Lebanon during the Ottoman rule, and if they are protected under a strong rule, these nations can survive.” Prime Minister of Iraq, in 1942 claims that, the system doesn’t work in either Iraq or Syria and claims that the current divided and weak government structure cannot protect the people or provide necessary service. In addition, he says that this is a synthetic government. You established four different governments on the lands of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan which were tied together to one province of Damascus in the Ottoman Empire. This structure will not work and sect wars that are similar to the ones that started in 1860 will start again. The nation-state promised to the Hebrews will not live in this land. If you wish to do so, first of all establish a federation to gather all the Arabs under one roof including Syria, Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula. While doing this, Nuri Sait was on the side of the British. He brings up this solution while also considering his friendship with the British. We will give you the same advantages that the other nations of Common Wealth gave you as long as you do not establish a weak structure that will govern the Arabs of Arabian Peninsula, Syria and Iraq.

The most major problem in the Middle East is that there are some very precious underground resources in the area and there

is a western world that wants to dominate the energy sources. The Arabs have a conflict among themselves resulting from their differences in sects or ethnicities. The issue here is that how these problems of conflict can be solved? And, the main concern of all Arabs is what kind of government Palestinian Arabs will achieve during this process. Until the problem of Palestinian Arabs to have a country of their own is solved, problems of Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq will not be solved and even in Egypt, the main policy that Nasir has taken up after being allocated to his new position is to find a solution to the Palestine problem. In this perspective, Egypt has always had to intervene at wars such as the 1956 crisis, 1967 and 1973 wars. When Egypt withdrew due to Camp David pact, all Arabs took Egypt out of the Arab League. And still, there is no Arab nation that can take initiative to solve the Palestine problem today. After every Israeli assault, Palestinians wait for humanitarian aid from the Gulf Nations. The reason behind this is obviously to rebuild their country.

Today, the most important difficulty in finding solutions to the problems in the Middle East is that new petroleum reserves are found in the eastern Mediterranean. Who will make use of these reserves and how? In Leviathan area, and Tamar area, where the natural gas resources exist, there is gas of trillion cubic meters. Israel suddenly changed its Gaza policy on the use of these resources; while it was an issue during the time of Ariel Sharon to give autonomy to Gaza or not, Israel gave up this policy suddenly. We are not so sure about the future of Gaza, where one million people live. Naturally, Israel wants to use all its potential in order to transfer the energy resources from that area to Europe safely. They want Gaza to benefit from the area. That leads to a fall in the petroleum prices in the world. How does this price fall affect the peace in the region? Financial aid from the United Arab Emirates, Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia is a matter of discussion in terms of public improvements in Gaza and the support of the regime in Egypt. Without this aid, not only the public improvement in Syria and Palestine is under danger but also weaker Arabian countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, Sudan, and Somali need financial aid in order to survive and have a sustainable system. Their support will be reduced and in the near future, bigger conflicts might break out in Middle East. If Bosnian model, which Rasmussen talked about, would be applied in Syria and the Middle East, the future of the Middle East would be expecting big conflicts. When Egypt and Sudan were divided into two parts in 1956, Egyptian streets were all crowded with people shouting "Egypt and Sudan cannot be divided". In 2011, Sudan was divided into two parts. East Sudan, which was richer in terms of economy and underground resources, split from Sudan. These are the areas that Nile, which is very important for Egypt, emerges. Although this was an issue effecting directly Egypt, it didn't become the main topic of conversation; and Egyptian streets were full of revolutionists. Tahrir Square was busy with overthrowing Husnu Mubarek. One year passed

with the demonstrations supporting Sisi, but Egypt didn't put the separation of Sudan on the agenda. In order to have a bright future, Middle East countries must adopt a peaceful approach to solve their inner problems themselves: The relationship with the West should be conducted by modeling Turkey, both in democracy and economy. Do we express an opinion on the developments in the Middle East, or, by talking about cooperation, do we desire a silent and passive Turkey which the West presents as a solution? We have to understand it well. I hope the ones who predestinate the region will take the facts of region into consideration, and see it clearly. I hope they will find a solution that will save them from enticed and deceived feelings in the last century. I think I am a bit pessimist about the Middle East.

Thank you.

Moderator Prof. Dr. Edibe SÖZEN: Couldn't certain countries be founded in the Middle East after World War II when stability was destroyed? Or, the authoritarian administrators can freely act because the countries are weak? What the Middle East needs to do is to make modernization real, isn't it? In my opinion, in order to bring peace, the Middle East should be open to democracy and reforms, otherwise conflicts will never end.

Now, our fourth speaker Prof. Dr. Ahmet Seyhun from Winnipeg University (Canada) will cover the Middle East issue from an Islamic point of view.



Prof. Dr. Ahmet SEYHUN
The University of Winnipeg / Canada

He received Bachelor of Law degree from the Istanbul University, Masters degree in History from Bogazici University and his Doctoral degree from McGill University (Institute of Islamic Studies), Canada. He is an Professor of History at the University of Winnipeg, and teaches History of Islam, History of the Ottoman Empire and Islam and the West.

Prof. Dr. Ahmet SEYHUN: I will talk about the movement in the Second Constitutional Period, especially, Pan-Islamism movement, the thinkers of this movement, the roots in 1900s of what is happening today in the Middle East, the intervention of the West to this region, the decline of Ottoman Empire and the establishment of regional countries.

1908 was one of the milestones of both Islamic, and Ottoman history, and also the history of the region. In 1908, Abdulhamit was not dethroned. It was in 1909. But Constitutional Monarchy was declared in 1908. With the declaration of Constitutionalism, lots of political movements which were under the censorship of

Abdulhamit till the declaration, found an opportunity to express themselves. From the previous writers of 1960s and 1970s, writers such as, Serif Mardin made certain differences for these movements. For example; Turkism, Islamism, Westernism, Ottomanism... Today, we look at these from a different view. What we see is these movements were influenced by each other and there was a constant exchange of ideas among them, which laid the foundations of democracy for the region. In the Ottoman Empire, the first parliament was opened. The first Constitutional Period was short-lived. The Ottoman-Russian War broke out. The parliament was reopened in 1908. Unionists and Young Turks were like a coup for Abdulhamit. However, ultimately, all these groups participated in politics. I didn't separate that period from the Republic. In the last book that I wrote, I combined the Ottoman Empire with the Republic. I analyzed the ideas of thinkers such as Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Salih Haim Pasha, Mehmet Ayni, Mustafa Sabri, Shaykh al-Islam Mustafa Kazım, and what I saw was that the democratization efforts in that time, in fact, were very important and they were the issues that referred to today's problems. For example, this is an important issue that the writers labeled as Islamic focused on. Nationalism is an artificial movement that came from the West, and would be applied to Islam. The West's historical evolution is very different from its Islamic one. It was shown that a system which works in the West might not work in the same way in the East. This was first brought forward by the thinkers who we call as the New Ottomans such as Ali Suavi, Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha. Later, it was Muhammet Abhu and his period because of his good command of Arabic. These ideas were posed by Namık Kemal and his friends in 1860. There are two important ideas here; the first one; the institutions



taken from the West cannot flourish in Islamic lands because the environment is totally different. The second one is the question that Islamic scholars always ask; "Why did Islamic World fall behind?" Once upon a time, Baghdad was the center of the world. What all the writers meet on a common ground is that "We fell behind because the rules (that our religion ordered) were not

carried out properly. This means that Islam was a religion, which was immensely advanced and open to innovations. However, after some time, the doors of ruling case were closed and it was entered into the corruption period. This was discussed in the parliament as much as the 'Law on the Maintenance of Order in 1925.' It was written until that period.

Thank you.

Moderator Prof. Dr. Edibe SÖZEN: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Serdar ERDURMAZ will explain his thoughts about Turkey's Decision-Making Authority over Syrian Civil War.



Doç. Dr. Ali Serdar ERDURMAZ
Hasan Kalyoncu University / Gaziantep

He is a graduate of Turkish Army War College. He completed his MA and PhD in International Relations. Also, he holds a second master's degree in Executive Management and Human Resources. He is a Faculty Member of Department of Political Science and International Relations at Hasan Kalyoncu University.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Serdar ERDURMAZ: The problems are the actors in Middle East, their problems and solutions. If we narrow the actors over Syria, we can see only one Syrian regime that represents the government. Apart from that, we all witness that non-state actors are actively creating a chaos in Syria. What I want to present here is that, which of the actors could win and take control and how Turkey would be affected from this. Which actor should be supported to realize Turkey's international benefits? In which direction should our policies be? I will try to present it in a mathematical way. We will use TOPSIS method here. Because, for an ideal solution, I consider approaching this issue significant with a technique of ranking preferences through simulation. When we have a look at the actors, in fact, PYD's winning will be under consideration or The Free Syrian Army (FSY) has changed, now the Revolutionist Committee Council was founded in Gaziantep and they are functioning effectively. It seems likely for ISIS and finally Assad's regime to win in Syria. These are the results that we will be focused on. By the way, if we have a look at Turkey's national interests, regional stability is very important for us; avoidance of separation and refugee raids are effecting us. Limiting or ending this is of importance. It is desired to see changes such as making a regime change, destroying Assad regime and forming a new unitary regime which is democratic, respectful to human rights and accepts the superiority of law. Unitary structure is a kind of structure which prevents separation. Lastly, from the viewpoint of Turkey, limitation of Iran's influence is within our national interest. There is a ranking of priority of these interests in accordance with

their importance. A number of values will be given by decision-makers with respect to their recognition and these values, in fact, can be set by different decision-makers. People, who follow foreign policy with a certain basis and Syrian policy will more or less deduce the same results. Here, the best option is shown as Condition 1, and the worst one is shown as Condition 5. While preventing separation and regime change are our first priority, activities of terrorists and ISIS's winning, which is Condition 5, is the worst scenario for us. Based on that, we made an assessment for all the actors.

For PYD's winning in regional stability, regional stability is handled in two ways; because stability can be provided. However, considering the other factors, which are oppositions, will have an impact on there, providing a wholly stability is impossible, risky stabilities can be provided, and there won't be a poor and bad stability. But ultimately there will be separation and division. Refugee area will be widely prevented. There might be a regime change but there will be Assad's resistance against this regime change. Iran's effects can be relatively limited.

In case of ISIS's winning, regional stability is also handled in two ways, because PYD will resist this time. It is evaluated that separation will be definitely prevented. There will appear a way towards unitary structure. It is thought that a democratic structure can be formed in Syria. Refugee influx will be widely prevented. Also, there will be absolutely a regime change because Assad regime will fall down. It is also thought that, Iran's effects can be limited to a large extent.

ISIS's winning is seen as the worst case. There won't be any regional stability. There will be a total separation. Conflicts will continue. Refugee influxes will continue until the last times because everyone will escape. Especially when we consider Aleppo, we think there will be a serious refugee influx. Regime change will be a discussed topic for a while, but it will face great resistance.

In case the last regime's wins, it is thought that regional stability will be extremely poor; there will be a separation in the end because if Assad wins oppositions and PYD will resist to this situation; there will be continuous crises. Refugee influxes will be in great numbers and there will not be any regime change because if Assad wins he will dominate the whole region. It is thought that Iran's presence will also be high.

Based on these evaluations, when we look at the foreseeable changes of Syrian civil war in relation to Turkey, we demand a regime change; the disposal of ISIS is one of our main targets. The loss of the regional control with terrorists getting stronger is very important to us; avoidance of separation is one of our priorities and Iran's presence should be limited. If we apply 6 degrees of TOPSIS method to this situation, the following results

appear; The Revolutionist Committee Council being supported by Turkey is very significant; as for the regime change, the best solution is to support the oppositions. Second best solution is PYD's or PKK's winning. ISIS declared its area as sovereign, and in case of its evolution, a new Islamic regime is inevitable and with Assad's winning through a victory, it will be impossible to change the regime.

If we have a look at the annihilation of ISIS; again, it is a basis to support the Free Syrian Army because FSA will be destroyed in case of Assad's winning, and afterwards by supporting the Kurdish structuring ISIS might be cleared, which is the third action. What is important for us is to prevent the hegemony of PKK or PYD in the region after the clearance of ISIS. This is a very important issue for us. In this case, clearing ISIS is to Turkey's interest, the best option to change the regime is to support the oppositions. Subsequently, Assad's winning might realize this. As we see ISIS as an extension of PYD and PKK, we accept it as a terrorist organization. Another factor to prevent the separation is the success of the opposition's being supported, which is the best option. Later, Assad's winning can be prevented. Following this, support for PYD can bring a solution to this situation. Lastly, the limitation of Iran's effect; if the opposition sets a unitary structure and gets enough support, Iran's effect relies on Assad's winning.

According to these results, Turkey's political approaches are correct. Definitely and transparently, our government policies want to do everything to support the oppositions in Gaziantep and want the West to act accordingly. However, the consolidation of PYD groups has been produced as an outcome by the USA as well. Actually, the goal is the same. First, ISIS is needed to be swept away following the regime.

Moderator Prof. Dr. Edibe SÖZEN: It was an unusual presentation. When we consider it mathematically, we will have taken an easier step for the peace process. Now, Dear Assist. Prof. Dr. Vehbi Baysal will present the notion formation process in the Middle East countries and the denominational conflicts within this period.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Vehbi BAYSAL: These kinds of meetings point out for one thing; America is not under every stone. Therefore, it needs to be considered from different aspects. The borders for principles drawn in the Middle East are not actually their decisions. The Arabic nationalism outlined a map for themselves by putting the Arab Peninsula and North Africa at the forefront, but it didn't happen. However, what differs if the borders of these countries, which did not draw their borders, change? There weren't already any virtual borders between Egypt and Iraq. ISIS, which was controlling the Rakka region for almost a year used to collect tolls in this region. Damascus in "Iraq-Damascus" state which is



Yrd. Doç. Dr. Vehbi BAYSAN
History, Yeditepe University / İstanbul

He is a graduate of Istanbul University, Department of Eastern Languages and Literatures. He completed his "MA" in Arabic Language and Literature at Jordan Yarmouk University and "PhD" in Middle Eastern Studies at University of Manchester. He is faculty member of the Department of History at Yeditepe University and board member of the Association of the Researchers on the Middle East and Africa (ORDAF).

ISIS in short is "Bilad-ül Damascus" region involving Turkish and Saudi Arabian borders. It is the major threatening region. What is special with this region? It has become a turning point after the foundation of Israel in 1948. Scenarios about what can happen in the Middle East after the 1907 war were written. One of them was the Arabian-Israel war, but it failed. Then, there could be the "Palestine-Israel war, which failed as well. "Water War" was the final point. There are Golan hills still being occupied by Israel. It is strategically important for Israel. This is the water reservoir for the Middle East. Managers were requested for the foundation of these kinds of stations. One of them was quitting elitist approach and founding a new army system in which ordinary people could take higher positions in the army as well. It was somehow accepted.

However, as soon as these ordinary people were taken a higher office, the first thing they did was to demolish the ones by whom they had been promoted. 1950s and 1960s are these years. Iraq, Egypt and Libya are full of these people. Accordingly, there isn't any army against external threat in any Middle East country; all armies have been organized for interior threats. The ones who are in charge of the army are all relatives. Ordinary people are made sure they do not have high positions.. The army in Syria is arranged not for external threats but for demolishing the regime. Therefore, there aren't any other choices apart from opening fire. So, what is the importance of the geopolitical position of Turkey for the Middle East? There is a 850km frontier just with Syria. Rasmussen was reflecting on the West opinion. Due to this, the absence of the development of democracy and social, economic and political causes enable the increase of the terrorist organizations such as ISIS. If this is right, based on a research by Western University in England, how can you give an explanation for 4.500 English citizens' joining the ISIS? In addition, what about the ones attending from Denmark, Germany, France and Belgium? It is not possible to explain an organization which has appeared regionally.

ISIS is a good example of it. Actually, we need to have a look at how Westerns are unskillful. Firstly, I want to adduce Libya. In Libya, it is decided for the US Security Council to hinder Kaddafi from bombing his citizens with his war crafts. Right after

this accord, France and NATO started to bomb the area . Last summer, Obama stated in his speech that they would bomb ISIS. USA soldiers were also not to step on the region. So, who were going to solve this issue? Local forces for sure. Turkey intervened at this point. Accordingly, the West was not skilled in producing a solution.

Turkey's policy is being criticized as wrong in the Middle East. Well, what is wrong about Turkey's policy? The reason for this is not being specified. Turkey embraces all the guests from Syria. And one of the delegates from the UN just says "You are doing a good job!" and leaves. Is it possible? If Turkey wanted, it could close its frontiers and make the issue turn into humanitarian plight but it didn't do this. Authorities do not mention this; it doesn't mean that Turkey is incapable of doing it.

Thank you very much.

Moderator Prof. Dr. Edibe SÖZEN: He presented concrete and current issues. Now our sixth speaker, Dr. Lütfü ŞAHİN, will discuss inter-sectarian conflict in the Middle East.



Dr. Lütfü ÖZŞAHİN
Theolog / İstanbul

He is a graduate of 19 Mayıs University, Faculty of Theology. He completed his MA in the History of Religions and PhD in History of Philosophy at Marmara University Institute of Social Sciences. He taught both at public and private schools. There have been more than 200 articles published in national publications and political journals.

Dr. Lütfü ŞAHİN: First of all, the Middle East is a problematical notion. It does not exist with regard to our own civilization. It is also a Eurocentric notion. There is a "Middle East" for the West. According to the Hegel approach, if it is you defining the country you live, it means that you hold the power. Although we have a big historical background, we cannot say that we have a historical consciousness. Another issue is the nuclear power of Israel. Israel has enough nuclear power to hit İstanbul and Tehran. Some international collusion cannot cover up the realities. The issue between the East and the West is a challenge. Actually, there are not any concepts like this in our civilization. These are imperialist definitions. All the humanity and civilizations cannot rely upon the West. In history, Islamic world challenged Western Europe about many issues. Today, Turkey challenges the West with its political and economic development. While responding to Iraq and Syria, Turkey wants to go back to the region. This is indeed a kind challenge. These historical consciousness and deepness have

been considered by the westerns. Despite the westerns, Turkey cannot be senseless for the things happening in its region. It cannot be thought that it doesn't have a say about the land it has been ruling for 400 years. If the border of Turkey starts with Hatay, its strategic borders start with Jerusalem and Bagdad. Bagdad's being hung by a thread means that Gaziantep and Diyarbakır are hung by a thread. Bosnia and Azerbaijan are also two of our strategic borders. The West may like our government, but international relations are not grounded on the concept of love. Finally, the democracy export of the West is totally eye service. Where was the West during the coup in Egypt?

Also, there is no problem between the Bass regime and Israel. These dictator regimes are needy to each other.



Moderator Prof. Dr. Edibe SÖZEN: Actually, after the 7th century when Islam started to spread, the politics in the region has started to improve. In the 20th century, especially Fascism is the aspect in which Imperialism is mostly effected by. That is to say, the Middle East is the area which the West segregated. The conflict of the Middle East is affected by the West to some extent. There is technological recession in the 21st century. There has not been an improvement because of status the Middle East appearing in academic books. Now, our young brother from AFAD is going to give his speech. He is going to talk about the population movements towards Turkey and the accommodation of immigrants. Now please accept Mr. Abdullah for his speech.



Abdullah DİLSİZ

AFAD (Prime Ministry Disaster & Emergency Management Authority)

Abdullah DİLSİZ: Now it is an emergency case because we do not have peace ahead. And there has been an enormous movement of migration from Syria since 2011. From this day forth, the number of Syrians here are 1.750.000. 225.000 of these guests are accommodated in tents put up in our ten cities. Their needs are met within the bounds of possibility. About 50.000 trainees are educated in various training courses. In the Health Sector, these guests can be treated in about 500 polyclinics where 84 local and 20 foreign doctor serve. According to the US standardizations, the approximate expense is 5 billion dollars. It is pretty a good amount for the development of this country.

And, since June 2014, there have been movements in Iraq as a result of the attacks by ISIS. 20.000 people including Yezidis have come to Turkey as refugees. Various housing and welfare activities are in progress for them. Nevertheless, Turkey built and opened two camps of 32.500 people capacity in Iraq; one in Zaho and one in Dohuq, using its equities. The number of humanitarian aid trucks is 626.

In addition, we have to maintain their psychological well-being. We are working on restructuring the future of these people and rebuilding their society. We are in the position of adapting these people to social life. I want to make a suggestion; we are trying to generate an idea for planning their future in their country. However, I think that universities and civil societies need to carry out a feasibility study by gathering professors, doctors and academicians together.

Thank you.

Moderator Prof. Dr. Edibe SÖZEN: I'd like to thank all the speakers individually. When the proceedings of symposium are published, the product will be invaluable. Now it is the end of our session. Thank you all.

4th Session

Hasan Kalyoncu University Convention and Culture Center, Gaziantep



Ways of Searching and Suggestions for Solutions of Middle East Crisis

In the light of the conclusions inferred from the last session of the symposium entitled 'Suggestions and Search for Methods for the Resolution of Middle East Crisis', the future of the Middle East will be discussed, and suggestions for the resolutions will be presented accordingly. This session will be moderated by the rector of Gaziantep University Prof. Dr. M. Yavuz Coşkun.

Moderator

Prof. Dr. M. Yavuz COŞKUN
Gaziantep University Rector / Gaziantep



He received his MD at Faculty of Medicine, Uludağ University and holds a PhD in Child Health and Disease. He became Professor in 1996 at Gaziantep University. He is Rector of Department Of Child Health and Disease, Division of General Pediatrics.

Moderator Prof. Dr. M. Yavuz COŞKUN: The Middle East issue is being discussed considering all its aspects, blood, tears, and grief. Many speeches have been made focusing on the problems and the relevant resolutions. The speakers were very qualified in their fields and could put forth helpful suggestions for resolutions. It has been clearly seen after the speeches of

Rasmussen and Vice Prime Minister Numan Kurtulmuş that there are significant differences in the Middle East, though there is some correspondence between the viewpoints of Turkey and the West. Now, I am inviting Professor Dr. Hakan Yavuz from the University of UTAH to the stage to make his speech.



Prof. Dr. M. Hakan YAVUZ
The University of Utah / USA

Yavuz received his earlier education in Ankara, Turkey, graduated with BA from Siyasal Bilgiler Faculty, Ankara. He received his MA from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and spent a semester at the Hebrew University, Israel and received his Ph.D. from University of Wisconsin-Madison in political science. He is an author of more than 30 articles on Islam, Nationalism, Kurdish Question, and Modern Turkish Politics. Hakan Yavuz is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Utah. His current projects focus on transnational Islamic Networks in Central Asia and Turkey; the role of Islam in state-building and nationalism; and ethno-religious conflict management.

Prof. Dr. M. Hakan YAVUZ: The speeches made yesterday and today have focused on the international system and the problems caused by the communities in the Middle East, as it is a resolution symposium. The main reason of these problems is the colonial policy, which has been posed by the international system itself and the problems caused by the state systems developed within the colonial policy. However, in my opinion, the problems occur on an individual basis. It is related to the people's identities and presences. In other words, blaming the state and considering it in terms of the international system is important. It should be handled within this framework. Another complementary factor and maybe the major one is that there is an identity crisis in the Middle East.

This crisis stems from having too little or lacking necessary and sufficient moral structure. I have seen that the religious systems are not efficient enough to be a moral community in the western world after a great struggle, and I have found out a conclusion statement on the secular moral system, secular philosophy of life or human rights, which will lead people to a more immoral direction. Unfortunately, we are all very far from the Middle East. Due to this reason, there is an identity and personality crisis in the Middle East. Another reason is the historical process which the Middle East has gone through. However, in my opinion, it is necessary to see the gap created by the Middle East and the serious lack of cultural and religious reform movement in the area, and its effects on the identity and personality crisis. This is what I want to state in brief. For the rest of my speech I will try to support what I have said on the crisis in the Middle East and the weaknesses of the states, and the dictatorships of the states. These are the major factors. However, it should be emphasized that there is identity and personality crisis.

When we consider the international Freedom House survey, the most severe cruelty is unfortunately seen in Middle East communities. It is crucial that the reasons for such an outcome should be discussed. Why are the Muslim communities the first

in rank in terms of crime rates and violations of human rights? Also we, as Muslim communities, are the first in rank in terms of family violence, street violence and neighbourhood violence. This situation is also seen in some Latin American states arising from different reasons. One of the main reasons is the morality. This has always been tried to be solved only through religious sources, however, it is clearly seen that other sources are needed on condition that religion is placed in the center. The other sources should be chosen from philosophy, especially secular morality on the basis of human rights, even changing the religious morality into a secular one. The process in the West is similar to this one in some aspects. In other words, making Hegel Cartoon's religious morality secular as possible and reflect it on the public domain. One of the major problems in these communities is the public sphere and private sphere. We have a perception of morality which is mostly centred on the honor in the family. We mistakenly perceive the public sphere as a place where there is no morality or no religious fear. This situation is being tried to be solved by law, but it is not effective enough and it causes new problems to appear.

When we consider our position in terms of international standards, we can say that we as the Turkish community are in a good position, but not a very satisfactory position. Among the other Muslim communities, Turkey is a model in terms of democratization and human rights. As it was mentioned by Prof. Dr. Ahmet, the arguments between Muslim intellectuals such as Namık Kemal and the Reform movement intellectuals are very crucial. What is involved in these arguments is an effort of creating a public morality by using Islamic sources. They put on a great effort, but they could not succeed at all. The universities have an important role for this issue. It is so wrong not to teach moral philosophy at the universities in addition to religion. Unfortunately, the universities either do not have a philosophy department or they were closed down, so the universities could not meet what they were expected to do. I hope they can in the future. However, the time is so limited. The Turkish community was introduced to modernization very late. Even the introduction to capitalism started in 1983 after Turgut Özal's policy of neo-liberal economics. We learned about modernity through consumption, but not through production. We were seriously affected by the desire for consumption which was exposed by modernity, since we did not have a strong moral structure to resist this desire. In other words, we tried to create an identity with the consumption desire of modernity. We tried to find an identity from the products that we consumed. The result of this situation was that we had a lack of morality which was created by modernization.

The enrichment in the West is a different one which appeared after the Industrial Revolution. It needs several generations to pass and requires a serious moral discipline. However, this enrichment

in our community took place in the construction sector, in other words, in a certain generation. This situation caused some problems as well. The bourgeois class in the West was supporting the foundations, which would help create the moral structure necessary for itself. On the other hand, the bourgeois class in our community is different from the one in the West. Since 1923, at first, the government has tried to create a bourgeois class, but it failed to put forth a national value. After 1983, for me, Özal was a turning point. The time of Özal was very crucial in terms of economic reforms, private universities and private radios. The result of these developments is the period of AKP. In the background of today's AKP, Özal's ideas and revolutions can be seen. Since everything developed very fast in the time of Özal, the moral and normative aspects have always been ignored.

Since 2002, Turkey has had an economic boost. This boost was so quick that we tried to connect modernism to malls. That is, these malls also brought an Islam-mall system based on consumption. After 2002, universities and faculties of theology have not been able to put forth the necessary moral discussion and the system of moral thoughts within this market economy.

As a result, since 2002, even 1983, with Özal's revolution we have made an important progress. We have built skyscrapers and while doing this, we have made our souls smaller. In my opinion, in contrast to the economic development, there is a big gap in Turkish public morality and there is a serious damage in our social structure. One of the reasons for this is that we have experienced a fast development. People did not have enough time to handle all these together; 10 or 20 years is not a long period of time. I hope Turkey develops a public morality which will take away this moral deprivation. I think that, we are starting to be more Balkan in terms of economy and class differences. We need to see this negative aspect as well.
Thank you.

Moderator Prof. Dr. M. Yavuz COŞKUN: Mr YAVUZ has drawn a portrait of confrontation. He mentioned that the basic moral philosophy and the humanitarian moral understanding in the Middle East communities have not been perceived properly, that the religious references have not been told and understood enough, and that it could not be guaranteed by another social agreement. He also mentioned that, there has been a serious problem in the meeting point of modernity and Turkey, and that even though there is some progress in modernity in terms of economy, this modernity could not be realized culturally and socially.

Now I would like to give the floor to Assistant Professor Doctor Esmâ İĞÜS from the University of Mimar Sinan. She will cover the Middle East issue in terms of culture and art.



Assist. Prof. Dr. Esmâ İĞÜS
Mimar Sinan University / İstanbul

She received her BA degree from İstanbul University, Department of Literature and Art History, MA degree in Museum Studies from Yıldız University. She is a faculty member of Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. Her research interests are History of Ottoman Art, late Ottoman period, 19th Century Ottoman History and Politics of Education.

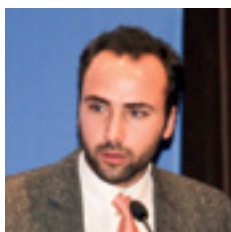
Assst. Prof. Dr. Esmâ İĞÜS: I will approach the Middle East as an architecture/art historian. 'Fire gardens of Babylon' is truly on a serious fire in terms of culture. Since 1990s, the cultural areas have been plundered and there have been cultural genocides in the Middle East and Mesopotamia. It is better to start by saying that the common memory of human beings is the Middle East or Mesopotamia. We can see how this area which has the longest history of humanity has been suffering from losing its historical and cultural identity because of political instability and wars. Thus, it is clearly seen how this movable and unmovable architecture is being destroyed very fast. The heritage of the Middle East dates back to the Lower Paleolithic age and has been hosting a wide range of cultural heritage.

In brief, the history of Mesopotamia is also the history of humanity. Mesopotamia was and is an area which has a cultural heritage, a unique site, and a historical value of identity. However, the chaotic and political environment since 1990s, has damaged its cultural heritage. For this reason, the concrete and abstract heritage of the area should be protected. Cultural heritage is considered to be common for all areas as it is transferred from generation to generation, and is to be protected carefully. Hammurabi rules are a kind of heritage from the past. In 1258 the invasion of Baghdad by Mongols was also a kind of cultural invasion. The devastating effect of the invasion on people was claimed to be the plunder of the Baghdad library by Mongols; millions of books were thrown into the river Tigris, and the water of the river overflowed with ink. For the last twenty years, the cultural heritage of the area has been plundered continuously. To prevent this kind of actions, it is crucial that a public awareness should be raised.
Thank you.

Moderator Prof. Dr. M. Yavuz COŞKUN: Our third speaker Ali EL-HUSSEINI from the University of UTAH will talk about the Middle East in general.

Ali EL-HUSSEINI: As far as it is seen, the NATO zone and the rest of the world are now very interested in ISIS. This has become a very important issue for the West. However, for us there are some more important issues. Nobody has a realistic solution for this

problem. There is a crisis about this issue and it is still going on. In the Middle East, North Africa, and the whole region, Turkey is on the way to be a cure and solution. I want to mention the origin of this problem. How did we end up here? I would like to see Lebanon as a micro-cosmos. Probably, I will go through some ideas that have been put forth by the other speakers because their suggestions are partly correct, but do not exactly apply to what we are saying. Unfortunately, most of us see the West as the solution center; however, they do not have solution. They see us as a cow to be milked. They do milk us and then they do not want us. The fall of Ottoman Empire caused a lack of authority in the region. At the end of World War I, Lebanon and the whole Middle East were determined by artificial lines.



Ali El Hussein

Political Scientist / Lebanon

Ali El Hussein is a Phd candidate of Political Science, Middle Eastern studies at the University of Utah. He holds a Masters in both Political Science and Economics and is a rising expert on Middle Eastern political and economic affairs. Mr. Hussein is a frequent Advisor to the Lebanese Parliament on foreign policy issues and has guest lectured for several top tier Universities.

There weren't such identities before. The Pax Ottomana of the Ottoman Empire held the natural area together for centuries. These artificial boundaries formed these identities, and then we needed to rule these identities. As a result, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Iraq identities have been formed which did not exist before. We became hostages of those identities and we started to invest heavily, but it was something we did not understand fully. By doing so, we were unable to identify our legitimacy with who we are and what we did. We had a normative order. Countries which did not exist anymore were formed. As you know, some countries were petrol producers and some relied on petrol. The economy of Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and Kuwait rely on petrol. Therefore, a gap has appeared. There is no improvement in the education system; not only at social level but also at economic level. Europeans benefited from industrial revolution but we didn't. They had unions. Those unions gathered people. They could overcome their problems and differences. But we had a superficial bourgeoisie middle class, consisted of government officers, and doctors. This unsuccessful government model brought out these circular problems, but it couldn't produce solutions.

No one wants to tackle the Arab-Israeli problem. All the USA presidents talk about that. They share their great ideas with us but at the end of their term, they forget about its existence. All their focus shifts to South Atlantic. The Arab-Israeli issue is gradually

turning into an Islam-Israeli conflict. The Islam world is gradually started to believe this. Their way to gather these people is to create a national identity. Some countries cannot form their own army, as they don't have their own identity. The Iraqi army spent trillions for 12 years and at the end, all of them deserted and now there are only a few thousands left. One third of Iraq can rule one third of Syria. They all come from Europe. They can do it better than the local and central governments. Today, the Middle-East and the Arabian countries as a whole, all of them will have more problems. Petrol wars will break out as petrol prices are dropping. If World War IV breaks out, there will be a need for power. There is no other power at the moment, which will create peace and welfare period substitute the Western forces in this territory.

Our model is more related than the one that Rasmussen suggested yesterday, which is to balkanize the territory. There is a war between Syria and Iraq. This happened in Lebanon, too. International intervention, intervention of big forces is about different sects but there are more sects in Lebanon. These are sectarian, I mean everybody, Christians and Muslims, was fighting. But Christians were fighting with Christians and Muslims were fighting with Muslims. In this respect, Lebanon could be a good example, but it cannot be the only solution. Sectarianism caused civil war. It ended up in Lebanon with Taif treaty, which is sharing power. This is the Lebanese model. This partial treaty authorized everybody to have a power of veto. Different sects share the power in parliament. They say that they don't want to divide the territory and to protect the different boundaries for unity. This is very important as the Lebanese model can work very well. Lebanon alone needs a key hegemonic power. This power can play a temporary role. It can help in the Middle East and it can help to improve the territory.

If we are to repeat, when crises break out over the constitutional monarchy, border integrity, identity, and the nation-state, who is going to play this role? Now Saudi Arabia is supporting some of oppositions and some of ISIS groups. Qatar is doing the same. The Sunni and part of the Arabian world are overtaking this war. Iran is supporting Hezbollah. Syria is supporting its government. The West is only watching. They are pleased with this outcome because they are getting the weapons that are manufactured by the USA, and also they are weakening Iran and this is also weakening Al Qaeda. They are bringing the non-Arab terrorists from all over Europe. They want to make sure that they cannot get out of Syria and they tell them to die.

Turkey can play this role as a natural leader, as it has the same model with Europeans which has industrially developed great educational systems. As we can see today, the modernization process, which we don't have, can build a balance with the local hegemonic power and doesn't participate in this war. However, if Saudi Arabia and Iran can interfere and gather different powers

and local units, the Lebanese model can be an applicable solution. People in this territory should understand that; this integration can be functioned in the long term.

In the disintegration of the powers that was mentioned by the NATO former-secretary general, the judiciary executive, legislative and judicial powers should be considered in a power sharing agreement. The most important is the economic development. People already participated in different organizations because of lack of economic development. Then the thought crosses their mind that they should join the war since they have nothing else to do. Because of this reason, the Arab Spring has turned into an Arab nightmare. Without real economic development and integration of all the community, we cannot progress. My suggestion is definitely to “Lebanonize” the Arab problem. This hegemony is strong, we can do that.

Thank you.

Moderator Prof. Dr. M. Yavuz COŞKUN: In terms of international relations, is there anything like sectarian tension, some other new and artificial formations like ISIS in the Middle East? Or, are they fabricated? We are expecting an answer covering all of these questions. Actually, we talked about the Middle East communities. The Arab spring or the Arab nightmare; how did this happen? It started as spring but in some places that spring has ended. There should be an agreement or a reference for the Arab community to trust. Now, it is our fourth speaker’s turn for his speech, Mr. Assist. Prof. Dr. Süleyman Elik.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Süleyman ELİK: I will discuss issues such as the things that the medium scaled powers can do, and whether they can form alliances, and the perceptions of threat. I will also talk about the effects of Syrian crisis.

First of all, it is important to comprehend what the international system is to be able analyze the current happenings in the world. How did it first appear and how has it developed? How does it affect us? We are facing with the truths which we have to obey. There have been two debates in Europe with the age of enlightenment. One of them is the nation-state system and the

other one is republicanism. The World War II ended with this nation-state construction. Therefore, it is important to evaluate all states within this nation-state category.



Assist. Prof. Dr. Süleyman ELİK
Medeniyet University / Istanbul

He is a graduate of Uludağ University, Faculty of Theology. He received his masters degree in Philosophy from Boğaziçi University and his doctoral degree from University of Durham-St. Cuthbert’s Society, School of Government and International Affairs. He is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at the Medeniyet University. He has been appears in numerous scholarly articles, books and academic papers.

International relations authorities generally look for answers to the question “how can we make peace?” But hegemonic theories are just the opposite. Unfortunately, this is the thing in practice. According to Spykman’s “edge band” theory; we constituted the Baghdad agreement. In this respect, the alliance of Turkey and Iran is just for protection of interests. Also, we constituted “peripheral agreement”. This agreement was a secret military treaty between Turkey, Ethiopia and Israel in 1958. In the Cold War period, a new period started which was effective in constructing an international system. It is the period when the countries in A-B-C categories are nationalized, which started a new nationalism trend. The Middle East and African countries are in these categories. We can describe it with nation-state and secular morals for capitalism. After the Cold War, a new period started. We call this period a “moral international system”. This is a construct created by the UN especially after 1945. We see the issues related to basic agreements of human rights have transformed to military-international within the framework of moral international system after 1991.

European countries are united under one single flag and nation-state against migrants and Islamophobia. It is important to evaluate all of the concepts like nationalism, racism in this respect. Now, where is Turkey and Iran standing at this point? I identify Turkey and Iran as the middle-scaled powers in Middle East. Accordingly, I think middle-scaled powers can bargain with large-scaled powers. Actually, they did. Nuclear separation is the most important evidence to this. This is a historically acquired truth, so middle-scaled powers cannot be invaded by a single power. Therefore, they cannot be excluded from the international system potentially. Apart from this, in the context of threat perceptions I find S. David Galaksi’s theory really beneficial to explain the Middle East countries, which is called “general balance theory” and you know all international relations consist of the explanations on how great powers stand in foreign policies.



We teach our students how Eurocentric countries stand in foreign policies. But for the first time, in 1991 S. David wrote an article about how the foreign policies of the third world countries are related to their behavior patterns. It is a very important article but of course it is just the starting point; it needs to be developed. The third-world countries which are Turkey, Iran and Egypt in Middle East are the three exterior angles of a triangle, the exterior triangle as identified by prime minister Davutoğlu. There is also the interior triangle which consists of Syria, Jordan and Iraq. This exterior triangle predestinates the Middle East, so in this case, international powers prevent these countries' mutual consent. The most important evidence is Egypt's being overthrown. If Turkey and Egypt were two sides of that triangle, peace would have been established but it was prevented.

So in reference to this theory, as long as these two or three middle-scaled powers come together, they will create a paradigm shift in the international system. They will demolish the system. The following fights will be among the developing powers; great powers and super powers, also known as smart powers. In this respect, we experience the inevitable war now. This war does not have to be using hard power but it can be done through cultural or social capitalist instruments. Recently, I studied the Syrian crisis in Turkey-Iran relationship. In the Syrian crisis, Turkey adopted a policy for the change of the regime, not a sectarian policy. In the West especially in the USA, some academicians who used to act as former ambassadors for Turkey had some issues to cover. They blamed Turkey for adopting a sectarian policy but this is completely a perception management operation. In the same way, Turkey's relationships with Al-Qaida and ISIS are completely a perception management operation. So, we should definitely have some solution offers. This is a problematic point between Turkey-Syria relationships.

There is a military alliance between Iran and Syria. One of the biggest features of these middle-scaled powers is that they seek a settlement with the smaller scaled powers. Like Turkey's agreement with Israel, Iran's agreement with Syria, Syria's agreement with Jordan or the foundation of United Arab Republic with Syria by Egypt. When we evaluate the Iran-Syria relationship in a systematic platform, we can conclude that our capacity increased up to 21 billion dollars. And also in 2013 it regressed to 13 billion, but in addition we have closed trade, which is worth above 100 billion dollars. I think this figure has been increased. Now, Iran has 170 billion dollars confined abroad. It is especially controlled by Germany in Swiss banks. It is said that this money will be presented to the market over Turkey, and various private companies and financial groups are doing their own studies. However, we can observe that Turkey and Iran has little mutual foreign investments. We have a nonsystematic, superficial relationship with Iran. We don't have any connection.

Consequently, I have benefited greatly from the speeches made today and yesterday about solution offers for Syria. I have tried to summarize it in 6 points. Russia and Iran are the two important actors which shouldn't be left behind in the solution of Syrian conflict. Turkey has tried to cooperate with these countries but it could not manage. This cooperation should be ensured. Secondly, a reconstruction for leadership rather than a regime could be considered. I have a study on Syrians in Istanbul and it will be published in *Yeni Şafak* in January, 2015. I interviewed 40 families. These families said that when Syria's reconstruction has fulfilled, they will neither prefer the canton model offered by Rasmussen nor adopt the Lebanese model. That Lebanese model is now in operation in Iran. The president is from Moralini and the prime minister is Sunni, etc. it is a feudal system practice. Now, in Iraq, the president is Kurdish, the prime minister is Sunni and there are some government officers from Shiah. As a result, they divided the administration. At this point actually this is a trap. It is not a model which stopped the conflicts in Lebanon. So, now the Bass regime can be reconstructed. I think regimes should be replaceable. We, AFAD, did lots of things for immigrants. We put temporary protection law in practice. We have geographic and historic limitation.

According to the Geneva Convention in 1952, we are granting the citizenship and immigrant status to the immigrants who come from the south. I am not asking for recognition of this convention. But especially, I think that Syrian immigrants should be provided with work permit and social security benefits. This is the most important solution point. Although we said too many times, that we are taking care of 225.000 people in camps and helping them, there is a reality that we have sociological existence. Accordingly, for their living, it is necessary to stop the abuse of their social security status. There must be differences between the perception of the nation-state in Europe and in our state. They completely have an exploitive approach. Although they have social rights, they are employed in sub-class jobs. Indeed, I think Syrians constitute a serious capital for Turkey to spread to the middle-east, and by organizing this social capitalism, it may turn out to be advantage for Turkey. For this, I especially like AFAD's serious studies devoted to their recent recordings in terms of occupational clusters. At last, the total number of Syrian immigrants accepted by European countries are 17.000. This number is very small. Do you who is involved in this figure? As you know, there is an international organization for migration. It is also the group of international office. Accordingly, European countries take those people from this organization or they exploit them etc ... Thank you.

Moderator Prof. Dr. M. Yavuz COŞKUN: Now, one of our speakers, Lawyer Betül YANILMAZ will present her paper. I also want to share this with you: Yesterday, dear vice prime minister

Prof. Dr. Numan KURTULMUŞ said that when an international system collapses, the international organizations like United-Nations do not get involved in such an issue, and uses its veto power as it was in Libya. In the Middle East, it must be focused on critical conditions, geographical unity and mutual peace. Among the Middle East people, how is violence and what is its level? Can you assess those in a general term, dear YANILMAZ?



Lawyer Betül YANILMAZ
KADEM (The Women and Democracy
Association) Chairman of Law Commission

Lawyer Betül YANILMAZ: This two day symposium associated a metaphor in my mind. In fact, this metaphor is related to migration. In a word, it is a metaphor which is related to migration studies. I want to tell you this metaphor by directing it to the refugees, since the majority of migrations have been consisted of refugees who run away from the civil war. John Bergler says that the life of a refugee is similar to the dream of another person. It means that a refugee is the main character of someone's dream. A historical responsibility has cringed all of his/her actions. At the same time, this is decided according to the need of the dreamer's mind. In the majority of those conversations, Several solutions were offered both yesterday and today. And a solution offer was suggested with two poles. But in general, the world should find a solution not according to the needs it defines, but according to refugees' groan of frustration. The main solution of this is not reaching a sustainable comfort, but preventing the causes of those problems. There is an incident repeated by lawyers during trials frequently. We repeat our previous statements. I'm repeating the offers concerning the United-Nation's structure, including humanitarian aid safety corridor issues. I also use this as one of the last spokesman of the last session. I am here to represent the association for women and democracy. Thereby, I want to focus on Syrian women during the remaining section. My association and I have individual studies on this issue.

I had the chance of visiting camps both in Syria and in Turkey. I worked with lots of women living in cities both in Syria and in Turkey. First of all, their biggest problem at the very beginning is they took a social role which presumed them to be the head of their families. These women did not undertake such a responsibility before. Therefore, this was new for most of them and they did not have any experience. Moreover, they weren't in a very comfortable situation; they had remained in a chaotic atmosphere. In Aleppo and Damascus, they were undertaking this duty on their own

because their husbands were battling at the frontier, dead or arrested. These women mostly take charge of business, in which they are unqualified and inexperienced.

Many cities suffer from severe hardship because they are under siege and they don't have many necessary supplies. For this reason, creating a safe environment is vital. When we come from Syria to Turkey, for instance, within 20 kilometers of Kilis, there are many camps which are close to the border and they are under the threat of fire. The places which are in the state of war and constant bombardment are immediately evacuated and moved into other camps due to what happens nearby. The majority of those camps consist of women and children. Their biggest problem is safety. This is an open door policy. But, the majority of those people cannot pass through the border, since they don't have a passport. And they are entrapped in an area of 15 kilometers square. In this respect, fall of Aleppo would cause great difficulty for them. This is similar in other regions as well. At the same time, there is an example which impresses me. I have seen many women undertaking the task of being the head of their families. They proceeded to safe places and they were turning back after they left their children to their families. Although they turned back to rescue their children, they didn't have the opportunity to find their children and families. They were very brave women. Beforehand, they had never had the mission of being family protectors.

According to the data of AFAD, 22 percent of Syrians in Turkey consist of women who take care of their families on their own, and those women experience language problems. They are employed in unsuitable jobs. Besides, their jobs pose security and health hazards, and yield low wages. Most of the women have to take care of their families including their relatives and they are devoid of many necessary supplies. Syrian women are exposed to violence and they are used as war weapons. Since the beginning of this unpeaceful period, we have learnt that many young girls have been kidnapped and raped. These incidents are reported but it is very difficult for Syrians to report them because cases like assault, rape, sexual harassment are a disgrace for Syrian women, and they have to abandon their living area.

Lots of women have already given birth and they have sheltered in Turkey by leaving their children and families behind. These are still good examples. As you know, there are lots of women who are in these dire straits in Syria. In war, raping and sexual harassment are used as tactics of war. In other words, they are used as source of motivation for soldiers in an attempt to degrade, rule and oppress a community. Accepting rape as a war crime is a recent outcome. People started to discuss this issue in the beginning of 1990's and recorded them officially. In this sense, borders are very important. Across the borders, human trafficking has created a big market. Especially, the women who had to pass through the borders

illegally since they don't have a passport have been deceived into thinking that they could have a better life and fell into the hands of gangsters.

Syrian women in Turkey are perceived as seductive who take our husbands away from us. This is an unfair generalization because these women don't want this indeed. Making such kind of generalization and commenting accordingly is not true. In general, Syrian women have early or forced marriages. Yes, this is a problem with Syrian women, as this is the part of their tradition and today's law doesn't let them have an official marriage because they have to issue their documents, which is not possible because of the war. There are emotional reasons behind it as well. When we talk to several mothers, although they know that their daughters will be unhappy, they think that they have to marry their daughters off. The thing we can understand from this is the part of the tradition. The main solution is that we have to alleviate the sorrow of Syrian women. And the only way is ceasing the war in Syria.

In international law, we call this humanitarian law. But mostly, we are using this to find excuses. It is not a civil war issue, it is an international issue. That's why it is related to humanitarian law. I think 'the definition of conscience' should be made from a social conscience perspective because those definitions are originated from previous definitions. And now, there are new aspects. And it doesn't seem to be true to use those hypotheses as an excuse. I want to finish with a metaphor as well. Refugees are disturbing and agitating us and questioning whether our lands belong to us or not. They are tossing our borders. They are forcing us about the meaning of 'What is a nation-state?' Sooner or later, humanitarian law has the capacity of displacing the concepts like human rights. In this circumstance, it will make new definitions but the main problem related to us is that the price we will have to pay will be too high.

Moderator Prof. Dr. M. Yavuz COŞKUN: In the center of these wars, mostly there are women and children. In an environment where raping is used as a war weapon, in what position can you be to support the political and social benefits of immigrants? Only if you take a look at it in a humanistic point of view. You can see it is too bad. Our last spokesman is the head of the Anatolian Platform, Mr Turgay ALDEMİR. Considering our discussions so far, what is your opinion?

Mr. Turgay ALDEMİR: Global conscience is dead. And all those things are the reflection of this. As stated before, Syria is experiencing much anguish now. In fact, we are facing something we have postponed for a century. As long as we run away from this, it will chase us. In 1914 and before, as we couldn't solve our accumulated problems and tried to spruce up ourselves from others' mirror, we experienced this drifting, decaying and grunge.

From an empire, we created nations and states. The history has given us the opportunity again. The issues have been discussed for two days and references were made to Rasmussen. Actually, the association represented by Rasmussen has completed its mission. Discussions and solution seeking could be resembled to treating a cancerous person with antibiotics. That's why we should talk about the real cause of the problem. Whenever we talk about the Middle-East, we mention so-called imperialist referees whom we shelter from anguishes, tears, exiling, dramas, crimes and rapes. Actually, did we not suffered from them because of them? For this reason, we should turn back to our values as soon as possible. Yes, right now, justice and compassion are of our concern again. But in order to keep the system alive, which is mostly much ado about nothing, people need economic power for advancement and power for protection. We make our voice heard, and our people of 70 million together with our neighbours believe us. But, to what extent it consists of art, literature, aesthetic architecture, cinema, television and technology? What kind of ideas will arise from it? It will protect people. It will bring a system and order. Do you have a power which depends on God against the people who try to choke people with labor pain? Actually, not! Could we produce an axis of economic justice, which can finance it all the time? That's why we have just started to discover our human resources. We need to redesign and develop them by being well-equipped and open-minded, and by getting in touch with the world without being a monotone. On the other hand, when we take a look at this table, the solution is almost impossible. We experience many problems which are interwoven in Anatolia. The main problem is that we cannot have consensus about the real cause of the problem. Do



Turgay ALDEMİR

Anadolu Platformu Başkanı / Gaziantep
President, Anatolian Platform / Gaziantep

He entered the Mechanical Engineering Department at Gaziantep University in 1987. He founded The Bülbülzade Foundation in Gaziantep in 1994. He became one of the founders of Anatolian Education and Invitation Volunteers Platform. He is the Board Member of the Bülbülzade Foundation and Anatolian Platform.

you think the main cause of this problem is to seek the solution with the people who are responsible for the atrocity? In our vault of heaven and in our own institutions of civilization, we are just discussing the problems and seeking solutions for them. In someone's epistemology and aura, we cannot improve our future. For this reason, we should develop our fields of specialty. Like witnessing the discovery of US in Japan or China, we should develop a new culture in the Middle east. Actually, the cause of the fight in Middle East is to resist that culture, because we

inhabit in a geography where the civilizations are intersected to be regarded as the cradle of humanity. That's why, the downfall of the bipolar world has cleared the way for many valid demands, which have been postponed until today. Puppet regimes have been overshadowed here. They have been the subject for discussion. The United Nations and NATO, which were founded after 1945 are unable to solve the current problems. That's why, trying to solve those problems through dated solutions will be a wasted effort. For this reason, the solution will be possible with new diplomacy and effective interventions by leading governments. Actually, the cure is ourselves. In this hall, we can solve our problems by talking about our pains with each other. Therefore, we cannot think that the Middle East has only one way out. Firstly, I think that these three problems should be discussed together: Religion, geography and energy. These three topics should be considered together. It seems to be difficult to reach a permanent solution only by viewing it from one perspective. From the religious aspect, the region has three main veins: Salafism, Sunnism and Shiism. As you know, Sunnism is represented by Turkey, Salafism by Saudi Arabia and Shiism by Iran. Geopolitical position of the Middle East is absolutely important. In these three regions, the representation of three countries is decisive. These are the major axes of the regions. Each axis should turn back to their own areas. Exterritorial forces have been destabilizing the future of the region and causing a chaotic atmosphere by getting in touch with those states individually. There is a complicated situation in the Middle East.

We need a holistic and long-term perspective for solution. That is why we must look for our future in the past and bring some realities of our civilization to the present, in which all kinds of diversity has lived abundantly. The main cause of present instability is the region is not looking for solution in its own memory and not making enough effort. Another recent cause of the instability has been successive US interventions to Iraq and sliding its power to the Pacific, which created a gap and caused the emergence of terrorist organizations like ISIL. Since they do not renew themselves, dilapidated societal structures are producing bacteria and the atmosphere that they create is impulsive and fractious. These dilapidated structures are the cause of struggle and chaos that destroy the dignity and future of human beings, as well as the value of Islamic civilization. These structures must be renewed in favour of people. However, it is quite important what the main axis of Muslim world thinks about this issue. Dear Friends, Saudi Arabia is now in favor of a west-oriented geopolicy. We, as the Muslim world, must always express in all the platforms that Saudi Arabia must give up this west-oriented geopolicy and must turn back to its own immemorial geopolicy.

On the other hand, Iran has proceeded with the revolution of Imam Humeyni. Nevertheless, after his death, some of the

revolutionists tried to export the revolution to the West and now Iran is one of the biggest ally and strategic partner of the West in the region. We must also put pressure on Iran to let it take back its own responsibilities in the region. In the post 2012 Turkey, the anti-imperialist thought became more powerful. This autochthonic thought that had been postponed for ninety years revived in Anatolia; may Allah be pleased of those who have secured these freedoms. Turkey has started to talk and sit around the table with the Kurds, Alavis, Sunnis and minorities who have shown a sense of alienation for years. A few weeks ago, more than twenty opinion leaders met with the Prime Minister and dozens of Ministers in Şanlıurfa. An invitee who has struggled for the rights of Kurds said that it was for the first time that he was held in esteem because there were now his administrators listening to him without any hesitation. Dear friends, the solution will appear when we talk



to each other about our problems. In the same meeting with the Prime Minister, another Alevi friend said that he had never talked about his problems with a security officer more than five minutes because no one could stand listening to him. The whole question is lying here; we have to listen and talk to each other. This new, native and organic vein is causing excitement for the people of the Middle East; becoming a model for them and most importantly, the Middle East is discussing and talking. In this sense, Turkey is an important role model for the region and has an important mission. However, I do not want to present palliative solutions to those problems. Nevertheless, it is our duty, our university and youth's duty to put more effort in order to have participative, native, liberal methods in the Middle East.

This region can realize itself only by engaging with its immemorial past and by getting in touch with the world. Only then, a

new civilization can be produced in contrast to the world's remorselessness. We can constitute a new civilization which includes a multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-faith society within walking distance to other civilizations like Damascus, Jerusalem, Aleppo, İstanbul, Andalusia, Gaziantep, like all Anatolia where we can keep all these civilizations alive as we did in the past. Syria is actually a good example of it. Now there are more than 350.000 Syrians, including Muslims and other religious groups, living in Gaziantep. The representative of those Christians living in Gaziantep and also a well-known writer, Michael Cole visited me a few days ago. He said, "I feel much freer myself in your country than I have ever felt in most of the Western countries." In that case, we must enlarge and develop this realm of freedom and we must take steps to make the borders meaningless between us. For that reason, the western approaches have been among us for more than hundred years to set ourselves against each other. Therefore, we have to take care of our problems in our cultural aura and in our own geopolitics by being open to the world.

How can we find solution to the problems of the Middle East with a piano recital? Among hundreds of musical instruments in the Middle East, we can bring many new things to the new world without emulating our own culture. For this reason, in addition to those we have mentioned, we all need to know that the biggest obstacle in front of peace and a new order in the Middle East is Israel and especially its theological approach. Neither does this theological approach guarantee life for Christians, nor it does for Muslims, and even it does not provide an opportunity to other Jewish groups. It is sheer carelessness of the West, which claims to be representative of liberty, to defend such an intolerant approach. The egocentric approach of Israel to the whole world is already known. Israel is the biggest threat for all open orders. Because of this, there are labor pains in the Middle East.

We are witnessing the struggle of establishing a new order in a chaotic condition. The history gave us a chance again. We need an intellectual and wise approach for the solution by asking ourselves what we can do for the solution or what we did, but not by watching it and juxtaposing our pains one after the other. For this reason, by being aware of the impossibility to found an order without peace, we should know that the path to the solution involves all the actors of the region to come together and talk about their problems in a peaceful environment. In this process, Turkey has encountered

with important duties. Yes, we are hosting our 2 million brothers, but these are only official numbers and we know that there are many people living out of the camps. There are some problems about those people, but as you know when ten thousand football fans are going to another city for a football match, we face with lots of problems as well. Depending on official reports, we can see how a grateful society we are. The crime rate is almost zero. That is why if we know what we have, then we can determine much better where we can go with those things. While concluding my words, I must say that we cannot found our future on the existing results by accepting them as a database.

All of the existing diversities in our region are the part of our civilization as they were in the past. Those who want us to fight each other are the ones that we must fight with, but other constituents must be an opportunity for us to negotiate peace and our future. All these things are important because it is impossible to realize peace and welfare in the regions where stability and economic expectations are not provided. This situation is also valid for both Syria and the Middle East. When the Middle East is in question, I think that we must set aside ontological and historical considerations and see this reality. Moreover, we must fight for it. The fundamental bases of the region - religion, geography and energy- must be discussed with a much more intellectual way and we must arrange symposiums and host international studies and visitors by keeping aloof to disruptive approaches and bringing main veins and the civilizations of the region together. Therefore, my dear friends, we are now in a critical threshold. We will make an important progress at this point and we should not be onlookers, but let us be the ones who are much more considerate and who are standing shoulder to shoulder on the eve of the rise of human dignity. Other important tools to solve these problems are universities, think tanks, non-governmental organizations and volunteer associations, which are expected to become parts and take on responsibility. As a thinker said, "If children continue to be born, then Allah has not despaired of the future of humanity yet." Yes, children continue to be born. In that case, we must strive hard for letting them to live in a free world.

Moderator Prof. Dr. M. Yavuz COŞKUN: The last session of the symposium is over, too. We would like to thank our audiences and our academicians for sharing their valuable thoughts with us.



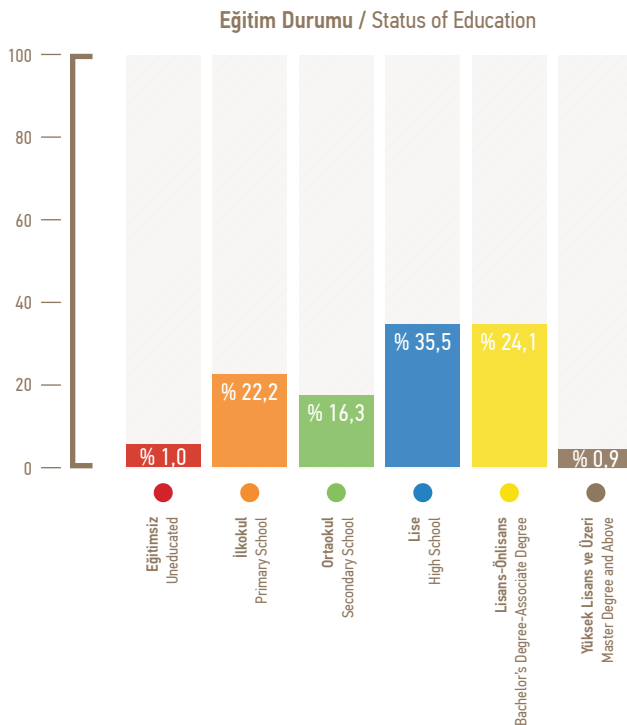
Araştırma Research

Suriyeli misafirlerin Gaziantep ve çevresine yaptıkları etkinin analiz edilmesi için Hasan Kalyoncu Üniversitesi ve İpekyolu Kalkınma Ajansı ortaklığı ile savaş mağduru Suriyelilerin sorununun olası ekonomik etkileri ve tedbir stratejileri raporu hazırlanmıştır. Bu yapılan araştırma sonuçları Ortadoğu'da Barış Sempozyumunun çıkış noktası olmuştur.

A report investigating the effects of Syrian guests in and around Gaziantep which details the possible economic effects and strategies to cope with has been prepared by Hasan Kalyoncu University and the Silkroad Development Agency. The results of this research are the point of departure for the Symposium "Peace in the Middle East".

Bu rapora göre Demografik açıdan ankete katılan misafirlerimizin yaklaşık %80 in 45 yaşın altında ve yaklaşık %77'si de lise ve altı eğitim düzeyine sahiptir. Bu oranlar sayıları 2 milyona yakın olduğu düşünülen misafirlerin büyük bir çoğunluğunun genç ve eğitimsiz olduğunu göstermektedir.

According to this report, demographically 80 % of the survey participants are below 45 years old, and approximately 77 % have high school or lower level of education. These figures show that most of the Syrian guests, whose numbers have reached around 2 million, are young and uneducated.



Bu tablo Türkiye için hem ciddi bir potansiyel hem de ciddi bir sorun anlamı taşımaktadır.

These results act both as a strong potential and a serious source of problems.

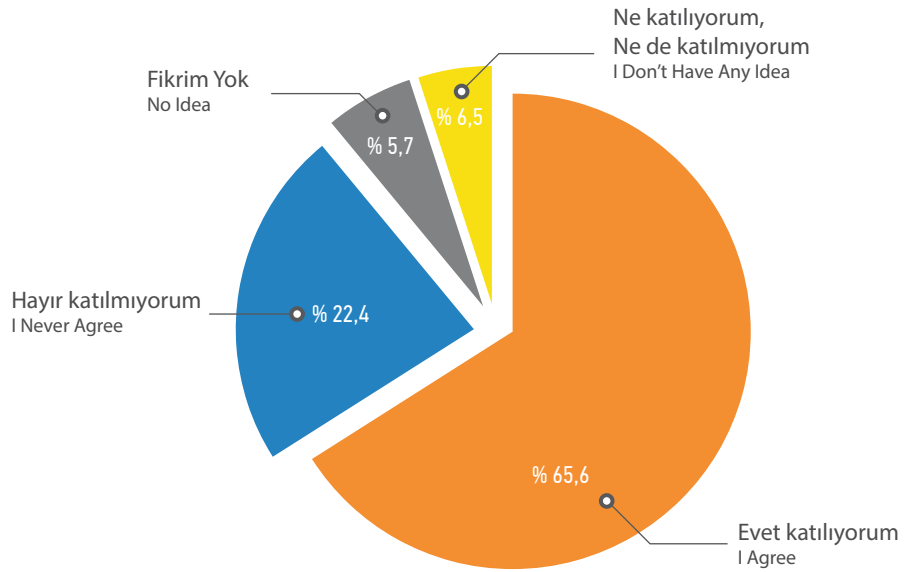
Sosyo-Ekonomik olarak hazırlıksız yakalanan yerel halk ise Suriyeli misafirlere kapılarını açmış ve onları misafir etmekten mutluluk duymuşlardır. Bununla birlikte yaptığımız araştırmanın sonuçlarına göre Suriyeli işgücünün şehir ekonomisine adapte olamaması gözönüne alınmalıdır.

The local people who were not prepared socio-economically for the Syrian intake have opened their doors to the Syrian guests and have been quite happy for hosting them. However, as our research shows, the fact that the Syrian workforce has not been adapted to the economy of the city needs to be under consideration.

Genel Olumsuz Düşünceler / General Negative Opinions	% 22,4
Toplumsal Ahlaka Zararları Oldu / They Have Harmed Social Moral	% 6,1
Ev-Konut Kiralarında Artış Oldu / Rent Prices of Houses Have Raised	% 5,4
Çevre Şehir Düzeni Bozuldu / Organisation of Environment and The City Has Gone Bad	% 4,2
Hırsızlık-Gasp Sayılarında Artış Oldu / The Number of Robbery-Extortion Has Raised	% 4,1
Kamu Düzeni Bozuldu / Public Safety Has Gone Bad	% 3,9
Genel Olumlu Düşünceler / General Positive Opinions	% 3,6
Şehrin Güvenliği Azaldı / The Safety of The City Has Decreased	% 3,6
Kültürel Çatışma Yaşanıyor / Cultural Conflict Has Been Occuring	% 3,4
İşsizlik Arttı / The Number of Unemployment Has Raised	% 2,7
Genel Ekonomik Zararlar / General Economic Deficiency	% 2,4
Trafik Arttı / Traffic Has Increased	% 1,2
Genel Ekonomik Faydalar / General Economic Benefits	% 1,1
Dilencilik Arttı / Mendicity Has Increased	% 1,0
Diğer Cevaplar / Other Answers	% 16,4
Cevap Vermeyenler / Non-Answered	% 18,5

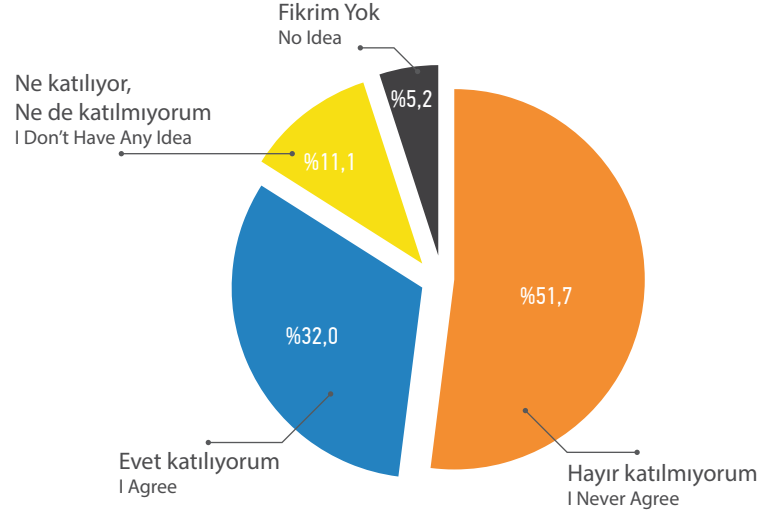
Yapılan araştırmalar Gaziantepli şirketlerin Arapça öğrenme konusunda pek gönüllü olmadığını göstermektedir.

Research shows that companies in Gaziantep are not enthusiastic about learning Arabic.



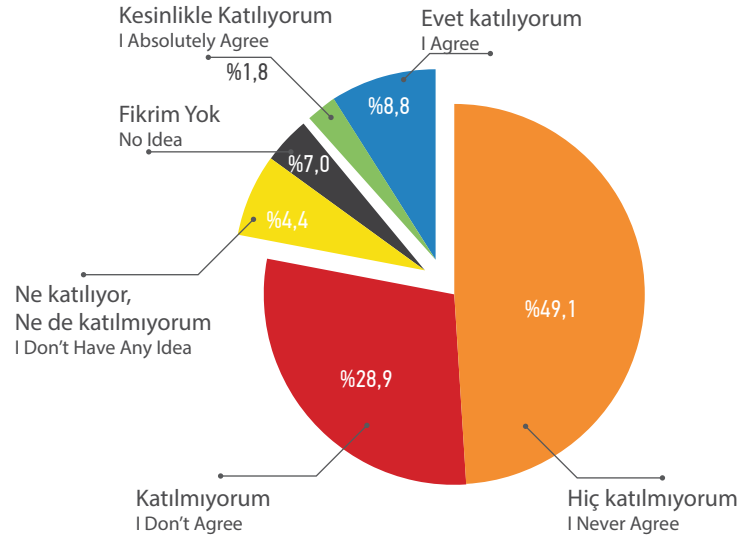
Bununla birlikte azımsanmayacak bir oranda şirkette dil farkının kaldırılmasının ticari ilişkileri geliştireceğini düşünmektedir. Buna göre Suriyeli misafirlerin dil öğrenimi konusunda desteklenmeleri faydalı olacaktır.

If the language barrier is removed by the companies, this could develop the business relations. In the mean time if the Syrian guests are supported in learning a language, this will be extremely useful.



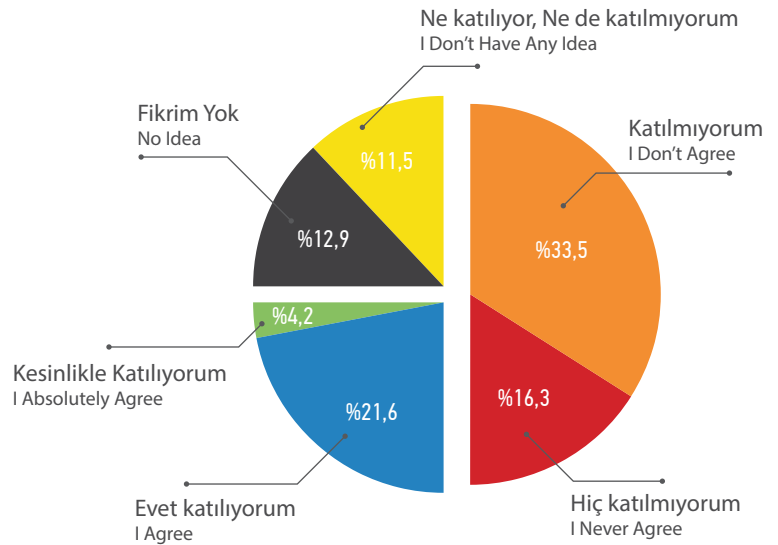
Şirketler açısından bakıldığında, şirket yöneticileri Suriyeli misafirlerimizin karlarını artırmak konusunda pek katkı yapmadıklarını düşünmektedirler.

The companies have not contributed to the Syrian guests to increase their profits.



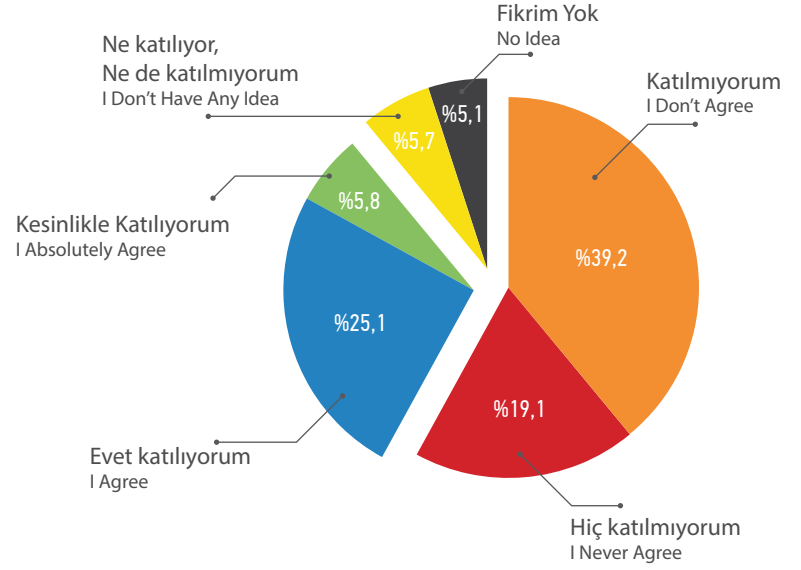
Ancak çelişkili bir şekilde de bu durumun diğer şirketlere avantaj sağladığını düşünmektedirler. Mevcut analize dayanılarak eğer koşullar uygun hale getirilirse şirketlerin bakış açıları daha olumlu olacaktır.

Contradictorily it is believed that this situation will be advantageous for other companies. If the conditions are convenient, based on our analysis, we can conclude that the attitudes of the companies will be more positive.



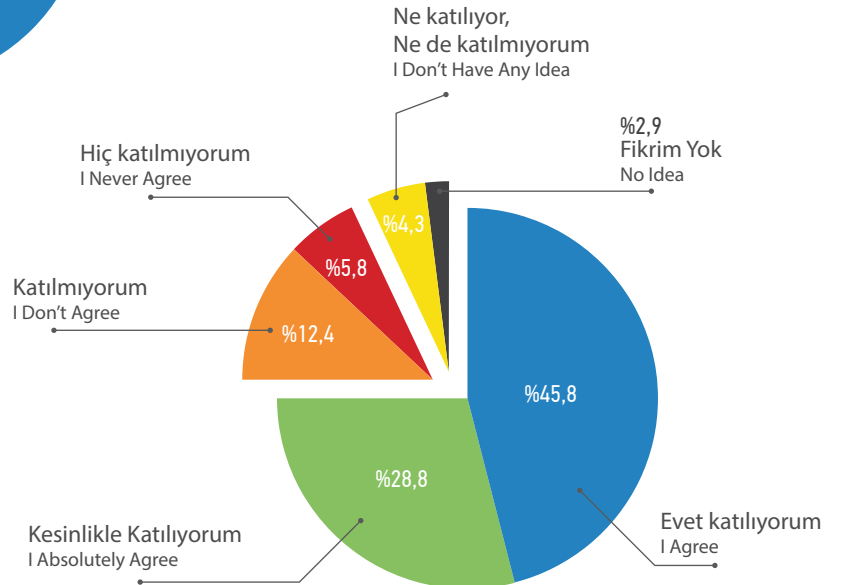
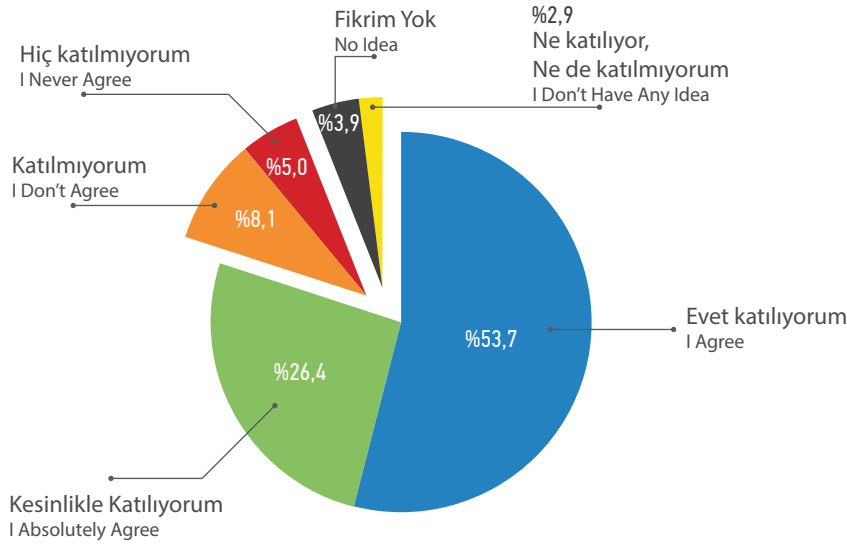
Bunun yanısıra, yerel halk Suriyelilerin çok uzun vadeli kalacağını düşünmemektedirler. Bundan dolayı, ekonomik etkilerinin de kısa vadeli olacağı kanısı yaygındır.

However, the local people do not believe that the Syrians will stay for a long time. Therefore the economic effects are considered to be short term.



Ayrıca ucuz istihdam, işletmelerin kar marjlarını artırmakta fakat kaliteli yerel işçilerin işlerini kaybetmesi ve işsizliğin artması sonucunu doğurmaktadır.

In addition the cheap labour not only leads to increased return in the companies but will also cost local qualified people to lose their jobs, which in turn will increase unemployment.



Symposium Conclusion Declaration

Introduction

“Peace in the Middle East: Actors, Problems, and a Quest for Peace Symposium” was held by Gaziantep Hasan Kalyoncu University in 19th-20th December 2014. The participants whose names are below and who had speech during the symposium, which was hosted by Middle East Research Center within the scope of the university, discussed the political and social crisis in the Middle East and historical and political reasons of conflicts and also shared their solution suggestions.

Findings and Solution Suggestions

- It is necessary to understand regional dynamics and conflicts of historical, social and political reasons to develop solution suggestions for the problems in the Middle East.
- The common point of view of the whole participants of symposium after Nizip Camp visiting; the opportunities and utilities that the Republic of Turkey provides are going to be an example of humanity in history.
- The civil (global) war in Syria or the war by procuration has been a small piece of the big picture. Today, genocide and erosion in terms of political, social, economical, cultural, religious and ethical are being existed.
- Politics are based on occasion of talking about problems. The local community needs to find a way to communicate with due regard via solution oriented attitude. However, solution suggestions consisted with local community’s own dynamics should be urged upon instead of management solutions, which were being held in countries sharing similar history.
- Turkey, who functions as a bridge between EU and Middle East and Middle Asia, has a significant role in the prospective peace process in the region.
- The economies of countries that have rich oil are more passive and based on consumption. It is possible to talk about the economical richness in these countries, but economic development and education are inadequate. It is necessary for a sustainable peace environment to change consumption-based construction.
- The weight of ethnic and sectarian policies is major. Instead of these, it is required to study on constructing social and global belonging.
- The contribution of regional countries should be provided for the whole studies on peace in Middle East.
- The wars in the Middle East in recent years have generated enormous refugee population in regional countries. To give all the social security and labor rights of the country of which refugees live and to participate in production procedure by saving them from exploitative situation.
- Another problem in the Middle East is historical and cultural genocide in the region. An extensive education policy should be formed to inform and raise awareness of the society. The non-governmental organisations, universities and international organisations should be in cooperation for the studies in the region.