# First International Circassian Conference «WHAT CONNECTS US»

Sept 21 - 22, 2018. Karl Bröger Zentrum, Nuremberg, Germany



**ÇOĞULCU DEMOKRASİ PARTİSİ** 

(Pluralistic Democracy Party)
Turkey

Prof. Dr. Günsel (Şurdum) Avcı Vice-Chairperson and Founding Member The Pluralistic Democracy Party



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#### Circassians were dispersed all over the World

#### The grandchildren of Circassians

who had been exiled over 150 years ago from their unique homeland, nowadays live in 5 continents of the World.

The Circassians accepted as second homeland wherever they started to live,

They have been **good citizens** of the countries in which they live.



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#### What connects Circassians

The specific feature that connects Circassians dispersed all over the World is the unique culture they inherited from their ancestors and national identity.

The main characteristics of this culture is mutual respect and devotion to verbal life regulating rules which are called as KHABZE by Circassians.



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#### The Common problem of Circassians in the World is Assimilation

<u>Assimilation</u> of a nation means to lose the nation's own language and culture within the dominant structure of the country they live.

Unfortunately, Circassians who are spread all over the World forget their language and culture day by day,

either due to naturally occuring assimilation process, as a result of

- Moving from the villages to cities and live disconnected, and,
- Choice of globalization policy in the World
   or due to the government policy and pressure to forget their identity

in the countries they live.



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#### **Assimilation** is also a problem in **Homeland Caucasus**

Assimilation problem is not only for Circassians who are spread all over the World, but also for Circassians who live in homeland Caucasus.

Wherever they live, Circassians' life style resemble the people of that country In Turkey, they somewhat act as Turkish people,
In Middle East Countries they act as Arabs
In Europe, America and Canada they act as Europeans, Americans and Canadians
And unfortunately in Caucasus they act as Russians.

The loss of Circassian language, culture and identity
means the loss of the archaic Caucasian Culture
which is one of the unique elements of the cultural richness of the World.



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All cultures in the World are valuable, represent the cultural richness of the World and should be protected

To preserve a culture is primarily the duty of the descendants who inherit this culture from their ancestors.

In developed democratic countries, there should be policies to provide the nations minority rights and human rights, and to provide support to keep the cultural richness of the country and thereby the cultural richness of the world.



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TURKEY is the country where the majority of Circassians in the world live.

Estimated number of Circassian population in Turkey is about 6 million.

In Turkey the term **«ÇERKES»** represents **all the people who were exiled from Caucasus,**without any discrimination in dialect and region of land they left.



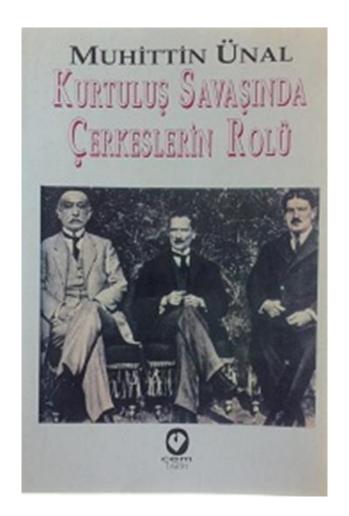
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#### Circassians in Turkey greatly contributed to the foundation of Turkish Republic



Agace Muhittin Ünal,

Abkhaz researcher-author from Turkey disclosed the Circassians devoted contribution during the Turkish war of independence and foundation of the Turkish republic.





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The Circassian head gear (Adige PAA or Ghurfe PAA) called «Kalpak» in Turkish has also been the Symbol of Turkish War of Independence



Mustafa Kemal ATATÜRK
The Founder of
Republic of Turkey



Atatürk, Çerkes Ethem and the Kuva-i Seyyare Fighters



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#### Circassian Cultural Associations to stand against assimilation

Circassians who worry about cultural assimilation established Cultural Associations, wherever they live, with their own means, without any government support

In these Cultural Associations, **education programs** on language, history, life style traditions, handicrafts, music, dances, **are organized continuously to keep the Circassian Culture alive.** 

Since 1950's **over 150 Circassian Associations** are established **all over Turkey.** In all, the above educational programs take place intensively.

Most of these associations are connected to 4 Circassian Federations. Approximately 1/5 work independently.



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#### Chairmen of the four federations in Turkey



YAŞAR
ASLANKAYA
Federation of
Caucasian
Associations



NUSRET
BAŞ
Federation of
Circassian
Associations



HALUK
KUTLU
Federation of
United Caucasus
Associations



ATANUR
AKSOY
Federation of
Abkhaz
Associations



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The studies conducted in Circassian Cultural Associations are not sufficient to prevent Assimilation.

The studies in Cultural Associations are accomplished by the limited number of Circassian volunteers' devoted efforts and financial contributions,

so, they have limited effect and can not prevent assimilation in the majority of population.

Therefore, government's support is certainly needed to preserve and improve minorities' culture and identity, making necessary legal regulations and providing funds, within the scope of universal human rights and democracy.

# The idea of founding a political party in Turkey





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#### The idea of founding a political party in Turkey

For the protection of Circassians from assimilation,
the Circassian identity should be officially recognized and supported
by the governments of the countries wherever they live.

Based on this idea and being encouraged with the democratic changes occured in the recent years in Turkey,

40 Circassian people decided to found a political party.

**All Circassians** from different cities who were consulted in Turkey supported the idea of founding a political party.



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#### "Çoğulcu Demokrasi Partisi" (Pluralistic Democracy Party)

Date of foundation is August 15, 2014

**Founders** of the party were **mostly Circassians** who **devoted their lives to Circassian culture** in Circassian Cultural associations.

But actually the party was set up with a pluralist concept.

Namely, to represent not only Circassians but also other ethnic groups.

For that reason, the founders of the party did not consult only with Circassians but consulted also with other ethnic groups in Turkey.

There is also one ethnically Laz person among the founders.

In order to save time during my presentation,

I will call "Çoğulcu Demokrasi Partisi" (Pluralistic Democracy Party)

as PARTY only.



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#### **Purposes** for **founding** the **PARTY**

- To make Circassians visible in Turkey
  - who constitute the greatest Circassian population in the World
  - And also make other ethnic groups visible
    - who have distinctive culture, like Circassians
- To provide chance for Circassians and other ethnic groups to take part in the Turkish political arena with their own identity
- To demand government support for preservation of cultures as democratic human rights

As we are all Circassians here, **from now on**I will mainly concentrate on **the Circassians' related studies** of the **PARTY.** 



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#### **PARTY** mainly focused on the **identity of Circassians** in **Turkey**

Unfortunately, majority of the Circassian population of Turkey are not interested in the identity, intimately.

Namely, majority don't know the Circassian language,
majority have forgetten most of the «Khabze» rules,
therefore, could not transfer the language and Khabze
to the younger generation, and
majority don't have any concerns about the future of Circassians.

Therefore, we should work in the political arena

- to raise awareness of identity among the Circassians, and,
- to get government's support for preservation of Circassian Culture.



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What are the advantages of a political party over Cultural Associations in the preservation of culture and identity? - 1

Circassians' problems, such as assimilation and identity loss, are very important problems which can not be solved without government support

To gain this support, it is necessary to manifest a numerical entity

as the proof of the existence of the citizens who look forward to this support.

A political party can manifest such a numerical entity by the votes it receives.

We deeply appreciate the devoted studies accomplished at cultural Associations. Most of the members of the party have already taken part at these associations for many years.



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What are the **advantages of a political party** to Cultural Associations in the preservation of culture and identity ? - 2

**But,** A political party has a very important advantage:

Gaining the votes, by decreasing the expected votes of the opponent parties, a substantial numerical entity can be manifested.

The gained numerical entity will be a power to realize the demands from the government.

**Political party** and **Cultural Associations** are **not alternatives** of each other; should **not be in competition** with each other. They are organisations that can **provide support to each other.** 



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#### **PARTY in Turkey**

- Is equally close to all Cultural Associations and Federations in Turkey.
- Negotiates with all the political parties in Turkey but doesn't have any connections with any of them.
- Has not received **any financial support** until now from any national and international organizations.
- All the financial expenses since its foundation
  were devotedly assumed by the founders of the PARTY and
  by some of the Circassians who believe in the advantages of a political party.

Main office is in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey There are two regional offices in Istanbul.

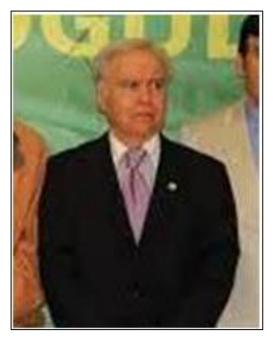


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#### **Chairpersons of the PARTY**



**KENAN KAPLAN Founder Chairperson** 



MUSTAFA SAADET
Second Chairperson



FARUK ARSLANDOK
Current Chairperson





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# PARTY participted in the general elections in 2015 in Turkey with 9 independent member of parliament (MP) candidates

Because, participating in the elections as a party, necessitates organization in at least 42 cities in the country.

The party could not accomplish this organization in less then a years time Therefore,

9 founding members of the PARTY, left the party temporarily, and participated as «<u>independent member of parliament candidates</u>» from 9 regions where Circassians mostly live in Turkey.



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Independent member of parliament candidates of PARTY in 2015 general election.





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#### The results the PARTY obtained from the general elections in 2015

If the Circassians in Turkey took the PARTY seriously and gave support, all the 9 candidates could have been elected as parliamentarians.

Because, for the election of each of them, about 35-80 000 votes were necessary, depending upon the region in Turkey.

and, this amount of Circassian voters were present at each voting district.

But unfortunately, **non of the candidates could get adequate number of votes**, and **could not be elected**.

The amount of votes which the PARTY's 9 independent members received was only 14.500, throughout Turkey.

This number is of course very small in comparison to 6 million Circassian population in Turkey.



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#### What are the reasons for the inadequate number of votes to PARTY-1

#### Inconveniences from the PARTY side include:

- Less than a years time
  - between the establishment of the party and the elections was very short for the efficient promotion of the PARTY.
- About 3 months promotion time
  - between the decision making and participation in the elections was very short for the candidates to introduce themselves.
- Inadequacy of promotion funds,
  - as all the candidates needed to support themselves financially.



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#### What are the reasons for the inadequate number of votes to PARTY - 2

Reasons for the lack of support by the Circassian voters

- Devotion to and unwillingness to break away from the previously supported political party.
- Idea that **the votes** given to the independent candidates **may go to waste**, as non of the candidates could get necessary number of votes to be elected.
- Lack of realization that the votes given to Circassian Candidates
   would increase the prestige of Circassians in the Country,
   even though they were not sufficient enough for the canditates
   to be elected as parliamentarians.
- High level of egoism present in most of the Circassians who do not support any idea or project if not proposed primarily by them.

This is an unfortunate statement, but exists unfortunately...



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#### Kayseri gave the greatest support in elections among Circassians in Turkey

PARTY's independent parliamentarian candidate in Kayseri

Circassians of Kayseri supported her greatly







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The result the PARTY obtained in Kayseri City in June 2015 elections (1) is a prominent example to prove the power of votes and PARTY

The mere 5000 votes

received by our independent parliamentarian candidate in Kayseri, made Circassians visible and respectable in this voting district.

Namely, **Before June 2015 elections**, Circassian associations in Kayseri requested from the party in power in Turkey, to put a Circassian candidate from the electable line.

- The party in power did not accept this request at that time, stating that Circassians don't have any power in that district.
- When PARTY's canditate's 5000 votes caused the Party in power

to lose one member of parliament,

- Then, for the early elections in November 2015,

  the Party in Power visited the Circassian Associations in Kayseri and offered

  to put a Circassian candidate from the electable line for their honour.
- The party in power suggested Mrs Hülya Nergiz Atçı, as an Adige woman and, she was elected as an Adige member of parliament from Kayseri.



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The result of PARTY obtained in Kayseri City in June 2015 elections (2)

This outcome which is provided by only 5000 votes is a strong evidence to show the power of the votes which is obtained in elections by the PARTY,

- to reveal Circassians' existence with their identity,
- to raise their prestige in the country, and
- to receive support from government to preserve their culture.

If the independent parliamentarian candidates of PARTY could get 5-10-20-30 thousands of votes from the other voting districts, similar favorable outcomes would be obtained for the benefit of the following elections, even though the candidates could not be elected at that time.

Therefore, we all should trust the advantages and power of a political party.



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## The importance of existing as members of PARTY in the Turkish Parliament

For solution of the Circassians' assimilation problem,
Circassians should exist in the parliament with their Circassian identity.

PARTY in Turkey was set up mainly to work on preserving the culture and identity of Circassians and other ethnic groups whose cultures and identities are in danger of disappearence.

Therefore, the members of PARTY in the Turkish Parliament will mainly focus on culture and identity matters, to make necessary demands and pursue them to realize government's supports for preservation of cultures.

Also, the members of PARTY will impress the members of other parties to work on cultural and identity matters, who otherwise have to work only on the limits of their parties' programs.



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#### **Expectations of PARTY from government in Turkey**

In order to preserve Circassian culture and identity and to resist assimilation, PARTY expects from government primarily those stated below:

- 1 A TV channel which will broadcast in Circassian language for 24 hours

  This will greatly help children and younger generation
  to learn their native Circassian language
- 2 Schools educating in Circassian language for infants and teenagers
  A language can only be learnt properly with intensive education beginning at early childhood
- 3 Circassian Language and Literature Departments in the universities in cities where Circassians mostly live
  - This will provide academical career on Circassian language and to educate language teachers for schools
- 4 Establish Circassian Culture and Research Centers and Museums



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#### Realization of Expectations of PARTY by government in Turkey

This will mean that the government

- recognizes the Circassians with their identity,
- appreciates their culture, and
- gives support for preservation of the culture.

It will also mean that Turkey is a more democratic country now,

- the human rights are in consideration,
- the policy for standardization of the nations, in other words, «Forget your culture and identity» policy was abandoned

Circassians in Turkey do need such an approach and attitude from the government.

Such an attempt of the govenment will encourage Circassians

- to represent their culture and identity confidently and
- to motivate to preserve it proudly.



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# Could it be possible to realize the expectations of PARTY by the government in Turkey? -1

We think YES. Because, Circassians in Turkey

- are the 3rd **populous nation** with a 6 million population, after Turks and Kurds
- have a very old and well-regarded culture
- have been good citizens of the country, during wars and peacetime
- have bravely fought against enemies of that country and have made fateful contibutions during the Turkish War of Independence and foundation of the Turkish Republic
- have undertaken great responsibilities and successfully worked even on upper levels of the state administration
- respect territorial integrity of the country
- only request democratic rights to preserve their national cultural identity



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# Could it be possible to realize the expectations of PARTY by the government in Turkey? - 2

With all these stated valuable characteristics,

<u>Circassians in Turkey</u> represent <u>a unique example</u> of a patriotic ethnic group in the country

in comparison to other ethnic groups who do not care about the territorial integrity of the country.

#### **PARTY, will prove the existence of Circassians**

with all these invaluable characteristics

by the number of votes received in elections, and,

will try to convince the government about the importance of Circassians, concerning the integrity of the country

to provide support for the survival of Circassians with their culture.



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# Are Circassians in Turkey ready to accept the facilities provided by goverment for cultural survival? - 1

#### Actually, this is a great problem:

Unfortunately most of the Circassians in Turkey are assimilated and do not care about their identity and do not have much concern about the future of Circassians in the world.

#### Here are 3 examples about that statement:

- A few years ago, at secondary schools,
  - optional lessons were provided to teach Circassian language 4 hours/week basis, but the parents did not select those lessons for their children, and, at most schools, the classes could not be opened as 10 students were not registered.
- 5 years ago, at Düzce University,
  - The Department of Circassian Language and Literature was opened, but many of the students were not Circassians.
- In 2015 elections, support to PARTY has been very unsatisfactory, as well.



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#### **PARTY focused** on the studies

to encourage the Circassians to keep their culture and identity

Of course, **social problems and living conditions**, such as, education, academic career, marriage, care for chidren and parents, and to earn money for all, **take priority**, over unpaid volunteer work, for culture and identity.

Favorable conditions should be introduced and people be informed about them, so that, while working for culture, one should earn money, as well.

For example, **circassian Language education** can provide employment easily at universities, schools, TV channels, cultural associations,

Also, handicrafts, art works, music, dances, dishes of Circassian culture all can provide to earn money, while keeping the culture alive.





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#### PARTY's Studies to raise consciousness of Circassian Cultural Identity - 1

The expected time for parliamentary election was 2019,

When it was moved to Jun 2018, we were not ready and could not apply this year.

Instead, in June 2018,

for the election of president of republic, we made a public survey,

to create the awareness that

the Circassian Population in Turkey could have the power

even to nominate a Circassian candidate for president of republic.

#### We asked:

«If we present a Circassian Candidate for the president of republic, would you vote?»



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#### PARTY's Studies to raise consciousness of Circassian Cultural Identity - 2

This year we mainly focused on the studies

to raise consciousness of Circassian Cultural Identity in order to prepare the Circassian population to support the PARTY members, for the next election.

We are visiting the Circassian Cultural Federations and Associations, We are visiting respectable people in the Circassian population, We are organising meetings to come together with Circassians.



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#### PARTY's visit to Federation of Caucasus Associations on Aug 1, 2018





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PARTY's visit to Federation of Circassian Associations on July 7, 2018





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#### PARTY's visit to Federation of Abkhaz Associations on Jun, 2018





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PARTY's meeting with United Caucasus Association of Istanbul at Party Center in Istanbul on Jun 2018





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#### PARTY's visit to Istanbul Caucasus Association on Jun 10, 2018





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PARTY's visit to Ankara Circassian Association on Aug 1, 2018





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#### PARTY's visit to Alan Cultural Association on Jun 5, 2018





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#### PARTY's visit to Caucasus Foundation on Jun 5, 2018





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#### PARTY's visit to Adige Khase Association of Istanbul on July, 2018





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#### PARTY's visit to Orhanlı Circassian Association on July 5, 2018





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#### PARTY's visit to Bursa City on July 15, 2018





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#### PARTY explains these during the meetings - 1

- The purposes for founding the PARTY
- The advantages of a political party to prove the existence of a nation and its political power
- The gained numerical entity will be a power to realize the demands from the government for preservation of culture and identity.
- Disadvantages of separation and polarisation of the Circassian population
- Necessity for collaboration of all Circassians for their culture and identity
  without any excuse such as religious belief, political background,
  ethnic subgroup, connected federation
- Encourage the Circassians to ask for democratic rights from the government, explaining that it will not mean separatism.



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#### PARTY explains these, during the meetings - 2

- Encourage the Circassians to go into politics
- Ask for participation in the PARTY and take part in the administration
- Take part in the local elections and general elections
  with PARTY's support where the Circassians have great populations
- Answering the questions
- Taking suggestions for development
- Asking for financial contribution

We take records of all the meetings and publish in PARTY's web site so that, everybody can get information about the PARTY.



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#### PARTY's Studies to raise consciousness of Circassian Cultural Identity - 3

An IP TV Channel called «Çoğulcu TV»

started test broadcast through internet.

In that way we are trying to set up an information and dialogue platform.





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#### **PARTY** is being appreciated in **Motherland Caucasus**

We are pleased to learn that Circassians in Caucasus follow and appreciate studies of PARTY.

#### Of course,

- A diaspora with enhanced consciousness of Caucasian culture and identity support motherland Caucasus
- A supported motherland will support diaspora as well.
- Politics is an important instrument to accomplish this interdependence



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#### **PARTY** can be a model for **other countries**

Circassians who are spread all over the World try to preserve their culture and identity by cultural associations

PARTY in Turkey is the first political organization. in motherland and diaspora founded by Circassians.

When the advantages of a political party to that of cultural associations in revealing the culture and identity, are considered, political organizations may take place in other countries as well.



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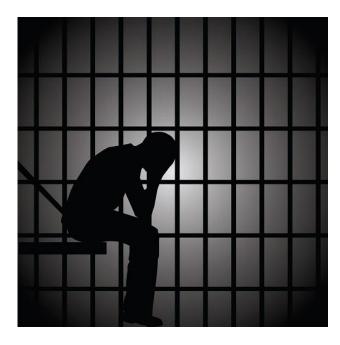
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We are at the very beginning of a very narrow and long way to reach our goals...



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Hopeless prisoners don't spend any effort to escape and stay in prison for life.



Prisoners who have intent and hope to escape, start to dig a tunnel with a tea spoon, after many years of effort, they can escape

We are aware, the job we have burdened is tremendous, like digging a tunnel with a teaspoon



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But, PARTY staff has intent and hope to be successful to realise Party's objectives.





















Till we hand over the party to a more professional staff, we will continue devotedly.

