AUTOCHTHON TURKISH EXISTENCE IN THE BALKANS

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1- Turkish Minorities in the Balkan Region:

Balkan area with different ethnic and religionic entities is one of the most heterogeneous regions in the world. Its history of Thracian, Persian, Roma, Byzantium, Hungarian, Macedonians, Turks and Ottoman sovereignties since 7th century, inherited different entities in the region and effected on being of today’s multicultural situation. Ottoman rule was the longest lived state and has left vast amount of Turks and different ethnic Muslim groups within the whole Balkan area. Its is known that the Turks has been started to live in the region when the Scythia Turks and tribes emigrating from the Central Asia to the West arrived in the 2nd century B.C. Hun Turks, Avar Turks, Pechenegs, Cuman Turks settled down in the region, respectively 4th, 5th, 9th and 11th centuries A.D. The Ottoman Empire conquered the entire Balkans between 1363 and 1389. The fact that there had been some Muslim and Turks tribes migrated from Anatolia before the conquest of the region has been the proven by the examples such as a gravestone dated 1185 in Kirmahalle in Komotini and some gravestones dated 1200 which was founded in Darmeni in Arriana.1

During 500 years of Ottoman sovereignty in the region peoples, had been categorized in accordance with their religions and they were free on their civil life, religion and trade. Under the just governing and tolerance people had lived in a peaceful environment, even Christians had supported Ottomans against the Europeans in several wars, although they were not obliged of serving in the Ottoman military, by paying a special tax, “harac” and “cizye”. By the religionic tolerance and very close believes and rituals of Bogomilism, the synthesis of Armenian Paulicianism and the Bulgarian Slavonic Church reform movement, almost all Bosnians and Albanians and also several Bulgarians and Macedonians converted into Islam in 16th century. During the Ottoman legacy, different religions could peacefully coexist, and belonging to the dominant religion was not a necessary criterion for political status2,
although Ottoman Empire was a religionist state. By the early sixteenth century Muslims constituted about a quarter of the Balkan population.

The greatest impact of Ottoman settlement in the Balkans was felt in the urban centers and many towns became major centers for Ottoman control and administration. Historical evidence shows that the Ottomans embarked on a systematic policy of creating new towns and repopulating older towns. Often establishment of new towns were accompanied by bodily transplanting settlers from other areas of the Empire or with Muslim refugees from other lands. Records show that by the end of the 14th century Muslim Turks formed the absolute majority in large urban towns in Upper Thrace area such as Filibe and Pazarcik.

During the Ottoman legacy period some scholars claim “pax-Ottomana” have occurred. According to the pax-Ottomana rhetoric, the Balkans and Balkan peoples have experienced their most serene and peaceful era under the Ottoman hegemony, and later the national independence movements which have destroyed both empire and the peace in the Balkans can be explained only aspects of foreign provocations. According to some scholars, such as Samiha Ayverdi, have alleged about unwillingness of even non-Muslim Balkan people to let the Ottomans withdrawal and also the Balkan nations owe even their mere existence to Pax-Ottomana. Halil Inalcik and Justin McCarthy put forward similar allegation, Balkans for several centuries enjoyed stability under the Ottoman years, as Bernard Lewis says “Ottoman Government brought unity and security in place of previous conflict and disorder in the Balkans.”

According to official statistics of today, more than 8 million Muslims, 12% of the Balkan population, live in Balkans. Today’s Turkish Balkan population changes around 1.1 - 2 million. It changes, because some Balkan countries don’t count or accept the Turkish minorities as ethnic minorities but religious minorities, such as Greece; or some of them decrease the census results because of political plans or representative ratio rights such as Kosovo or Macedonia. That’s why; the official numbers are decreased, some minority source-based numbers are exaggerated, but the normal average number is seen about 1.4 million Turkish people live in the Balkans. This Turkish people is different than Turkish minorities in Germany, Belgium, Sweden, France or Netherlands; because the Turks in Western Europe have migrated in the last five decades basically for the economic reasons and today they are living their second or third generations within these countries. However Balkan Turks did not migrate recently or for any economic reason, oppositely millions of Balkan Turks and Muslims have migrated to Turkey because of security or
religion and ethnic pressures, and the others have been living in the region for several centuries as autochthon people.

The amount of 1.4 million Turks, looks like very tiny number in compare with the 500 years of Turkish existence in the region. But because of rigid nationalism in the last 140 years three types of action have effected on decreasing of Turkish population in the Balkans. First, one-side migration waves in different pressure and assimilation terms which changes from country to country. Second, population exchanges treaties between Turkey and regional countries, because of both sides homogenous nationalism struggling such as Turkish-Greek exchange in 1926-30. Third, ethnic cleansing movements against the Turkish population, such as imposed during the 19th and 20th centuries’ 1.7 million Turks were killed in the Balkans as Buzov indicates. In addition to these, also hybrid feature of the regional minority ethnicities is another flu-point to indicate explicit numbers. For example, Muslim Pomaks are described as Bulgarian, Muslim Torbeshs are described as Macedonians or Muslim Gorans are described as Serbians by the official authorities. As a same sample some gypsies or Romas in Kosovo and Macedonia identify themselves as Egyptians; according to some scholars the majority of the above mentioned minorities are Turks or Turkic origins, because still some of them speak Turkish such as Romas or gypsies.

After the fall of communism, the Balkan individuals have needed to define the surrounding world and define themselves, along the one and only stable criterion, that of belonging to one’s own ethnic group. Within the OSCE framework the minority term is used to designate a non-dominant, indigenous group constituting a numerical minority within the state it lives.

On one hand, certain states, like Bulgaria and Greece, use the term “minority” only for groups of persons recognized as such and protected by international treaties. On the other side some scholars adopt a different minority definition, any non-dominant group of state’s citizens, constituting a numerical minority and having unique ethnic, religious and linguistic features that differentiate it from the rest of the population. A “minority” is also conscious of its specific identity and has the will to preserve it. Or simpler identification is “community of people, related to each other by origin and language, and close to each other by mode of life and culture”.

Balkanization term is used for tribalism or micro-nationalism for the Balkan or very rare heterogenic Balkan-type areas. After the collapsing of the communism in the region in the beginning of the 1990s, peoples previously classified as “Muslims” have started to establish their own political and civil society groups in accordance with their ethnicities. With trans-
forming to the multiparty systems within these countries, Muslim and Turkish minorities’ political parties have created, such as Kosovo Democratic Union (LDK), Bosnian Democratic Action Party (SDA), Albanians PDSHI and BDI Parties in Macedonia, Macedonia Turkish Democratic Party, Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF, Hak ve Özgürlükler Hareketi-HÖH), in Bulgaria. These parties have got pure ethnic votes from their own ethnicities in different countries in the first elections. The fact of today, there is still Turkish existence in the Balkans with their positive contributions to their governments and their some problems give some responsibilities and duties to Turkey.

2- Bulgaria: From Belene Prison to the Parliament:

According to the last census in 2001, there are 763,000 ethnic Turks in Bulgaria. In addition to this, the number of Bulgarian citizens from Turkish descent residing in Turkey is put at 326,000. According to the CIA’s Fact book, Turks, Tatar Turks and Circassian Turks are divided and the numbers show respectively 9.4%, around 0.5%, 0.5%. Also almost all Romas, which is 4.7%, speak Turkish, is shown under different ethnic group. In some Bulgarian sources, Pomaks are separated from Turks; however, some of Pomaks prefer the Turk identity to use in some regions in Bulgaria.

After the Bulgarian independence from the Ottomans in 1878, the government applied very harsh policies to the Turkish minority. The estimates of the number of Turks in Bulgaria prior to the Russo-Turkish War of 1878 vary from between a third to being the majority. Turks began emigrating during and after the 1877-8 war and the migration waves continued, until 1990s. In 1984, Zhivkov’s communist regime had started planned assimilation program and to force all Turks and other Muslims to change their names to Bulgarian and renounce all Muslim traditions. During the name-changing phase of the campaign, Turkish towns and villages were surrounded by army units. Citizens were issued new identity cards with Bulgarian names. Failure to present a new card meant forfeiture of salary, pension payments, and bank withdrawals. Traditional Turkish costumes were banned; homes were searched and all signs of Turkish identity removed; mosques were closed. According to estimates, about 2,000 Turks were killed when they resisted assimilation pressures. By these very rigid assimilation policies, the biggest wave of Turkish emigration occurred, 350,000, in 1989.

By the resistance of Turkish minority and Turkey’s efforts within the international arena, European public opinion and international pressures had come on Bulgaria; economic embargo and political isolationism triggered the collapsing of Zhivkov government and his communism in Bulgaria in 1989. After the removing of Zhivkov government, the new parliament attempted to
restore cultural rights to the Turkish minorities. In 1991 a new constitution has given the right that anyone affected by the name-changing campaign three years to officially restore original names and the names of children born after the name change. In January 1991, Turkish-language lessons were reintroduced for four hours per week in schools. Turkish minority established an organization named Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) in 1990 to represent the interests of the Turkish ethnic minority, later transformed its status to a political party. Ahmed Doğan has been elected as a leader of the MRF, who had been previously imprisoned in 1986 for opposition to the assimilation policies. The MRF gained 23 seats in the first parliamentary election in 1991, giving it the fourth-largest parliamentary voting bloc. Its agenda precluded mass media coverage or building coalitions with other parties, because of the strong anti-Turkish element in Bulgaria’s political culture.

In 2005 election MRF gained “equal partnership” within the coalition government by the representative power of 8:5:3. The MRF has gained one Deputy PM, three ministers, fourteen deputy ministers. By this election MRF has succeeded a perfect transformation from being an ethnic party toward a national party by getting 11% of its votes has come from Bulgarians not from Turkish minorities.14

3- Denied Reality in Greece, Western Thrace Turks:

According to the Human Rights Watch, the discriminatory policies of the Greek state led to a general diminution of the Turkish population. In 1912, Turkish population in Western Thrace was a slight majority of around 120,000 and 53.5 percent of total population. The 1940 Greek census put the number of Turkish speakers at 140,090.15 Today there are around 120,000 Turkish minorities in Western Thrace region of Greece, roughly the same as the number in the 1951 census. Given a 2.8 percent growth rate, the Turkish population today would be expected to number 444,945 using the 1940 census data.16

According to the CIA’s factbook Greece’s population is consist of 93% Greek and 7% foreign citizens. Although there are more than 1 million minorities from different ethnic groups, such as Macedonians, Ulahs17, Pomaks18, Bulgarians and Turks; Greece has been continuing to deny the existence of any ethnic groups in its country.

Under the Lausanne Treaty, called “Political Clauses” status of non-muslim minorities in Turkey was regulated under the title of the “Protection of minority”. According to the articles 37-45 “the rights conferred by the provisions of the present section on the non-muslim minorities of Turkey will be similarly conferred by Greece on the muslim minority in her territory”. With the article 45, minority protection clauses under the treaty adopted as special
minority protection regime of the Western Thrace Turks. But on the other side of the medallion, Greece doesn’t accept any Turkish existence in Greece by showing Lausanne Treaty as evidence, which was not mentioned any “Turk” term, but “muslim” term. That’s why; it accepts just religionic differences, just Muslims, which were guaranteed by the international agreements which were signed by Greece.

Under this formal play card circumstances, Turkish minority in Greece has faced several issues which could be combined under three main headlines: Economic problems, social problems and human rights and freedoms problems. More specifically, there are thirteen special issues of the Western Turkish minority. These are lined up as followings: Ethnic identity denying, restriction of freedom of expression, restriction of political participation, deprivation of citizenship, education issue, control of religionic foundations, election of religionic representatives (mufti), pressure and restriction on social organizations, changing the demographic structure, restricted area issue, problems about land and real properties, economic restrictions and pressures and discrimination against employers in public sector.

Ethnic identity issue is the one of the main core among above mentioned issues. In the beginning the Greek Government had used the term of “Turk” to define the minority until 1955 such as “Marshal Papagos Law” approved to use of the term ‘Turkish’ in primary schools. Greek Government changed this policy and has started not to accept the ethnic identity of the Turkish minority in 1955. It abolished the Non-Governmental Organizations and foundations used the term of “Turk” in accordance with decrees and law had been adopted. Government prosecuted people who defined themselves as Turk. This issue has not solved yet.

Turkish Member of Parliaments and religionic leaders have been treated as if they were collaborationists of Turkey and they are usually kept under surveillance. Turkish minority’s tiny media organs are usually disrupted and prosecuted with a pretext and restricted as much as possible by arbitrary trials.

After two Turkish people, Sadik Ahmet and Ibrahim Serif were elected as independent deputies in June 1989; elections were repeated in November 1989. After Dr. Ahmet established “Party of Friendship and Equality” as a voice of Turkish minority, in 1993 a new law amendment was accepted which brought 3% barrage of total population. This is approximately equal to 200,000 people vote, aimed to prevent the political power of minority whose population is around 150,000 and the number of people who can vote is around 50,000.

Today Turkish minority can enter to the parliament as nominees of different Greek parties.
According to 19th article of Greek Code of Citizenship dated 1955 the minorities leaving Greece without the intention of returning and if approved by Greek authorities were deprived their Greek citizenship. Their children living abroad may be declared as having lost Greek nationality if both their parents have lost the same in accordance with this law. After 1985 the term “including re-enters” stated in “including re-enters, valid with multiple trips” in the passport of minorities most of whom were illiterate were crossed out and depending on this term minorities were blocked to re-enter to Greece when they returned, and the citizenship of them revoked. By this application 60,000 Turkish minorities (half of the minority) have lost their citizenship. By the pressure of Helsinki Monitor Committee and some other international human rights organizations, Greece renounced from this unjust policy implication in 1998 but 60,000 Turks have not taken their citizenship back yet.

Religionic representatives (muftis) and the right to organize and manage religionic affairs free from Greek government interference were granted by Lausanne Treaty. But since 1985 Greece has started to appoint muftis directly by arguing muftis carries out official state duties in addition to his religious duties. This implication is a violation of Lausanne Treaty, but still going on, so today there are elected and appointed 4 muftis in Western Thrace.

When we take a look to these issues one by one, an explicit reality occurs: in compare with the other Turkish minorities in the several Balkan countries, in spite of 26 year membership to the EU and it is shown the “historical habitat of democracy”, Greece has been presenting very bad circumstances on socio-cultural, economic and political frameworks to the Turkish minority and it does not have any willingness about fixing this abnormal situation.

4- Back to Cohabitation and Tolerance in Macedonia:

According to 2002 census, the country’s demographic structure comprises 64% Macedon, 25% Albanian, 3% Turks and 2% Roman, Serb and the others. Although Romas speak Turkish and majority of them are Muslim, neither formal acceptance nor Turkish minority do not want to count them as Turkish. As a result Romas have (been) separated from Turkish minority and founded their own civil society groups and parties. In contrary, in Bulgaria MRF and Turkish minority pursue closer policies toward Romas, as a result they support Turkish party and join Turkish civil society groups. In 1991 during the foundation of the new state Albanians did not support the independence, referendum was boycotted by the Albanian minority, but Ethnic Albanians and Turks have involved into drafting of the new constitution. Macedonian government had refused to put different ethnicities’ names into the new constitution and undertaken drastic measures to uphold laws that were
deemed controversial. That’s why 1991 constitution stayed short, undemocratic and became a main reason of the futuristic ethnic conflict. During the 2001 (Inter)national conflict, although Kosovars, Albanians and Macedonian Albanians came together under the KLA and fought against Macedonian police and army, Turkish minority has stayed calm and didn’t intervene with the conflict. Because of this reason they were accused as “betrayers” by the Albanian minority, in contrary they were called as “loyalties” or “loyal minority” by the Macedonians. By the mediation of the EU and the US and the pressure of Turkey, Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA) was signed. With the OFA Albanian minority was accepted as “founder nation” of Macedonia, and Turkish minority with the 3 percent officially, 4% unofficially, became the biggest minority in the country.

The OFA has given expanded rights to the Turkish minority, especially Albanians in de facto situation. Today all state institution employment rates are 13% Albanians, 2% Serbs and 1.4% Turks. The OFA has brought very democratic conditions to the minorities about representation, language, religion, express of idea, education and establishing institutions by the amendments of the constitution. In a municipality, if there is 20% minority, this minority’s language will be counted as official language there. Turkish minority is free to establish their own religious and ethnic schools in their own language, civil groups and parties. State guaranteed the protection of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of all communities. Macedonia State TV Channel-II broadcasts 2.5 hours, radios 5.5 hours Turkish programs. In addition to the OFA, Badinter system has brought an obligation of establishing a coalition with a minority party to establish a government in Macedonia.

Today, after the OFA 2001, Macedonia is not perfect in compare with de facto situation of the minority rights; but certainly is the best country in terms of de jure situation of minority rights in compare with the other 9 Balkan countries (Slovenia does not accept of being a Balkan country). However very interestingly, this democratic wind has brought political issues among the Turkish minority as brought among Albanians. Badinter system’s obligation about taking a minority party to the government as a coalition partner, has caused to be established several minority parties and spoiled minority’s solidarity. Today there are three Turkish parties in Macedonia in spite of 80,000 Turkish population existences. Because of this fractionalization, Turks could put just one deputy (Kenan Hasipi) to the parliament in the 2008 elections although they have the potential power of sending four deputies to the parliament. Another Turk Hadi Nezir was appointed from outside as a State Minister.
Today, Turkish minority is very active in social, cultural and political life. The Balkan’s biggest civil society confederation, MATUSİTEB which was established by the Turkish minority, is in Macedonia. It has gathered 45 of Turks’ and different ethnic groups’ foundations and associations under its umbrella. As a result, Turkish minority’s situation gets better and better by Turkey’s warm and closer polices.

5- Crucial Minority in Small-Size Kosovo

Kosovo, the last independent country recognized by around 50 states, is another small size country with its 2,126,000 population. Kosovo has 90% Albanian majority, 5% Serbs; Turkish minority is around 3% with the 60,000 population. Other minorities are Bosnians, Gorani, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians. Egyptians are known as Roma, but they have started to claim themselves as Egyptians in the last decade. Throughout the last century and especially in the last two decades, Kosovo has experienced authoritarianism, repression, war and inter-ethnic violence. During the hardest times in the nineties, the Kosovar society initiated and promoted peaceful resistance as a means for conflict resolution, freedom and human dignity. After the war in 1999, values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law have taken irreversible popularity as basic principles based on which the society should be built.26

After the declaration of Kosovo in 2008, Turkey has become one of the 5 early recognizer states of Kosovo. Before and after the independence, Turkey perhaps became the biggest supporter country of Kosovo in terms of economic and political assistance in the international arena. Because of this reason, during the declaration speech of Haşim Taçi, there were 5 flags behind him: US, EU, Albania, Turkey and Kosovo flags. This was a political sign of giving importance to Turkey.

Today Turkey supplies economical assistance funds to Kosovo; it is one of the five peace protection forces, KFOR, and it is giving political assistance by all aspects to develop Kosovo’s political life. A unique Turkish broadcasting TV in the Balkans is in Kosovo; a Turkish university establishing struggles are going on in Pristine. Majority of Albanians in Prizren can speak Turkish because of historical background.

In spite of very good relations between Kosovo and Turkey and Turkish minority, Kosovo did not recognize the Turkish as an official language, just Serbian was recognized official as a minority language. But the six stars on Kosovo flag signs six minority groups in Kosovo and it was stated that before, all minorities were the elements of Kosovo and will be respected minority rights of them including the Turks. During the first meeting of Kosovo parlia-
ment Kosovo Turk Democratic Party deputies, Enis Kervan and Muferra Şinik, boycotted the meeting and did not clap the speeches because of this reason. But City and Environmental Minister, Mahir Yağcılar, points out that Turkish minority can use their own language within the local offices which Turkish minority has credible majority.

Today’s current situation in Balkans, Kosovo Albanians know that, there are Albanian minorities in Montenegro, Macedonia and Serbia. One of the best ways of protection of minority rights in Kosovo is giving the similar rights to them as in Macedonia.

6- Other Turkish Minorities in Balkans

In Romania, Turkish minority is around 40,000 - 60,000 according to 2002 census, and hence making up 0.2 % of the Romanian total population. The numbers change, because Turkish speaking Romas are not counted as Turks. Turkish minority lives in Dobruja, Constanța (Köstençe), Mecidiye, Tunca cities and Ada Kaleh Island generally. Majority of the Turkish minority originally come from Rumeli Turks, Tatar Turks and minor quantity from Gagauz Turks. Turkish minority, Turkey and Romanian Governments relations are very well, because Turks are loyal minorities in Romania like in whole Balkans. In addition to this Romania and Turkey relations has been continuing on a good level from the recent history. There are a lot of Turkish words in the Romanian language, it is possible to taste Turkish influence in Romanian cuisine and see examples of architecture in Dobruja region. After the 1989 Revolution, new system has established on democratic basement in terms of respect of minority rights also. Turkish minority was recognized as official ethnic minority and has one seat reserved in the Romanian Parliament. On December 1989 Turks had established Romania Democrat Turk-Muslim Union, later separated to two parts, but at the end they have re-united under the Turk-Tatar Union Federation in 1994. There are two Turkish newspapers, Karadeniz and Hakses, and a journal named Renkler. There are around 4,000 Turkish businessmen in Romania.

In Montenegro, there is a few number of Turkish minority which lives in Sanjak region. Montenegro population is 678,000 with the ethnic groups of 43 % Montenegrin, 30 % Serbian and the %27 Muslims which contains Bosnians, Albanians, Romas and Turks. According to some unofficial sources there are around 500 Turkish families in Sanjak; they generally live together with Bosnians and Albanians and support SDA (Democratic Action Party) party which was founded as a branch of Aliya Izzetbegovic’s party and today’s leader is State Minister Suleiman Uğlanin.
In Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims’ ethnic names are confused. Until 19th century Bosnians were called as Turks, after this time “Muslims” or “Bosnians” terms have started to be used among the people to differ Bosnian language speakers from Turks. After 2000s “Bosniak” or “Bosnians” term has replaced “Muslim” as an ethnic term in part to avoid confusion with the religious term Muslim. In Bosnia-Herzegovina there limited number of Turkish minority. According to unofficial sources, thousands of Turkish people went to Bosnia-Herzegovina to assist them in their fight during 1992-1995 War and majority of them did not come back to Turkey. There are still some people from Turkey is settling into Bosnia-Herzegovina for business purposes. Turkish peace-keeping army has been deployed in Zenitsa and still there; a Turkish university in Sarajevo and several Turkish Colleges in different cities has been founded in the last 15 years. Today there are several twin-cities and joint foundations between Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

7- Conclusion: Horizontal Policy Implications

Balkan Turks are autochthon people unlike immigrant minorities in the rest of the world. Balkan Turkish peoples are accepted as loyal minorities by the state officials; they do not chase irredentist policies or historical reunification demands or spoiling policies against their current governments. They struggle to solve their socio-cultural and economic issues on democratic way by their own or articulated parties or civil society groups within their domestic system.

Turkey is the regional power in terms of economy, technology, democracy and proximity and it naturally has been assisting and should continue to assist Turkish minorities without intervening with domestic policies of the Balkan states. In addition to the Turkey’s contribution, Balkan Turks should look after the regional Turkish issues more horizontal with the long-term policy implications. Today as de facto situation, almost all Balkan countries are democratic and they have convenience environment to establish any type of civil society groups. There are civil society groups but firstly, they have to be increased, secondly in each country Turkish civil society groups have to come together under a (con)federative umbrella to be a more powerful pressure groups to affect on their own governmental policies. Thirdly, Turkish civil society groups should establish an international Balkan Turkish civil society federation by encompassing ten Balkan countries. This will yield and ensure them to be a very powerful international non-governmental organization and to take care of other Turkish minorities’ problems in the Balkan countries.

Another important step should be put into force among the Turkish Parties in the same countries. For example there are three Turkish parties in
Macedonia with the population of 80,000 Turks. This divides and decreases Turkish minority power in Macedonian politics and on the representation ratio in the Parliament. Today there is just one MP instead of 4 MP in the Macedonian Parliament because of these three parties. After this as a second political step, all Balkan Turkish parties should meet at least in every three months. By this meetings the Turkish parties can understand each others problems better and can help to each other and Turkey’s Balkan policies more effectively. Today if 34 MPs in Bulgaria (three ministers one Deputy PM), 2 MPs in Greece, 3 MPs in Kosovo (1 minister), 1 MP and 1 Minister in Macedonia, 1 MP Romania, 1 MP in Montenegro come together, it equals to 1 Turkish Deputy Prime Minister, 42 MPs and 5 Ministers in whole Balkan area. They could manipulate and press their own government’s foreign policies toward other Balkan governments especially on the minority issues. Surely, Turkey also should increase its attention on Balkan policies and should interest with the Balkan Turkish minorities’ issues from a closer point.

Notes

1 International Relations Department, c.yenigun@iku.edu.tr.
2 Western Thrace Turks Solidarity Association, 60. Yıl Publication, Istanbul, 2006, p.21


16 Ibid.


18 Karlsson, ibid, pp.14-16.


22 Yenigün, “EU’s Role on the Western Balkan Democratization”, pp. 110-111.


26 Kosovo’s Foreign Policy: (Kosovo’s Post-Status Foreign Policy) ;, Round Table Discussion Forum 2015 Publication, Prishtina, 9 May 2007, p. 37.

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